

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS

Republican National Conventions

1884-1888

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CHARLES W. JOHNSON, Secretary.

602 Bank of Commerce Building,

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Republican National Convention

HELD AT

CHICAGO, JUNE 3, 4, 5 AND 6, 1884.

*Reprinted by authority of the resolution of the Republican National Convention,
of 1900, at Philadelphia as follows:*

"Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention be requested to republish the Official Proceedings of preceding Republican National Conventions now out of print, under the direction of the National Committee."

CHARLES W. JOHNSON, PUBLISHER,
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

1903.

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1903.

HISTORY OF THE CONVENTION.

Chicago was selected as the place of holding the Eighth Republican National Convention at the meeting of the National Committee held in Washington, D. C., on the 12th day of December, 1883.

A sub-committee of the National Committee, consisting of Hon. John C. New, Indiana; Hon. John A. Logan, Illinois; Hon. D. M. Sabin, Minnesota; Hon. Christopher L. Magee, Pennsylvania; Hon. Powell Clayton, Arkansas; Hon. W. C. Cooper, Ohio; and Hon. John A. Martin, Kansas, were intrusted with the duty of visiting Chicago, appointing a local Committee of Arrangements, and taking charge of the preparations for the Convention. Hon. John C. New was made Chairman of this committee.

Hon. John A. Logan being unable to act, Hon. John C. Clough, of Illinois, was appointed proxy in his stead.

The sub-committee held a meeting at the Grand Pacific Hotel, Chicago, on Saturday, March 22, 1884, and appointed the following named gentlemen as a

LOCAL COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.

S. B. RAYMOND, Chairman.
W. K. SULLIVAN, Secretary.
C. B. FARWELL.
EUGENE CARY.
Gen. JOSEPH STOCKTON.
E. G. KEITH.
MORRIS SELZ.
LOUIS HUTT.
JOHN HOFFMAN.
GEORGE E. WHITE.

Gen. WILLIAM E. STRONG.
JAMES T. RAWLEIGH.
JOHN M. SMYTHE.
JOHN CRERAR.
O. W. POTTER.
H. N. HIGINBOTHAM.
JOSEPH SCHOENINGER.
JOHN M. CLARK.
A. H. CARPENTER.

A Finance Committee was appointed to provide means for preparing a proper hall in the Exposition Building, and to defray the other necessary expenses of the Convention.

The Finance Committee consisted of the following named gentlemen :

B. P. MOULTON, Chairman.	FRANK. M. BLAIR.
R. A. KEYES, Secretary.	Gen. JOSEPH STOCKTON.
J. L. WOODWARD, Treasurer.	R. T. CRANE.
A. C. BARTLETT.	H. J. MACFARLAND.
GEORGE C. CLARKE.	GEORGE SCHNEIDER.
LOUIS HUTT.	J. W. OAKLEY.
O. S. A. SPRAGUE.	T. W. HARVEY.
C. M. WICKER.	JOHN C. HATELY.
M. B. HULL.	J. HARLEY BRADLEY.
MAX A. MEYER.	JAMES VAN INWAGEN.
C. D. HAMILL.	W. H. SARD.
L. C. HUCK.	J. L. LOMBARD.

This committee made a short and vigorous canvass of the city, and, within ten days, had raised a fund amply sufficient to provide for all the expenses of the Convention.

Sub-committees of the local committee, to take charge of necessary details, were appointed by the Chairman of the Local Committee of Arrangements, as follows :

TRANSPORTATION.

STOCKTON, STRONG, SMYTHE.

HOTELS.

SMYTHE, FARWELL, CLARKE.

PRESS.

SULLIVAN, HUTT, SCHOENINGER.

PRINTING.

SELZ, CARY, WHITE.

OFFICIAL REPORTING AND OFFICIAL PUBLICATION.

CARY, SMYTHE, HUTT.

TELEGRAPHY.

RAWLEIGH, FARWELL, CLARKE.

MUSIC.

KEITH, SCHOENINGER, SELZ.

DECORATION.

WHITE, CLARK, STRONG.

EMPLOYES.

HOFFMAN, STRONG, AND THE SERGEANT-AT-ARMS.

AUDITING.

STRONG, HIGINBOTHAM, CARPENTER.

On the recommendation of the Local Committee of Arrangements, the National Sub-Committee appointed Col. James A. Sexton Sergeant-at-Arms. Mr. Wm. J. Guest was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Local Committee, and Messrs. Dement, Youker & Co. were appointed the Official Reporters of the Convention.

The local organization, thus perfected, carried forward the preparations with complete success. Rooms for the use of the Associated Press and several telegraph companies were fitted up in the Exposition Hall, and liberal accommodations were also provided for the reporters of the daily press.

The seating capacity of the Convention Hall was 9,500.

The National Committee met in Chicago, on Saturday, the 31st of May, and the hall was then turned over to them by the Local Committee of Arrangements.

At a meeting held on June 2d. the National Committee adopted the following resolution :

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee are due to the citizens of Chicago generally, and especially to the Committees on Arrangements and Finance, charged with the duty of providing a suitable place of meeting, and making other provisions for the assembly of the National Convention, for the ample and careful arrangements perfected by them.

The Convention met on Tuesday, June 3d, and adjourned on Friday, June 6th. The following pages contain an accurate verbatim record of its proceedings, transcribed from the short-hand notes of the Official Reporters, to which is also added the proceedings of the committee to notify the candidates of their nomination, and the candidates' letters of acceptance.

SECRETARY'S CERTIFICATE.

This Record of the Proceedings of the Republican National Convention, held at Chicago, in June, 1884, is the only official publication of the same; and to insure the most complete accuracy in this valuable Report, I have submitted the proof-sheets to the special revision of each prominent participator in the Convention interested in the same, with the hope of making this publication as nearly absolutely correct as possible.

CHAS. W. CLISBEE,

Secretary of the Convention.

Cassopolis, Mich., August 10, 1884.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION,

1884.

PROCEEDINGS.

FIRST DAY.

TUESDAY, June 3, 1884.

The EIGHTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President, convened, pursuant to the call of the National Committee, at the Exposition Building, in the city of Chicago, Tuesday, June 3, 1884, at 12 o'clock noon.

The Convention was called to order at 12:28 P. M. by Hon. Dwight M. Sabin, Chairman of the National Committee, who said :

Gentlemen of the Eighth Republican National Convention : The hour having arrived appointed for the meeting of this Convention, it will now be opened by prayer by the Rev. Mr. Bristol.

PRAYER BY THE REV. FRANK M. BRISTOL.

Let us pray. God of our fathers, we adore and worship Thee; and to Thee, by whose grace and providence we are what we are as a nation, we would lift our hearts in devout thanksgiving and everlasting praise. We thank Thee for our glorious National heritage; for this magnificent land of wealthy hills and fertile plains; for the laws and institutions which make it a land of progress and of liberty. We thank Thee for our Christian sires—lovers of freedom and of God; men of conscience and integrity, whose names have jeweled history, and the memory of whose deeds is an inspiration to heroism and patriotic pride. We thank Thee for Plymouth Rock, for Yorktown, for Appomattox, footsteps that mark the progress of righteousness and the higher law. We thank Thee for the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and the Emancipation Proclamation, our blood-bought charters of freedom. We thank Thee for the Republican party; for its splendid history, and its still more splendid possibilities.

And now as this great Convention enters upon the work which will involve the most precious interests of fifty millions of people, and in a large sense the

destiny of free institutions, we devoutly and most earnestly supplicate the blessing of Almighty God. Bless the members of this body, the homes, the States, the party and the Nation which they represent. May the ambition of patriotism, the wisdom of statesmanship and the righteousness of Christian conscientiousness possess every breast and control every action; and may the results of this Convention be in harmony with the will of God concerning us, and be received with joy by the people of this whole land.

And grant, Almighty God, that the coming political campaign may be conducted with that decency, intelligence, patriotism and dignity of temper which become a free and an intelligent people. Continue Thy mercies to us. Bless our country with peace, prosperity and universal enlightenment. May we never deny the faith of our fathers. May we never cease to be a temperate, a free, an industrious, a Sabbath-keeping, a God-fearing and a Christian people, blessed with the righteousness that exalteth a Nation. And to Thee, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, will we ascribe praise and offer worship forever. Amen.

THE CALL FOR THE CONVENTION.

The Secretary of the National Committee read the call for the Convention as follows :

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 12, 1883.

A National Republican Convention will meet at Chicago, Ill., Tuesday, June 3d, 1884, at 12 o'clock noon, for the nomination of candidates to be supported for President and Vice-President at the next election.

The Republican electors of the several States, and all other voters, without regard to past political differences, who are in favor of elevating and dignifying American labor, protecting and extending home industries, giving free popular education to the masses of the people, securing free suffrage and an honest counting of ballots, effectually protecting all human rights in every section of our common country; and who desire to promote friendly feeling and permanent harmony throughout the land by maintaining a National government pledged to these objects and principles, are cordially invited to send from each State four delegates-at-large, and from each Congressional district two delegates, and for each representative-at-large two delegates to the Convention.

The delegates-at-large shall be chosen by popular State conventions, called on not less than twenty days' published notice, and not less than thirty days before the time fixed for the meeting of the National Convention.

The Republicans of the various Congressional districts shall have the option of electing their delegates at separate popular delegate conventions, called on similar notice, and held in the Congressional districts at any time within the fifteen days next prior to the meeting of the State Conventions, or by subdivisions of the State Conventions into District Conventions; and such delegates shall be chosen in the latter method if not elected previous to the meeting of the State Conventions. All district delegates shall be accredited by the officers of such District Conventions.

Two delegates shall be allowed from each Territory and from the District of Columbia, similarly chosen.

Notices of contests shall be given to the National Committee, accompanied by full printed statements of the grounds of contests, which shall also be made public; and preference in order of hearing and determining contests shall be given by the Convention according to the dates of the reception of such notices and statements by the National Committee.

D. M. SABIN, Minnesota, *Chairman*.

JOHN A. MARTIN, Kansas, *Secretary*.

OPENING ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL
COMMITTEE, HON. DWIGHT M. SABIN.

Gentlemen of the Convention : On behalf of the National Republican Committee, permit me to welcome you to Chicago. As Chairman of that Committee, it is both my duty and pleasure to call you to order as a National Republican Convention.

This city, already known as the City of Conventions, is among the most cherished of all the spots of our country, sacred to the memories of a Republican. It is the birthplace of Republican victory. On these fields of labor gathered the early fathers of our political faith, and planned the great battle for the preservation of the Union. Here they chose that immortal chief that led us on to victory—Abraham Lincoln. Here were gathered in council those gifted men who secured the fruits of that long struggle by elevating to the first place in the nation the foremost chieftain of that great contest—Gen. Grant. Here was afterward witnessed that signal triumph which anticipated the wish of the Nation by nominating as color-bearer of the party, that honored soldier, that shining citizen, that representative American, James A. Garfield. Every deliberation of Republican forces on this historic ground has been followed by signal success. And every contest planned on this spot has carried forward our line of battle, until to-day our banners overlook every position of the enemy.

Indeed, so secure now is the integrity of the Union ; so firmly embodied in the constitution and laws of the land are the safeguards of individual liberty ; so fairly and fully achieved is the past, that by general consent, the time has now arrived for new dispositions of the party forces in contemplation of new lines of operation.

Having compassed the defeat of our opponents on all former occasions, the party is about to set its house in order and take counsel as to the direction and management of its future course. In the comparative lull of party strife which distinguishes the present condition of National politics, there is observable an increasing disposition to look after the men who are to execute and the methods that are to guide them in the execution of the powers committed to them, for the management of the affairs of the Republic.

As a result of a rule adopted in the last National Convention, this Convention finds itself constituted by a large majority of gentlemen who have been clothed with delegated powers by conventions in their several Congressional districts. On this consideration may be grounded a hope that the voice of the people will, beyond recent precedent, be felt in moulding the work you are summoned to perform, so that its results may be such as to win the unhesitating and undevi-

ating support of every lover of those principles by which the party has heretofore triumphed and yet will triumph.

When we consider the memories of the past, so intimately connected with this city, and even with this edifice (which the people of Chicago have so generously placed at your disposal); when we reflect upon the deep-seated concern among all people in the result of your deliberations, and the various incentives to the abandonment of personal ambitions in the interest of the party welfare, you can not wonder that the committee, and beyond it the great Republican masses, extend you a most hearty welcome to this scene of labor, in the confident hope that your efforts will result in such an exposition of Republican doctrine, and disclose such a just appreciation of Republican men in the choice of your nominees, as to rejoice the hearts of your constituents and keep victory on the side of our ever-victorious banners.

NOMINATIONS FOR TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

In conclusion, gentlemen, and at the request of the National Republican Committee, I have to propose to you as Temporary Chairman of this Convention, the Hon. Powell Clayton, of Arkansas.

Mr. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts. In accordance with the vote of the majority of the committee, and in accordance with precedent, you have presented the name of a gentleman as Temporary Chairman. It is the right of this Convention to adopt that suggestion, or to revise it, if they deem it to be their duty to do so. With no view of introducing any personal contest, with no view of attempting to make any test vote as to the strength of candidates; but simply with a view to making a nomination for Temporary Chairman which shall have the best possible effect in strengthening the party throughout the country, there are many members of this Convention, I believe, who feel that a nomination which would strengthen the party more could be made than that which has been presented by the National Committee. I therefore have the honor to move, as it is certainly most desirable that we should recognize, as you have done, Mr. Chairman, the Republicans of the South—I therefore desire to present the name of a gentleman well known throughout the South for his conspicuous parliamentary ability, for his courage and his character. I move you, Mr. Chairman, to substitute the name of the Hon. John R. Lynch, of Mississippi.

Mr. C. A. SIMPSON, of Mississippi. I second the motion.

Mr. LODGE. I ask that in taking the vote the roll may be called on that question.

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* You hear the motion for a substitution of the name of John R. Lynch, of Mississippi, and on that motion a call of the roll is demanded.

Mr. SILAS P. DUTCHER, of New York. I desire to heartily second the nomination of John R. Lynch, of Mississippi, and move that the roll be called, and that the delegates express their choice for either of the men presented.

The CHAIRMAN. The roll will be called by the Secretary, and as their names are called by States, each gentleman will rise in his seat, and announce

the name of the gentleman whom he desires to vote for as Temporary Chairman of this Convention.

MR. WILLIAM W. MORROW, of California. Before you proceed to the call of the roll of States, I desire to suggest that it appears to me that it is proper that we should proceed with deliberation in these preliminary proceedings in the formation of this Convention. I believe it to be a fact that for over forty years it has been the practice of the National Committees to name to the National Convention some gentleman who should act as Temporary Chairman. That practice has grown to be the common law of political parties in this country.

Besides, I desire to say, Mr. Chairman, that it seems to me inappropriate on this great occasion, when we are proposing to start with unanimity and with courage to lay the foundation of a campaign that shall lead to victory, for us to commence here on this floor with suggestions of the possibility that there should be any division with respect to so simple a question. The National Committee, the representative of the great Republican party of this country, in its wisdom has selected the gentleman from Arkansas to act as the Temporary Chairman of this Convention. I have faith in the integrity and wisdom of the National Committee in their choice. And I do not think that this Convention is prepared to reverse the precedent of over forty years for the purpose of forming a contest in this preliminary matter.

Mr. Chairman, allow me to suggest that we should take counsel from the wisdom and gallantry of those heroes of the party who heretofore in these Conventions have suggested, and under their guiding wisdom have formed these Conventions in their preliminary matters with entire harmony and with entire success. We come here from all parts of this country with our separate views and advocating certain principles, and we come to this altar and lay them here, and say that whatever may be the judgment of this Convention upon the great principles of the party, let them be determined, and we will go home and we will carry your judgment to our respective sections of the country, and we will carry it forward to victory and to success.

Now, let us sustain the National Committee in this matter, which I tell you, gentlemen, is for the success and harmony of the Republican party of this country.

MR. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, of New York. This is the supreme council of the Republican party. Here at this moment, sir, American citizens professing the Republican faith are met to open the great Republican campaign of 1884, which, sir, by the grace of God and by the true hearts of the Republican party, shall be like those other campaigns to which you have so well and fitly alluded. Now, sir, what is done in the question now raised before this Convention is to be the first act done by the Republican party in that great campaign; and by that act, believe me, the people of this country will judge the purpose and the spirit of the Republican party.

Unquestionably it has been the usual practice, as the gentleman from California [Mr. Morrow] has said, that the nomination of Temporary Chairman made by the National Committee should be ratified by the Convention itself. But the spirit of the nomination made to this Convention is a spirit of recogni-

tion of Southern Republicans; and when, sir, this Convention, without in the slightest degree impugning the purpose or the authority of that committee, within its bounds, proceeds to exercise its own unquestionable right to be judged in the first act of the campaign by its own unquestionable and responsible action, then, sir, this Convention may rightfully, and with perfect respect, reconsider the nomination which has been submitted.

In the person of Mr. Lynch we offer you a representative of those people who in great part and at unspeakable cost, constitute the Republican party of the South; being in himself a man who justifies the friendship and the devotion of the Republican party and the citizens whom he represents; in himself, sir, a candidate such as this Convention will naturally seek without any imputation upon any gentleman who may be submitted; in himself a candidate of whom every Republican may be justly proud, and for whom in voting, as I believe, sir, every Republican in this hall, in the depths of his own consciousness at this moment knows, responds to the expectation and the demand and the hope of the great Republican masses of the country, whose eyes are at this moment fixed upon this hall, and who are waiting to hear that the first act of the Republican Convention of 1884 shall be an act which every one of us will glory to defend upon the stump, and to which the Republican party of the country will respond with a shout of victory.

Mr. JOSIAH H. DRUMMOND, of Maine. I desire to take up but a moment of the time of this Convention, and yet I desire to say that no one in Massachusetts or New York has a higher regard for the Republicans of the South, represented by the gentleman placed in nomination by my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge], than I have myself, and my fellow-delegates from the State of Maine. But, sir, it strikes me that the recognition of this principle by this Convention comes now at a late moment. At this time for the first moment is this matter brought forward. If we can trust the reports of the public press in relation to the proceedings of the National Committee, the name of the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi was not presented to that committee. But it is presented now for the first time; and I say, sir, that we who support the nominee of the National Committee must not and ought not to be charged with the slightest disrespect or the slightest want of appreciation of the Republicans of the South, or the particular class which is represented by the gentleman who has been placed in nomination.

But, sir, I rise for the purpose of making a suggestion. I understood the Chair to say that the roll of delegates—each individual delegate—was to be called; and I rose to move that instead of that, the roll of States be called, that each State may announce its vote as usual. Am I right in my understanding of this? If so, I move that when the vote is taken, it be taken by a call of the roll of States.

The CHAIRMAN. In the absence of any parliamentary rules governing this body, the rules of the House of Representatives will be followed as closely as possible. It is evident to the Chair that at least one-fifth of this body desire the call of the roll, and will be entitled to that call, if so demanded.

Mr. DRUMMOND. The roll of delegates?

The CHAIRMAN. The roll of delegates will be called at the proper time.

Mr. DRUMMOND. Is my motion out of order? My motion is to proceed with the call by States.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will rule that the motion is out of order at this time.

Mr. JOHN STEWART, of Pennsylvania. *Mr. Chairman*—[Cries of "Roll call."]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has the floor.

Mr. STEWART. I make no dissent, Mr. Chairman, from the position taken by the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. Curtis], that this, the supreme council of the Republican party, has it within its power to negative the action of its committee; but I rise to question the expediency of any such action. Nothing short of something which would offend the dignity and which would compromise the honor of the Republican party will justify this Convention in putting that stigma upon their National Executive Committee. The proposition of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge] involves the violation of an established precedent of this party. Upon what ground is it demanded? That one is more worthy than the other? Not at all. I know nothing of the private record of either of these distinguished gentlemen. I do know something of their official record, and that which is public and written in the light of day. I do know that he who has been nominated by the Executive Committee of this body has rendered to his country distinguished services upon the field of battle. No man assails his worth. Why then deny or reject the action of your committee? This Convention will not listen to the voice of men who seek to excite sectional or personal animosities. This Convention will rise to a point where it will realize its great duty and the high responsibility resting upon it, and will ratify the action of its committee, and voice the sentiment of the Republican party of the United States.

Mr. ROSWELL G. HORN, of Michigan. I rise for the purpose of seconding the motion of the gentleman from Maine [Mr. Drummond]—such a motion as I understood that he made—that we proceed to settle this question by a call of the States. Let me explain why. It takes over two hours to call and receive the votes of 820 men called in their consecutive order. [Cries of "Roll call," "We'll stay here if it takes ten hours," "Yes, or all summer."] If you call the roll by States, each State is at work taking its vote all at the same time, and we can do in thirty minutes what we can not do in the other form in an hour and a half; and it certainly can make no difference in the result, because, the question being before this Convention, each man is going to vote his convictions, whether he votes when his name is called by the Secretary or by the Chairman of his own State. Now, as a matter of economy of time, I move, sir, that the roll be called by States, permitting each State to collect its vote and announce it to the Chair.

Mr. BEN M. PRENTISS, of Missouri. I rise for a particular purpose. I know not the object of this motion to ignore the action of the National Committee. I understand that they have recommended to this Convention an old comrade of mine, Gen. Powell Clayton, of Arkansas. I wish to say I entertain the idea that a refusal to indorse the recommendation of our National Committee goes forth to the American Republic as a stigma upon that man, and I am not

willing to remain silent while I know his conduct. I know him as a citizen; I have known him as a soldier; I have known him as a friend of the men a representative of whom has been nominated for the position of Temporary Chairman. And I rise in this Convention to say, gentlemen, be careful how you stigmatize a man placed before you by the National Committee. Powell Clayton carries the mark of loyalty to the flag to-day. He is a Southern Republican, and you recognize the Southern Republicans by electing him your Temporary Chairman. Go cautiously, gentlemen. If you seek by your votes to displace him from that platform, you seek to do that which ought not to be done; and you will not succeed in placing there a more fitting servant than Powell Clayton, of Arkansas.

Mr. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, of New York. I trust that the motion made by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge] will be adopted, and that we will select as Chairman of this Convention that representative Republican, Mr. Lynch, of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, it has been said by the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stewart], that it is without precedent to reverse the action of the National Committee. Who has not known numerous instances where the action of a State Committee has been reversed by the State Convention? Not one of us but has known such instances. Now there are, as I understand it, but two delegates to this Convention who have seats on the National Committee; and I hold it to be derogatory to our honor, to our capacity for self-government, to say that we must accept the nomination of a presiding officer by another body; and that our hands are tied, and we dare not reverse its action.

Now, one word more. I trust that the vote will be taken by individual members, and not by States. Let each man stand accountable to those whom he represents for his vote. Let no man be able to shelter himself behind the shield of his State. What we say is, that one of the cardinal doctrines of the American political government is the accountability of each man to his people; and let each man stand up here and cast his vote, and then go home and abide by what he has done.

It is now, Mr. Chairman, less than a quarter of a century since, in this city, the great Republican party for the first time organized for victory, and nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, who broke the fetters of the slave and rent them asunder forever. It is a fitting thing for us to choose to preside over this Convention one of that race whose right to sit within these walls is due to the blood and the treasure so lavishly spent by the founders of the Republican party. And it is but a further vindication of the principles for which the Republican party so long struggled. I trust that the Hon. Mr. Lynch will be elected Temporary Chairman of this Convention.

Mr. CLARK E. CARR, of Illinois. It seems to some gentlemen sitting in the neighborhood where I am, that the question to be considered at this time is, whether or not the action of the National Committee has been wise, prudent, and for the best interests of the Republican party; whether or not the National Committee have selected a fit, proper and wise man to be the Temporary Chairman of this Convention. If the National Committee has failed in this, it is proper that its action should be overruled, and that another be put in his place.

If the National Committee has succeeded in this, it is proper that the action of the National Committee should be sustained by this Convention. The question, as it comes to us sitting here, is, whether Gen. Powell Clayton is or is not a fit man to preside here. Some of us have known him for many years. We have known his devotion to the principles for which we have fought. Some of us have known how much he himself has done in fighting the battles of the freedmen in this country. Some of us are unwilling that a stigma should be placed upon his great and grand name.

We know that there are five hundred other men in this Convention who would be fit and proper presiding officers; but, having been selected by this committee, we are unwilling that we should place a stigma upon Powell Clayton at this time by voting against the action of the National Committee. There are some gentlemen here from Illinois who do not feel that it would be proper and right for them to go before the world with a candidate from a Convention whose action, the first of all, had been to put down a man who carries an empty sleeve.

Mr. W. N. TAFT, of South Carolina. Had not gentlemen who have spoken in behalf of the action of the National Committee, put it upon two grounds, I would not rise in this place to say one word. The first thing that is said to us is, that the National Committee have done this out of respect to the Southern Republicans; and again they say that, having done so, we should not reverse the action because it is the action of the National Committee.

In the first place, Mr. Chairman, if the action of the National Committee be not in accord with the wishes of the majority of this Convention, it is not only our right, but our duty to ourselves, that we reverse the action here and now.

And, again, it has been said, Mr. Chairman (and I regret that it has been injected into this debate), that we are casting a stigma upon Powell Clayton, of Arkansas, because he is an old soldier. I, too, am an old soldier of the Union army. And we have got more of them in the Southern delegations; and when you come to poll the vote, you will find that the old soldiers of the Union army, who have been in the South in the hard and rough days of reconstruction, in the rough days when we were trying to get a free ballot and a fair count, you will find their votes cast for the Hon. John R. Lynch, of Mississippi.

Why do we do it? We do it because the majority, and the vast majority, of Southern delegates upon this floor believe that he more truly represents the spirit of the Republican party; that spirit that knows no shrinking; the spirit that dares go to the polls, shot-gun or what not, and vote with the Republican party. The question has been before this country for a long time; and when National Conventions meet they put a plank in their platform for a free ballot and a fair count. Only those that live in the South know what that means. "A free ballot and a fair count" means a great many things to us. It means our homes, our safety, our lives; and John R. Lynch, of Mississippi, represents that; and we, as Southern delegates, will stand by him and support him for that reason.

And, Mr. Chairman, I don't think it will be throwing any slur upon the National Committee. That committee is not entirely composed of delegates upon this floor; and, even if it were, they could more fully voice the sentiment of

this Convention, in my opinion, than they have done. The committee have put it upon the ground that they want to recognize Southern Republicans. We, as Southern Republicans, say to this National Convention, if you wish to honor us and give us some recognition, then we, as Southern men, ask you to vote for the Hon. John R. Lynch, of Mississippi.

Mr. PATRICK H. WINSTON, JR., of North Carolina. If I understand the action of this committee, it has no more force than a mere recommendation to this body. As such, and appreciating that recommendation, as a Southern Republican I have a right to say, with all courtesy to the committee, I prefer somebody else. I take it that, with the best of feeling, this Convention has the right to decide who shall preside over its deliberations.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this is not the time to engender a bad spirit here; but, sir, the plea has been made that Mr. Clayton is a soldier. I honor him, that he has fought under the flag of liberty; but, sir, I remember that there are three millions of Southern black Republicans, inhabitants of this country, who have no voice here, except what we are about to give them this day. And, sir, the men of Copiah and Danville, and many other places, appeal to this Convention, and will not appeal in vain.

Mr. Chairman, this is a simple matter. There is a great to-do kicked up here to-day. Why haven't we the right to decide whom we want for Chairman? I say, gentlemen, I propose to cast my vote for the distinguished gentleman from the great Southern State of Mississippi.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair desires to state, that on this matter being presented to him a short time since, he felt called upon to call to his assistance some of the very best parliamentary talent in the country; and had presented the ruling which I will now read you, by the Chairman of the last National Republican Convention, that able parliamentarian, that distinguished jurist, Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts. In this ruling he took the position which the Chair feels called upon to assume and maintain at this time. It reads as follows: "The Chair supposes that in the absence of any rules the method of taking the question rests in the sound discretion of the Chair, subject, of course, to the order of the Convention," etc.

The Chair would state that this is emphatically a Convention of the people, and that every citizen representing a seat on this floor has the undoubted right to a free expression of his opinions, and a right to have that expression recorded. The Chair will, therefore, after a reasonable debate—and in this respect will not assume to follow any arbitrary rule, but to give the utmost liberality and latitude to debate—call the roll by individuals—by delegates.

Mr. WM. G. GREEN, of Maryland. Now that this Convention, after a long public discussion and public expectation, has reached this culminating hour of its purpose; now that there comes a lull, a throbbing of heart and bating of breath, awaiting the further purport and purpose of our proceedings; standing as we do in the presence of the whole land, the congregated millions of citizens of this Republic having halted to catch with bated breath the further progress and purpose of our proceedings; it is eminently proper that we should proceed deliberately and in order; and I submit, sir, that we should take abundant time upon a question like this, to give it full and free discussion. Speaking for my-

self, for a Republican district in a border State, one on the southern side of that line once so fiercely contended for; speaking for Southern Republicans and in behalf of a constituency made up of native and foreigner, Northerner and Southerner, Confederate and Federal, white men and black men, I say in their behalf that the voice of my district will approve me in sustaining John R. Lynch as a proper candidate for Chairman of this Convention.

Mr. Chairman, in saying this I abate not one jot or tittle of my regard for the men who carried that flag for four years through the fierce conflict of battle. There is no memory or association that will ever be dearer to me than the memory that I touched elbows and shouldered muskets with those vanished columns whose potent influence upon the age and the Nation shall never break rank. I remember our generals and our privates. I have respect and love for those men that led and commanded and won their fame and their name; but nearer and dearer to me is my memory of the dusty, and weary, and wounded columns that were commanded and obeyed. And I know that they who marched over Southern soil, shoulder to shoulder with the colored men and Southern Republicans, will indorse the man who is a representative of that people that make up the great bulk of the party, the bone and sinew of the Republican party in the Southern States.

It has been said Gen. Clayton has an empty sleeve. I carry, too, an empty sleeve; and in that there is a chord of sympathy between us; but I carry also a heart in sympathy with the Republican party, and I believe it to be to their best interests that John R. Lynch should be selected as our Temporary Chairman here to-day.

Mr. JOHN M. THURSTON, of Nebraska. I appreciate the fact that this discussion has already wearied the patience of this Convention, and yet I believe that we can better afford to stay here for a day or a year rather than that an injustice shall be done to any man by this Convention. If this Convention is to overturn the action of its National Committee, let it not be done under a pretext which masks the real design. If it be true that the spontaneous expression of this Convention is in favor of recognizing the colored element of the South; if that be the honest purpose of these gentlemen, as they have honestly said to us, then let the committee appointed by this Convention upon permanent organization voice it in the selection of Mr. Lynch, of Mississippi, as Permanent Chairman. But, sir, in recognizing that colored element, let us not also do injustice to that element which made it possible for a colored man to sit on the floor of this Convention. If it be true that there are any just, wise, potent, overwhelming reasons why the action of the Republican National Committee should be disregarded and sat down upon by this Convention, let the voice be heard here, where every man has a right to speak, before his people and his God. But on behalf of the Western country, where almost every quarter-section is the homestead of a man that proved his loyalty to the party by carrying a musket and following the flag, we say, we are for Gen. Clayton, the choice of the National Committee.

Mr. MASON W. BENJAMIN, of Arkansas. It seems to me that this is a very strange proceeding; an unusual one. It has never been attempted before, and now why is it? They say they want to recognize the Southern Republicans:

and they want to do something for the Southern Republicans. Now, there is one thing I want to call the attention of this Convention to in regard to this candidate who is reported by the committee. The Hon. Powell Clayton, in 1868, was Governor of the State of Arkansas. It is a well-known fact in history that all over the Southern States there was organized what was known as a Ku-Klux Klan. There have been more Southern Republicans killed and wounded by this klan and others than were men killed during the Mexican war—than were killed during the war of 1812. Now, what did Powell Clayton, as Governor, do? He called out the militia of the State of Arkansas, and he whipped and overcame them, so that that was the end of it in that State; and never since that time have you heard anything of any troubles from the Ku-Klux of Arkansas. No. You find it in every other State; and had they called out the militia in other States at the start, thousands of colored men who have been murdered by these men would be able to be here and be in this Convention, instead of being in the grave as they are now. I say he has done more to elevate the cause of Republicanism in the South, in this one act alone, than anything else that was ever done by any Southern Republican.

I do not have one word to say against Mr. Lynch. If he had been brought in here by this committee, I would have supported him. If he should be brought in by the Committee on Permanent Organization for Permanent Chairman, no man would support him more cheerfully than I would.

MR. C. C. SHEATS, of Alabama. I suppose that every man's mind is made up on this question. We know that Mr. Clayton was Governor of Arkansas; we know that Mr. Lynch was a member of Congress from Mississippi. We know, sir, that they are both in nomination for Temporary Chairman of this Convention; and I think every delegate here is satisfied and is prepared to vote, and in order to cut this matter short, I now call the previous question.

THE CHAIRMAN. The Chair would state that the previous question is not to be called at this time, but will order the roll called by the Secretary. As the names of the various delegates are called, each delegate will rise in his seat and announce his preference for either Mr. Lynch or General Clayton.

THE CALLING OF THE ROLL.

The Secretary then began to call the roll.

MR. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio. *Mr. Chairman—*

THE CHAIRMAN. The call has been commenced.

MR. FORAKER. We have no rule now governing this Convention that prevents the interruption of the call of the roll. Therefore, I rise to inquire of the Chair, by what authority have you dispensed with the motion which has been pending, and which has been under discussion, to the effect that the call of the States should be had instead of calling the members? As I understand, the Chair made this ruling and read it; that in the absence of organization the Chair should exercise a sound discretion, subject only to the control of the Convention. Now the Convention has asked to be heard to say whether or not the discretion which the Chair intimated it would exercise, should be controlled by the Convention. We think we have a right to be heard upon that.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will announce, once for all, that he will recognize no gentleman in this Convention during the roll call. You will suspend the call for a moment. Gentlemen, there is a great deal of unnecessary noise in the Convention, which greatly annoys the Clerk, and retards the business.

On calling the State of Arkansas,

Mr. LOGAN H. ROOTS, of Arkansas, said: I am authorized by the delegation from Arkansas, thirteen of whom are present, Powell Clayton being absent, to cast the thirteen votes for Powell Clayton.

In calling the roll for Georgia, the Secretary called E. F. Johnson, as a delegate from the first district.

Mr. W. A. PLEDGER, of Georgia. That is a mistake. E. F. Johnson is not a delegate to the Convention. A. N. Wilson and James Blue are from the first district.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will pass the first district until the certified copy is presented. The names of the regular delegates were on the corrected roll, but were not substituted in the printed roll. The names will be called later.

When Indiana was called,

Mr. RICHARD W. THOMPSON, of Indiana, said: The delegate who represents at large the State of Indiana in place of General Harrison, is Mr. John H. Roelker, his alternate; General Harrison not being here. Shall his name be called?

The CHAIRMAN. His name will be called as the alternate.

The announcements of the votes by the different delegates were greeted with loud applause, and caused considerable confusion.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would state that the cheering on the announcement of votes will not change a single vote of this Convention, and it greatly retards the business and greatly annoys the reporters here, who claim they are not able to hear one-half of the responses. And the Chair would ask as a special favor that cheering from this time on during the roll call shall cease. You can devote any amount of time you need, after the announcement, to this recreation.

In calling the roll for Massachusetts, when the Secretary reached the name of "Charles T. Gallagher,"

Mr. GEORGE F. HOAR said: Mr. Gallagher is absent.

The CHAIRMAN. The name of his alternate will be called.

The Secretary called "William N. Young."

Mr. HOAR. John Taylor will respond for Mr. Gallagher.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is informed that Mr. Young is the immediate alternate of Mr. Gallagher; and his name is entitled to be called first. If he is absent, then the other alternate will be called.

The Secretary again called Mr. Young.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Young present?

Mr. HOAR. Mr. Young is absent.

The Secretary then called the other alternate, John Taylor, who voted.

In the same delegation Mr. Theodore C. Bates being absent, the alternate, Calvin D. Paige, voted instead.

As Mr. Levi L. Brown did not respond to his name, the Secretary called the alternate, Mr. Charles N. Yeomans.

Mr. HOAR. You have not called the other alternate.

The SECRETARY. Levi L. Brown.

Mr. HOAR. He is absent. Edward S. Wilkinson has not been called.

The SECRETARY. Mr. Yeomans is the immediate alternate; and he has voted.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. Wilkinson is the proper alternate. Mr. Yeomans has voted as the alternate for Mr. Hyde. The alternate for Levi L. Brown is also absent. Mr. Wilkinson has not been called.

Mr. HENRY C. LODGE. The name of Mr. Yeomans, who has voted, should be withdrawn. Mr. Yeomans is the alternate for Mr. Hyde. Mr. Hyde is here, and has voted. Mr. Yeomans has voted; and his vote should be withdrawn. It was given under a mistake. Instead of Mr. Yeomans, call Mr. Wilkinson. He is the alternate of Mr. Brown.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. It does not so appear on the record as presented by the committee.

The SECRETARY. The printed roll contains the name of Mr. Yeomans as the alternate for Mr. Brown.

The CHAIRMAN. The roll has been called as reported and made by the National Committee; and the proper alternate has been called for the name of Mr. Brown.

After the vote of Minnesota had been announced,

Mr. C. K. DAVIS said: I desire to change the vote of C. K. Davis to Powell Clayton.

The CHAIRMAN. The vote will be changed.

Mr. John M. Crane, of the New York delegation, did not respond, and the Secretary called, as the alternate, Thomas Young.

Mr. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS. The alternate of Mr. Crane is Mr. John A. King. Mr. Crane is absent; Mr. King is present, and his name should be called.

The Secretary then called Mr. John A. King, who voted.
The Secretary called the name of "Leslie L. Proctor."

Mr. LESLIE W. RUSSELL, of New York. I think you have the name of the delegate wrong. It is Leslie W. Russell, and the alternate is W. L. Proctor.
The SECRETARY. It is a typographical error.

At the end of the roll call, Gen. Clayton arose and addressed the Chair as follows:

Gen. CLAYTON. When the vote of Arkansas was called I was absent from my seat, and my vote was not recorded. I desire to cast my vote now for Mr. Lynch.

The CHAIRMAN. Gen. Clayton desires to cast his vote for Mr. Lynch, and the record will be so amended.

THE RESULT OF THE BALLOT.

The Secretary announced the result of the vote to be:

Whole Number of Votes Cast	818
John R. Lynch	424
Powell Clayton	394
Majority for Lynch	40

The following is the ballot in detail:

ALABAMA. *Lynch*—George Turner, G. W. Braxdall, C. C. Sheats, J. C. Duke, James E. Slaughter, Frank H. Threet, G. W. Washington, Paul Strobach, I. Heyman, W. Youngblood, W. J. Stevens, H. A. Carson, W. J. Anthony, A. A. Mabson, L. J. Washington, R. A. Moseley Jr., Arthur Bingham, A. W. McCulloch, P. J. Crenshaw; 19. *Clayton*—L. E. Parsons; 1.

ARKANSAS. *Clayton*—L. H. Roots, M. W. Gibbs, H. M. Cooper, J. Trieber, S. H. Holland, J. H. Johnson, F. Havis, A. A. Tufts, G. H. Thompson, M. W. Benjamin, Jacob Yoes, L. Gregg, Kidder Kidd; 13. *Lynch*—Powell Clayton; 1.

CALIFORNIA. *Clayton*—Thomas R. Bard, William W. Morrow, George A. Knight, Horace Davis, Chauncey C. Bush, Byron O. Carr, William H. Parks, George W. Schell, William Johnston, Eli S. Dennison, David McClure, Charles F. Crocker, Adolph B. Spreckels, Maurice C. Blake, David C. Reed, Oregon Sanders; 16.

COLORADO. *Clayton*—W. A. Hamill, S. H. Elbert, C. C. Davis, Alexander Gullitt, A. L. Emigh, Benjamin F. Crowell; 6.

CONNECTICUT. *Clayton*—F. Miles, J. L. Houston, L. I. Munson, Ira G. Briggs, Eugene S. Boss, E. J. Hill; 6. *Lynch*—A. Brandegee, S. E. Merwin Jr., V. B. Chamberlain, Ralph P. Gilbert, John G. Edmonds, O. R. Fyler; 6.

DELAWARE. *Clayton*—J. Pilling, G. V. Massey, Daniel J. Layton, John H. Hoffecker, William J. Stewart; 5. *Lynch*—Washington Hastings; 1.

FLORIDA. *Lynch*—D. Eagan, J. E. Lee, J. D. Cole, W. G. Stewart, J. N. Combs, A. C. Lightborne, H. W. Chandler; 7. *Clayton*—J. G. Long; 1.

GEORGIA. *Lynch*—A. E. Buck, W. A. Pledger, L. M. Pleasant, C. D. Forsyth, Alex. N. Wilson, James Blue, C. W. Arnold, J. C. Few, Elbert Head, E. S. Small, W. H. Johnson, J. C. Beall, J. E. Bryant, W. D. Moore, W. W. Brown, P. O. Holt, G. P. Burnett, J. Q. Gassett, M. A. Wood, Madison Davis, W. T. B. Wilson, J. B. Gaston, W. F. Holden, R. R. Wright; 24.

ILLINOIS. *Clayton*—C. E. Carr, W. H. Ruger, C. E. Piper, J. R. Wheeler, L. C. Collins Jr., L. M. Kelly, C. E. Fuller, N. Lewis, O. C. Towne, S. G. Baldwin, H. T. Noble, R. W. Willett, A. J. Bell, T. Vennum, W. W. Wright, R. H. Whiting, C. A. Ballard, W. Jayne, J. W. Fifer, George K. Inghani, L. S. Wilcox, C. Churchill, Harrison Black, John I. Rinaker, J. M. Truitt, C. T. Stratton, T. M. Simpson, W. McAdams; 28. *Lynch*—Shelby M. Cullom, John M. Hamilton, Burton C. Cook, J. L. Woodard, Abner Taylor, George R. Davis, Samuel B. Raymond, S. T. Rogers, C. V. Chandler, A. C. Matthews, W. W. Berry, D. C. Smith, Charles G. Eckhart, R. A. Halbert, P. Reuter, T. S. Ridgway; 16.

INDIANA. *Clayton*—John H. Roelker (alternate), John H. Baker, J. O. Cravens, Eugene G. Hay, W. A. Montgomery, C. H. Burchenal, J. H. Mellett, L. T. Michener, H. C. Adams, William C. Smith, W. R. McKeen, George B. Williams, A. C. Daily, Simon P. Thompson, George W. Holman, J. B. Kenner, Jonas Votaw, Oscar S. Simons, Orville Carver, Joseph D. Oliver; 20. *Lynch*—R. W. Thompson, Morris McDonald, James C. Veatch, Frank B. Posey, George G. Riley, W. R. Gardiner, D. M. Alspaugh, A. P. Charles, Joseph I. Irwin, George Moon; 10.

IOWA. *Clayton*—J. S. Clarkson, John Y. Stone, N. M. Hubbard, W. Wilson Jr., John Hilsinger, W. T. Shaw, H. C. Hemenway, W. H. Norris, A. G. Stewart, O. H. Lyon, J. W. Willett, H. S. Winslow, Calvin Manning, C. H. Gatch, E. W. Weeks, W. H. Christie, W. M. Wilson, E. A. Consigney, T. M. C. Logan, R. S. Benson, C. C. T. Mason, A. B. Funk, J. D. Ainsworth; 23. *Lynch*—W. G. Donnan, Dennis A. Morrison, Merritt Green Jr.; 3.

KANSAS. *Clayton*—P. B. Plumb, James S. Merritt, A. W. Mann, Cyrus Leland Jr., H. E. Insley, R. Aikman, J. R. Hallowell, W. P. Hackney, George R. Peck, William Martindale, E. A. Berry, J. S. McDowell, C. C. Wood, J. W. Ady; 14. *Lynch*—J. G. Woods, J. P. Root, C. C. Culp, R. L. Walker; 4.

KENTUCKY. *Lynch*—W. Evans, W. O. Bradley, W. W. Culbertson, J. W. Lewis, E. Farley, P. C. Bragg, J. Z. Moore, J. J. Landes, W. L. Hazslip, A. Allensworth, G. P. Jolly, Edward Hilpp, Silas F. Miller, John M. Brown, D. N. Comingore, James A. Scarlett, Richard P. Stoll, G. M. Thomas, Andrew J. Auxier, R. A. Buckner Jr.; 20. *Clayton*—William C. Goodloe, R. Boyd, George Denny Jr., T. S. Bradford, J. C. Eversole, H. G. Trimble; 6.

LOUISIANA. *Lynch*—W. Pitt Kellogg, A. J. Dumont, P. B. S. Pinchback, A. S. Badger, W. B. Merchant, P. F. Herwig, Henry Demas, George Drury, L. A. Martinet, E. W. Wall, Louis J. Souer; 11. *Clayton*—William Harper, Clifford Morgan, R. F. Guichard, Frank Morey; 4. *Absent, or not voting*, A. H. Leonard; 1.

MAINE. *Clayton*—George C. Wing, Josiah H. Drummond, Joseph R. Bodwell, Joseph S. Wheelwright, Albion Little, Charles E. Hussey, A. E. Crockett, R. B. Fuller, J. M. Haynes, Andrew P. Wiswell, Austin Harris, E. A. Thompson; 12.

MARYLAND. *Clayton*—L. N. Phillips, James Wallace, C. T. Westcott, J. C. Mullikin, John T. Ensor, H. M. Clabaugh, William Coath, J. W. Jordan, J. McPherson Scott, G. L. Wellington; 10. *Lynch*—H. B. Holton, Thomas S. Hodson, D. P. West, H. W. Rogers, J. A. Gary, W. G. Green; 6.

MASSACHUSETTS. *Lynch*—George F. Hoar, W. W. Crapo, J. D. Long, H. C. Lodge, Jonathan Bourne, F. S. Stevens, E. L. Ripley, H. P. Kidder, E. L. Pierce, E. Stearns, John F. Andrew, Amos F. Breed, C. D. Wright, E. H. Haskell, G. W. Cate, F. T. Greenhalze, A. C. Stone, J. G. Ray, R. R. Bishop, W. W. Rice, C. C. Conant, R. Wallace, H. S. Hyde, Charles N. Yeamans (alternate)—24. *Clayton*—F. M. Ames, J. M. Gove, John Taylor (alternate), C. D. Paige (alternate); 4.

MICHIGAN. *Clayton*—R. G. Horr, J. C. Burrows, W. H. Coats (alternate), W. S. Morey, E. C. Nichols, W. H. Powers, S. T. Read, G. W. Webber, J. E. Sawyer, J. P. Sanborn, W. S. Tuck, W. E. Watson, M. P. Gale, G. W. Bell; 14. *Lynch*—W. F. Swift, S. C. Watson, W. A. Underwood, J. T. Jacobs, J. Andrews, H. F. Thomas, M. D. Chatterton, B. R. Noble, Abel Anderson, H. H. Aplin, S. C. Moffatt, S. M. Stevenson; 12.

MINNESOTA. *Clayton*—C. K. Davis, T. H. Armstrong, C. H. Conkey, A. M. Crosby, V. Canfield, L. Hall, A. Barto, H. G. Page; 8. *Lynch*—D. M. Sabin, C. H. Graves, O. B. Gould, L. Z. Rogers, R. B. Langdon, S. Newel; 6.

MISSISSIPPI. *Lynch*—B. K. Bruce, J. Hill, R. F. Beck, J. M. Bynum, W. H. Kennon, D. T. J. Mathews, W. H. Allen, J. S. Burton, W. Creighton, H. H. Harrington, J. W. Longstreet, F. C. Cranberry, W. M. Hancock, C. A. Simpson, T. Richardson, J. A. Galbreath; 16. *Clayton*—H. C. Powers, John R. Lynch; 2.

MISSOURI. *Clayton*—B. M. Prentiss, H. E. Havens, J. B. Henderson, R. D. Cramer, A. C. Dawes, O. C. Hill, W. Warner, H. C. Meyer, J. C. Bensiek, C. I. Filley, J. H. McLean, K. W. Weber, E. B. Sankey, J. B. Upton, N. Gibbs, A. B. Duncan; 16. *Lynch*—R. T. Van Horn, J. T. Barber, J. H. Turner, A. W. Mullens, J. H. Thomas, Ira B. Hyde, J. B. Jones, Odin Guitar, W. S. Shirk, T. Bruere, M. G. Reynolds, E. Neuenhahn, C. G. Burton, A. B. Carroll; 14. *Absent or not voting*—F. W. Mott, W. D. Tyler; 2.

NEBRASKA. *Clayton*—J. M. Thurston, N. S. Harwood, J. Jenson, G. A. Brooks, W. T. Scott, G. W. Burton, C. P. Matthewson, J. H. McCall; 8. *Lynch*—E. L. Reed, C. Howe; 2.

NEVADA. *Clayton*—M. D. Foley, C. A. Stevenson, S. L. Lee, J. A. Palmer (alternate), J. H. Rand, C. S. Young (alternate); 6.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. *Lynch*—Charles H. Sawyer, George H. Stowell, Edward H. Rollins, Joseph B. Clark, Charles B. McDuffie, Warren Brown, Frank D. Currier, Henry B. Atherton; 8.

NEW JERSEY. *Clayton*—W. W. Phelps, W. J. Sewell, J. J. Gardner, I. T. Nichols, T. B. Harned, W. H. Skein, M. Hutchinson, J. I. Blair, W. Cook; 9.

Lynch—J. F. Fort, J. W. Herbert, J. R. English, W. H. Long, W. H. Howell, H. Lebach, W. Riker, J. Gopsill, J. Ramsey; 9.

NEW YORK. *Lynch*—T. Roosevelt, A. D. White, J. I. Gilbert, E. Packard, G. W. Curtis, J. A. King (alternate), E. H. Hobbs, S. B. Dutcher, A. D. Baird, G. L. Pease, W. H. Beard, M. N. Day, C. D. Rhinchart, G. C. Bennett, J. J. O'Brien, J. H. Brady, J. D. Lawson, P. V. R. Van Wyck (alternate), R. G. McCord, John Collins, George Starr (alternate), George Hilliard, M. Cregan, B. Biglin, J. R. Lydecker, J. L. Perley (alternate), W. Dowd, F. Raymond, J. A. Eagleston, B. B. Odell, D. J. Blauvelt, B. P. Carpenter, H. Fish Jr., M. I. Townsend, H. G. Burleigh, G. Campbell, A. S. Draper (alternate), John Hammond, George Chahoon, L. Burrett, H. H. Warner, J. W. Wadsworth, J. D. Warren, J. Jewett, George Urban Jr., Lee R. Sanborn; 46. *Clayton*—A. G. McCook, W. H. Robertson, J. W. Husted, Thomas Cornell, D. Ballentine, George West, John Kellogg, L. W. Russell, G. A. Bagley, W. E. Scripture, A. M. Lampher, Hobart Krum, Titus Sheard, C. E. Smith, James Frazee (alternate), T. C. Platt, M. DeLano, D. D. Osborne, T. G. Yeomans, J. W. Dwight, W. L. Smith, S. T. Hayt, G. R. Cornwell, E. L. Pitts, N. M. Allen, F. S. Smith; 26.

NORTH CAROLINA. *Lynch*—J. J. Mott, J. H. Harris, J. E. O'Hara, J. B. Hill, I. J. Young, J. C. Daney, L. W. Humphrey, J. S. Leary, C. D. Upchurch, T. B. Keogh, P. H. Winston Jr., W. W. Jenkins (alternate), E. J. Pennybacker, H. C. Cowles, A. S. Richardson, W. S. Pearson, J. B. Eaves; 17. *Clayton*—W. S. Dockey, E. A. White, J. H. Williamson; 3. *Absent or not voting*—L. L. Green, T. J. Candler; 2.

OHIO. *Clayton*—Wm. McKinley Jr., W. H. West, A. M. Pratt, J. N. High, R. W. McMahon, W. C. Lemert, O. T. Martin, G. M. Eichelberger, T. E. Duncan, J. F. Locke, C. L. Luce, J. B. Rice, E. L. Lybarger, C. H. Baltzell, M. R. Patterson, C. H. Andrews, W. Monaghan, E. L. Lampson, J. O. Converse, A. L. Conger, T. D. Loomis, Edwin Cowles, A. C. Hord; 23. *Lynch*—J. B. Foraker, M. A. Hanna, L. A. Staley (alternate), W. B. Smith, C. Fleishman, H. L. Morey, M. J. W. Holter, S. Craighead, A. R. Byrket, J. S. Robinson, J. Morris, A. Hart, B. F. Stone (alternate), O. B. Gould, H. S. Bundy, C. D. Firestone, C. E. Groce, W. I. Shriver, A. W. Vorhes, H. C. Van Vorhis, E. G. Johnson, W. L. Sewell; 22. *Absent or not voting*—Amor Smith Jr.; 1.

OREGON. *Clayton*—Joseph N. Dolph, O. N. Denney, J. M. Swift, W. J. McConnell, A. G. Hovey, John T. Apperson; 6.

PENNSYLVANIA. *Clayton*—W. E. Littleton (alternate), P. L. Kimberly, J. W. Lee, L. Emery Jr., W. H. Jessup, B. F. Fisher, R. Young, R. M. Yardley, J. P. Hale Jenkins, S. R. Deppen, F. S. Livengood, E. Reimbold, L. S. Hartman, S. Thomas, W. S. Kirkpatrick, J. Cruikshank, J. C. Brown, H. B. Payne, H. M. Boies, Horace Brock, J. H. Wagner, F. F. Lyon, G. A. Grow, E. G. Schieffelin, C. W. Hill, D. J. Morrell, Edward Scull, John Stewart, B. F. Wagonseller (alternate), W. H. Lanius, J. A. Kitzmiller, E. A. Irvin, T. C. Thornton, J. K. Ewing, J. E. Sayers, T. M. Bayne, E. M. Byers, E. F. Acheson, J. W. Wallace, J. B. Henderson, H. C. Howard, T. C. Cochran, W. H. H. Riddle, E. W. Echols, J. Johnson; 45. *Lynch*—James McManes, H. H. Bingham, W. J. Pollock, W. R. Leeds, David H. Lane, H. Hunter, A. Crowe,

W. E. Rowan, J. T. Thompson, John Ruhl, J. A. M. Passmore, J. S. Sollenberger, William Flynn; 13.

RHODE ISLAND. *Lynch*—Gorham P. Pomeroy, Frank M. Bates, Ellery H. Wilson, Daniel G. Littlefield, William A. Steadman, John C. Burrington, Thomas C. Peckham, Albert L. Chester; 8.

SOUTH CAROLINA. *Lynch*—R. Smalls, W. N. Taft, E. M. Brayton, Samuel Lee, J. M. Freeman, E. H. Webster, Paris Simpkins, S. E. Smith, E. F. Blodgett, R. W. Boone, C. M. Wilder, Wilson Cook, C. C. Macoy, E. H. Dibble, E. H. Deas, D. T. Corbin, T. B. Johnson, W. H. Thompson; 18.

TENNESSEE. *Lynch*—W. P. Brownlow, L. C. Houck, J. C. Napier, T. F. Cassells, John W. Brown, W. C. Chandler, W. C. Chumlea, H. F. Griscom, B. W. Burford, John Pruitt, J. C. McAdams (alternate), H. L. W. Cheatham, B. J. Hadley, A. M. Hughes Jr., R. Harris, S. W. Hawkins, J. C. Watson, M. E. Bell, S. A. McElwee, Carter Harris, J. H. Smith; 21. *Clayton*—A. H. Pettibone, W. M. Ekin; 2. *Absent or not voting*—F. V. Brown; 1.

TEXAS. *Lynch*—C. C. Binkley, R. Allen, J. B. Farris, G. W. Burkitt, W. Flanagan, A. G. Malloy, F. L. Cleve, J. C. Akers, B. B. Renfro, Nathan Patton, J. C. DeGress, H. H. McConnell; 12. *Clayton*—N. W. Cuney, R. Zapp, R. J. Evans, J. D. Davis, J. R. Carter, O. T. Lyon, J. S. Wither, H. C. Ferguson, A. J. Rosenthal, Henry Green, C. H. Blont, R. Hanschke; 12. *Absent or not voting*—A. Burge, R. F. Campbell; 2.

VERMONT. *Lynch*—J. Gregory Smith, Redfield Proctor, Frederick Billings, B. D. Harris, A. B. Valentine, Henry Ballard, B. F. Fifield, T. C. Fletcher; 8.

VIRGINIA. *Lynch*—W. Mahone, J. D. Brady, F. S. Blair, S. M. Yost, W. H. Pleasants, A. A. Dodson, Duff Green, H. Libbey, J. Thompson, W. C. Elam, J. A. Taylor, W. E. Gaines, A. W. Harris, J. A. Frazier, J. M. McLaughlin, L. S. Walker, J. L. Dunn, R. L. Mitchell, T. G. Popham, H. C. Wood; 20. *Clayton*—L. R. Steward, W. E. Sims, Winfield Scott, D. F. Houston; 4.

WEST VIRGINIA. *Clayton*—B. B. Dovener, W. M. O. Dawson, E. L. Buttrick, Warren Miller, C. D. Thompson, T. B. Jacobs, A. C. Sherr, L. C. Powell, Neil Robinson, J. W. Heavener, B. J. Redmond, M. C. C. Church; 12.

WISCONSIN. *Lynch*—E. B. Brodhead, T. B. Scott, W. T. Rambush, S. S. Barney, F. C. Winkler, E. Sanderson, J. H. Mead, C. E. Estabrook, C. M. Butt, O. F. Temple, H. A. Taylor; 11. *Clayton*—E. W. Keyes, J. Bowman, H. A. Cooper, J. W. Sayles, C. Spenseley, A. C. Dodge, A. M. Kimball, G. B. Shaw, A. Stewart, O. A. Ellis; 10. *Absent or not voting*—C. B. Clark; 1.

ARIZONA. *Clayton*—C. Churchill, A. H. Stebbins; 2.

DAKOTA. *Clayton*—N. E. Nelson, J. L. Jolly; 2.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. *Clayton*—P. H. Carson; 1. *Lynch*—F. B. Conger; 1.

IDAHO. *Lynch*—D. P. B. Pride, W. N. Shilling; 2.

MONTANA. *Clayton*—W. F. Saunders; 1. *Lynch*—Lee Mantle; 1.

NEW MEXICO. *Lynch*—E. Romere, W. H. H. Llewellyn; 2.

UTAH. *Clayton*—Joseph E. Galigher (alternate), N. Kimball; 2.

WASHINGTON. *Lynch*—J. L. Wilson; 1. *Clayton*—Geo. D. Hill; 1.

WYOMING. *Lynch*—James France, J. W. Meldrum; 2.

RECAPITULATION.

STATES, ETC.	LYNCH.	CLAYTON.	STATES, ETC.	LYNCH.	CLAYTON.
Alabama	19	1	New Jersey	9	9
Arkansas	1	13	New York	46	26
California	-	16	North Carolina	17	3
Colorado	-	6	Ohio	22	23
Connecticut	6	6	Oregon	-	6
Delaware	1	5	Pennsylvania	13	45
Florida	7	1	Rhode Island	8	-
Georgia	24	-	South Carolina	18	-
Illinois	16	28	Tennessee	21	2
Indiana	10	20	Texas	12	12
Iowa	3	23	Vermont	8	-
Kansas	4	14	Virginia	20	4
Kentucky	20	6	West Virginia	-	12
Louisiana	11	4	Wisconsin	11	10
Maine	-	12	Arizona	-	2
Maryland	6	10	Dakota	-	2
Massachusetts	24	4	District of Columbia ..	1	1
Michigan	12	14	Idaho	2	-
Minnesota	6	8	Montana	1	1
Mississippi	16	2	New Mexico	2	-
Missouri	14	16	Utah	-	2
Nebraska	2	8	Washington	1	1
Nevada	-	6	Wyoming	2	-
New Hampshire	8	-		424	384

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. John R. Lynch, having received a majority of the votes of this Convention, is declared elected as Temporary Chairman.

GEN. CLAYTON. I move to make the election of Mr. Lynch unanimous.

The motion was carried.

The CHAIRMAN. John R. Lynch is declared the Temporary Chairman of this Convention. The Chair will appoint as a committee to escort Mr. Lynch to the platform: Gen. Powell Clayton of Arkansas, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, and Mr. Taft of South Carolina. The gentlemen will please escort Mr. Lynch to the platform.

The committee met Mr. Lynch at his seat, and escorted him to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* I have the honor and the great pleasure to present to you, as Temporary Chairman of this Convention, the Hon. John R. Lynch, of Mississippi.

ADDRESS OF THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

Mr. LYNCH, on assuming the chair, addressed the Convention as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I feel that I ought not to say that I thank you for the distinguished honor which you have conferred upon me, for I do not. Nevertheless, from a standpoint that no patriot should fail to respond to his country's call, and that no loyal member of his party should fail to comply with the demands of his party, I yield with reluctance to your decision, and assume the duties of the position to which you have assigned me. Every member of this Convention who approached me upon this subject within the last few

hours, knows that this position was neither expected nor desired by me. If, therefore, there is any such thing as a man having honors thrust upon him, you have an exemplification of it in this instance.

I wish to say, gentlemen, that I came to this Convention, not so much for the purpose of securing the defeat of any man, or the success of any man, as for the purpose of contributing to the extent of my vote and my influence to make Republican success in November next an assured fact. I hope and believe that the assembled wisdom of the Republican party of this Nation, through its chosen representatives in this hall, will so shape our policy, and will present such candidates before the American people, as will make that victory beyond a shadow of a doubt.

I wish to say, so far as the different candidates for the Presidential nomination are concerned, that I do not wish any gentleman to feel that my election by your votes is indicative of anything relative to the preference of one candidate over another. I am prepared, and I hope that every member of this Convention is prepared, to return to his home with an unmistakable determination to give the candidates of this Convention a loyal and hearty support, whoever they may be.

Gentlemen of the Convention, I am satisfied in my own mind that when we go before the people of this country our action will be ratified, because the great part of the American people will never consent for any political party to gain the ascendancy in this government, whose chief reliance for that support is a fraudulent ballot and violence at the polls. I am satisfied that the people of this country are too loyal ever to allow a man to be inaugurated President of the United States, whose title to the position may be brought forth in fraud, and whose garments may be saturated with the innocent blood of hundreds of his countrymen. I am satisfied that the American people will ratify our action, because they will never consent to a revenue system in this government, otherwise than that which will not only raise the necessary revenue for its support, but will also be sufficient to protect every American citizen in his occupation.

Gentlemen, not for myself, but in obedience to custom, I thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me.

FORMATION OF STANDING COMMITTEES.

Mr. WILLIAM J. SEWELL, of New Jersey. I move that the roll of the States be called, and the Chairmen of the different delegations respond with the members of the Committees on Credentials, Permanent Organization, Rules and Order of Business, and Platform and Resolutions. I move that resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey moves that the roll be called, and that the Chairman of each State delegation announce the names of the different persons to serve on the several committees.

Mr. LESLIE W. RUSSELL, of New York. I would suggest to the Chairman that before that motion be put, it is advisable to inquire of the National Committee whom they have recommended for Secretaries of this Convention. For the present there are none. We ought to have two. It should be the duty of the National Committee to recommend some person for that position.

The CHAIRMAN. Pending the motion of the gentleman from New Jersey—

REVISION OF APPORTIONMENT OF DELEGATES.

Mr. EDWARD L. PIERCE, of Massachusetts. I rise to move an amendment. The National Committee has considered at different times the subject of a revision of the apportionment of delegates to the National Convention, and it has by common report referred that subject to this Convention as the source of all Republican power. I therefore move to add to the committees, one of eight members, to be named the "Committee on Revision of the Apportionment of Delegates to Future National Conventions, and of Members of the National Committee." I move to add that to the list of committees as proposed by the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thinks that would not be in order pending this motion.

Mr. PIERCE. I move it as an amendment to the list of committees.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thinks it would be in order only after this motion is disposed of.

TEMPORARY SECRETARIES.

Mr. RUSSELL. I rise to a point of order. This Convention is not organized until we have two Secretaries.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is informed that the custom heretofore has been not to have any Secretaries until they are announced by the different delegations.

Mr. RUSSELL. I will call your attention to the proceedings of the last Convention. At the close of the speech of the presiding officer, he refers to the National Committee having presented the names of two persons for Temporary Secretaries of the Convention. Mr. Chairman, I move that Mr. Titus Sheard of New York, and Mr. Joseph W. Lee of Pennsylvania, be Secretaries, to act until the permanent organization is effected.

The motion was carried.

The motion of Mr. Sewell was then put and carried.

Mr. ROSWELL G. HERR, of Michigan. *Mr. Chairman:* I rise to a question of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

ADOPTION OF RULES.

Mr. HERR. I move that we adopt the rules of the last National Convention to guide us until the permanent organization is perfected.

The motion was carried.

FORMATION OF COMMITTEES RESUMED.

The CHAIRMAN. The Secretary thinks it would facilitate the business of the Convention if the roll of States be called for each State separately; if that be the sense of the Convention, it will be done in that manner.

Mr. SEWELL, of New Jersey. From my experience in these Conventions, I think it quicker and better to have them all given at once. I know that in

the last two or three Conventions the Chairmen would just hand in all the names.

The CHAIRMAN. All at once?

Mr. SEWELL. Yes; and it saves time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chairmen of the different delegations will give the names all at once. The Secretary will call the State of Alabama.

Mr. GEORGE TURNER, of Alabama. I would like to ask what is the order of the Convention?

The CHAIRMAN. The order of the Convention is, that persons selected to serve on the several committees be now announced, beginning with the Committee on Credentials. The Chair will suggest that three names be written out and sent up to the desk to be read.

Mr. GEORGE V. MASSEY, of Delaware. I would like to suggest that there may be some misunderstanding arising out of the suggestion. The precedent, sir, as I understand it, is that as each delegation is called, the Chairman heretofore has announced, from time to time, as the call was made, the name of the particular member who is designated to act upon each committee. And if a mistake be made, the delegation thus has its attention directed to it, and there is an opportunity then to correct it. I apprehend that there might be a possibility of difficulty arising out of misunderstanding by reason of the chirography of the Chairman; and, therefore, I think we should insist on following the precedent already established.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true. The Chair will adhere to it. The Chairmen of the different delegations will present all the names at the same time.

The Secretary then proceeded with the call; and the committees as reported are as follows:

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Alabama.....	Isaac Heyman	New Jersey.....	J. Frank Fort
Arkansas.....	Jacob Tricher	New York.....	Edward H. Hobbs
California.....	David McClure	North Carolina.....	J. E. O'Hara
Colorado.....	William A. Hamill	Ohio.....	Mark A. Hanna
Connecticut.....	Eugene S. Boss	Oregon.....	O. N. Denney
Delaware.....	William J. Stewart	Pennsylvania.....	B. F. Fisher
Florida.....	Dennis Eagan	Rhode Island.....	Gorham P. Pomroy
Georgia.....	John E. Bryant	South Carolina.....	E. F. Blodgett
Illinois.....	Burton C. Cook	Tennessee.....	A. M. Hughes, Jr
Indiana.....	Joshua H. Mellett	Texas.....	Alex. Burge
Iowa.....	N. M. Hubbard	Vermont.....	Henry Ballard
Kansas.....	James S. Merritt	Virginia.....	James D. Brady
Kentucky.....	John W. Lewis	West Virginia.....	D. B. Dovener
Louisiana.....	George Drury	Wisconsin.....	J. H. Mead
Maine.....	J. M. Haynes	Arizona.....	Clark Churchill
Maryland.....	John T. Ensor	Dakota.....	J. L. Jolly
Massachusetts.....	William W. Crapo	District of Columbia.....	Frank B. Conger
Michigan.....	Edward C. Nichols	Idaho.....	D. P. B. Pride
Minnesota.....	Robert B. Langdon	Montana.....	Lee Mantle
Mississippi.....	John A. Galbreath	New Mexico.....	W. H. H. Llewellyn
Missouri.....	Charles G. Burton	Utah.....	Joseph E. Galigher
Nebraska.....	William T. Scott	Washington.....	George D. Hill
Nevada.....	M. D. Foley	Wyoming.....	James France
New Hampshire.....	Joseph B. Clark		

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Alabama.....	George W. Braxdall	New Jersey.....	Watts Cook
Arkansas.....	George H. Thompson	New York.....	Henry G. Burleigh
California.....	Thomas R. Bard	North Carolina.....	W. W. Jenkins
Colorado.....		Ohio.....	Samuel Craighead
Connecticut.....	Samuel E. Merwin, Jr.	Oregon.....	John M. Swift
Delaware.....	George V. Massey	Pennsylvania.....	Wm. R. Leeds
Florida.....	H. W. Chandler	Rhode Island.....	John C. Burrington
Georgia.....	W. W. Brown	South Carolina.....	John M. Freeman
Illinois.....	R. A. Halbert	Tennessee.....	James H. Smith
Indiana.....	George B. Williams	Texas.....	H. C. Ferguson
Iowa.....	C. C. T. Mason	Vermont.....	Frederick Billings
Kansas.....	Joseph W. Ady	Virginia.....	A. Dodson
Kentucky.....	George M. Thomas	West Virginia.....	C. D. Thompson
Louisiana.....	Henry Denias	Wisconsin.....	F. C. Winkler
Maine.....	Amos E. Crockett	Arizona.....	A. H. Stebbins
Maryland.....	George L. Wellington	Dakota.....	N. E. Nelson
Massachusetts.....	Carroll Wright	District of Columbia.....	Perry H. Carson
Michigan.....	S. T. Read	Idaho.....	D. P. B. Pride
Minnesota.....	O. B. Gould	Montana.....	Lee Mantle
Mississippi.....	Thomas Richardson	New Mexico.....	Eugenie Romere
Missouri.....	Joseph B. Upton	Utah.....	Nathan Kimball
Nebraska.....	John H. McCall	Washington.....	George D. Hill
Nevada.....	C. C. Stevenson	Wyoming.....	John W. Meldrum
New Hampshire.....	George H. Stowell		

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Alabama.....	C. C. Sheats	New Jersey.....	Wm. Walter Phelps
Arkansas.....	Nason W. Benjamin	New York.....	William Doud
California.....	Horace Davis	North Carolina.....	Elihu A. White
Colorado.....	S. H. Elbert	Ohio.....	Hon. William McKinley, Jr.
Connecticut.....	John L. Houston	Oregon.....	W. J. McConnell
Delaware.....	Washington Hastings	Pennsylvania.....	W. H. Jessup
Florida.....	Jesse D. Cole	Rhode Island.....	William A. Steadman
Georgia.....	R. R. Wright	South Carolina.....	C. M. Wilder
Illinois.....	Clark E. Carr	Tennessee.....	S. W. Hawkins
Indiana.....	John H. Baker	Texas.....	A. J. Rosenthal
Iowa.....	H. S. Winslow	Vermont.....	Broughton D. Harris
Kansas.....	George R. Peck	Virginia.....	W. C. Elan
Kentucky.....	William C. Goodloe	West Virginia.....	M. C. C. Church
Louisiana.....	Louis J. Souer	Wisconsin.....	Calvin Spenseley
Maine.....	Andrew P. Wiswell	Arizona.....	A. H. Stebbins
Maryland.....	James Wallace	Dakota.....	J. L. Jolly
Massachusetts.....	Henry Cabot Lodge	District of Columbia.....	Perry H. Carson
Michigan.....	W. A. Underwood	Idaho.....	Watson N. Shilling
Minnesota.....	Liberty Hall	Montana.....	Wilbur F. Saunders
Mississippi.....	J. M. Bynum	New Mexico.....	Eugenie Romere
Missouri.....	R. D. Cramer	Utah.....	Nathan Kimball
Nebraska.....	Nathan S. Harwood	Washington.....	John L. Wilson
Nevada.....	J. H. Rand	Wyoming.....	John W. Meldrum
New Hampshire.....	Frank D. Currier		

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Alabama.....	H. A. Carson	New Jersey.....	John J. Gardiner
Arkansas.....	Lafayette Gregg	New York.....	George Chahoon
California.....	William H. Parks	North Carolina.....	John S. Leary
Colorado.....	Alex Gullitt	Ohio.....	Alphonso Hart
Connecticut.....	Ebenezer J. Hill	Oregon.....	John T. Apperson
Delaware.....	John H. Hoffecker	Pennsylvania.....	Thomas M. Bayne
Florida.....	W. J. Gillbot	Rhode Island.....	Thomas C. Peckham
Georgia.....	W. D. Moore	South Carolina.....	D. T. Corbin
Illinois.....	L. C. Collins, Jr.	Tennessee.....	J. C. Napier
Indiana.....	George G. Reiley	Texas.....	Richard Allen
Iowa.....	R. S. Benson	Vermont.....	Redfield Proctor
Kansas.....	C. C. Culp	Virginia.....	James A. Frazier
Kentucky.....	George Denny	West Virginia.....	Wm. M. O. Dawson
Louisiana.....	W. B. Merchant	Wisconsin.....	C. M. Butt
Maine.....	Josiah H. Drummond	Arizona.....	Clark Churchill
Maryland.....	Thomas S. Hodson	Dakota.....	Nelson E. Nelson
Massachusetts.....	Robert R. Bishop	District of Columbia.....	Frank B. Conger
Michigan.....	George W. Bell	Idaho.....	D. P. B. Pride
Minnesota.....	Thomas H. Armstrong	Montana.....	Wilbur F. Saunders
Mississippi.....	W. H. Allen	New Mexico.....	W. H. H. Llewellyn
Missouri.....	Ira B. Hyde	Utah.....	Joseph E. Galigher
Nebraska.....	Charles P. Mathewson	Washington.....	John L. Wilson
Nevada.....	J. A. Palmer	Wyoming.....	James France
New Hampshire.....	Henry B. Atherton		

When the State of Virginia was called,

Mr. B. F. FISHER, of Pennsylvania, said: I rise to state that there is a contest in relation to the delegation from the State of Virginia, the papers in which contest are now before the Committee on Credentials, or Contested Seats; and I move that we postpone the receiving of names of Committeemen from that State until action by the Committee on Credentials as to the standing of that delegation.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair can not do otherwise than recognize the list of delegates participating in the organization of the Convention until the Convention itself shall have decided otherwise.

After the call of States had been completed,

Mr. P. H. CARSON, of the District of Columbia, said: *Mr. Chairman*: There is a mistake in regard to the District of Columbia.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from the District of Columbia desires to make a correction.

Mr. P. H. CARSON. The name of Mr. Conger is placed on there as a member of the Committee on Credentials; and I object to it.

The CHAIRMAN. That will have to be decided between Mr. Conger and you. The Secretary says that the names of both delegates are signed to the report. That will have to be decided between you.

Mr. P. H. CARSON. How does the Secretary know?

The CHAIRMAN. The report is signed by both delegates. If there is any misunderstanding you must settle it between the two delegates.

Mr. P. H. CARSON. There is a misunderstanding. And I don't like to see it.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not for the Convention.

Mr. GEO. WM. CURTIS, of New York. I move that the Convention do now adjourn until to-morrow morning.

Mr. PIERCE, of Massachusetts. Will the gentleman withdraw his motion for a moment? I wish to offer a resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts has the floor.

Mr. CURTIS. I withdraw the motion.

REVISION OF APPORTIONMENT OF DELEGATES.

Mr. PIERCE. The Chair ruled that the motion for the appointment of the committees was not amendable. Perhaps it is too late now, and perhaps it is unnecessary to have any additional committee on the subject of a new apportionment, and I make the following motion: That the subject of a revised apportionment of delegates to future National Conventions and a revised apportionment of members of the National Committee be referred to the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, with leave to report at any time before the ballot for President; and I send that motion to the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The Convention will be in order and hear this resolution. It is one of considerable importance.

The Secretary read the resolution as follows:

Resolved, That the subject of a revised apportionment of delegates to future National Conventions, and of a revised apportionment of members of the National Committee, be referred to the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, with leave to report at any time before the ballot for President.

Mr. CURTIS, of New York. I second that resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is upon the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. L. C. HOUCK, of Tennessee. It is a very important matter, and I would like to hear the resolution read again.

The Secretary again read the resolution.

Mr. FRANK B. CONGER, of the District of Columbia. I move to strike out the words "at any time" so that it will read, "with leave to report before the nomination is made."

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair hears no second to the motion.

Mr. HOUCK. I move to lay the whole subject on the table.

Mr. THOMAS M. BAYNE, of Pennsylvania. *Mr. Chairman*—

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from Pennsylvania rise?

Mr. BAYNE. I want to appeal to my friend from Tennessee [Mr. Houck] to withdraw that motion. It is simply to refer a resolution to a committee. No action will be taken until the committee shall report. And then, if the report of the committee shall be adverse to the view which the gentleman takes on the question, he can make any objection he may desire to make. There are many

here who would like to have that matter considered; and the resolution ought to go to that committee.

Mr. HOUCK. I don't want to take any advantage of the gentleman, but I want to make just one remark——

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that if the gentleman wants to make a remark, he must withdraw his motion to lay upon the table.

Mr. HOUCK. I can not see any good I can do by making a remark, and therefore I ask for a vote on the question.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee moves to lay the resolution of the gentleman from Massachusetts upon the table.

Mr. HOUCK. On reflection I withdraw my motion to lay on the table, and let it go.

The CHAIRMAN. The motion to lay upon the table is withdrawn.

Mr. PIERCE. I rise to accept the amendment to leave out the words "at any time."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts modifies his resolution.

Mr. CONGER. He accepts my amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the same thing. The resolution is modified as suggested by the gentleman from the District of Columbia [Mr. Conger].

Mr. WILLIAM JOHNSON, of California. I move that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Resolutions instead of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California moves that the resolution, or the subject, be referred to the Committee on Resolutions instead of to the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. The question is upon that motion.

Mr. TURNER, of Alabama. I will renew the motion to lay the whole subject on the table.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama renews the motion to lay the resolution and the amendment upon the table. The question is now upon the motion to lay upon the table. The question is not debatable.

Mr. TURNER. I ask that the roll of States be now called on that question. I desire to have a call of the roll.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is not now up. The vote must first be taken *viva voce*; and then the gentleman can call for the roll call afterward.

Mr. TURNER. All right.

The motion to lay upon the table was lost.

Mr. E. W. KEYES, of Wisconsin. I move that the whole subject be postponed until after the permanent organization of this Convention.

The CHAIRMAN. The motion now is that this resolution be postponed until after the permanent organization of the Convention.

Mr. PIERCE. I trust the Convention will not postpone until the permanent organization. If this subject is to be considered at all, it should be done at once, and not left to a subsequent time.

Mr. HOUCK. I rise to a question of order.

The CHAIRMAN. State your point of order.

Mr. HOUCK. I make the point of order that no such committee as a Committee on Rules exists; and it is entirely out of order to refer it to any committee until there is a committee to refer it to.

The CHAIRMAN. That question is not now up. The question now is to postpone.

Mr. HOUCK. The same point of order is applicable. It can lie upon the table under the rules.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now pending is to postpone the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. PIERCE. I have one word to say in relation to the amendment to substitute the Committee on Resolutions. That committee is an overworked committee. The Committee on Rules has little more to do than to adopt the rules and orders of the last Convention and submit them to us, and have them amended; whereas, the Committee on Resolutions will probably have to sit for one or two days perhaps, to do the work it now has before it. And I therefore object to the substitution of the Committee on Resolutions for the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Mr. KEYES. What is the question before the Convention?

The CHAIRMAN. The question before the Convention is, that the further consideration of this resolution be postponed until after the permanent organization of the Convention.

Mr. KEYES. That is what I thought.

The motion to postpone was lost.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is upon the amendment proposed by the gentleman from California, to refer this subject to the Committee on Resolutions instead of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

A DELEGATE. I trust that that motion will not prevail.

The CHAIRMAN. The question will first be taken upon the amendment.

Mr. BAYNE, of Pennsylvania. It is not proper to refer it to the Committee on Resolutions. It is not properly within the jurisdiction of that committee. The Committee on Resolutions is selected for the purpose of setting forth a platform of principles, on which the party is to go into the campaign. It is properly referable to the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, and I trust it will go there, and that this matter will receive the candid and honest consideration of this Convention. It is a subject that was before the last National Committee, and the last National Committee saw the importance of it, and was desirous of disposing of it, but found that it had no authority; and it postponed the consideration of the matter that it might be referred to the next National Convention, meaning thereby this Convention. And it supposed and it hoped that this Convention would act upon the question. Now, let it go, therefore, to the appropriate committee, and let that committee report according to the tenor of the proposition as it was originally offered.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is upon the amendment of the gentleman from California.

Mr. JOHNSTON. With the consent of my second I will withdraw the motion to refer it to the Committee on Resolutions.

The resolution was then adopted.

Mr. CURTIS, of New York. I would inquire, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of several of the committees, if the places of meeting of the committees have been announced from the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is informed that the arrangement is that these different committees remain in the building after the recess is taken, and then agree among themselves when and where they will meet.

Mr. CURTIS. *Mr. Chairman* : If that is the understanding, I will renew my motion for an adjournment until to-morrow morning.

Mr. RUSSELL, of New York. Will the gentleman withdraw his motion for a moment?

Mr. CURTIS. I withdraw it if the gentleman wishes me to.

OWNERSHIP OF REALTY BY FOREIGNERS.

Mr. RUSSELL. I am requested on behalf of the Irish National League to ask of this Convention that the Committee on Resolutions be directed to accord them a hearing upon the subject of placing a resolution in the platform upon the subject of foreigners owning real estate, and not simply a reference to the Committee on Resolutions. I therefore ask that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you introduce a resolution for reference?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that all resolutions go to the committee. If the gentleman has a resolution to introduce, it will be referred.

Mr. RUSSELL. I wish to offer such a resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have to prepare it.

Mr. RUSSELL. Shall I send it up in writing?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

MEMORIAL ON PROHIBITION.

Mr. W. G. DONNAN, of Iowa. I hold in my hand a memorial of the women of the United States, the Women's Christian Temperance Union; a memorial representing twenty-eight States and Territories, asking for a prohibitory amendment to the National Constitution. The memorial is brief, and I ask that it be read at the Secretaries' desk—it will not occupy to exceed three minutes—and have it then referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa asks that the memorial presented by him, which he says is brief, be read from the Clerk's desk and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. DAVID MCCLURE, of California. I move that the memorial be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without being read.

Mr. DONNAN. It is a very small courtesy, which it seems to me is due to the noble women of America who are engaged in this cause. I ask this Convention to delay three minutes to hear that memorial read.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is upon the motion of the gentleman from California.

Mr. HERR, of Michigan. *Mr. Chairman:* If we commence reading resolutions—

Mr. McCLEURE. I withdraw my motion. We have no time to debate such matters.

Mr. HERR [continuing]. I am going to make a motion that all resolutions be referred, without reading, to the committee. And I would further suggest to the Chair that the rules which we adopted at my instance—we adopted the rules of the last Convention; and under those rules all resolutions must be referred, without reading and without debate, to the Committee on Resolutions; and until you change that order or that ruling, no other order is in order. [Cries of “Read the memorial.”]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that he is of the opinion that the point made by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Herr] is well taken. The Chair thinks that is embraced in the rule, and therefore it would require a suspension of the rules or unanimous consent to have any resolution or memorial read. The gentleman from Iowa, the Chair understands, asks that this memorial be read.

Mr. DONNAN. I ask that it be read. I ask for no debate. This is a memorial, not a resolution. There is nothing in conflict with the order of this Convention, or its rules of proceeding, in having it read.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that this memorial, which he says is very brief, be read for the information of the Convention.

A VOICE. I object.

The CHAIRMAN. Objection is made.

Mr. E. L. LAMPSON, of Ohio. I move that the rules be suspended and the memorial read.

Mr. JOHN I. GILBERT, of New York. I rise to a point of order. I understand that the rule under which the ruling of the Chair was made reads as follows: “All resolutions relating to the platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.” It does not touch the point of reading; the rule does not exclude the reading; and I certainly hope that three minutes will be accorded to the reading of this resolution or memorial.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman read from the rules of the Convention?

Mr. GILBERT. I read from the printed copy of 1880.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the page of it?

Mr. GILBERT. On page 152; the last rule.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is of the opinion that under the language of the rule the reading is not excluded. The Secretary will read.

The Secretary read the memorial as follows :

“TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY: We, members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the United States, herein represented by the signatures of our officers, believing that while the poison habits of the Nation can be largely restrained by an appeal to the intellect through argument, to the heart through sympathy, to the conscience

through the motives of religion, the traffic in those poisons will be best controlled by prohibitory laws. We believe the teachings of science, experience and the Golden Rule, combine to testify against the traffic in alcoholic liquors as a drink, and that the homes of America, which are the citadels of patriotism, purity and happiness, have no enemy so relentless as the American saloon.

"Therefore, as citizens of the United States, irrespective of sect, or religion, or section, but having deeply at heart the protection of our homes, we do hereby respectfully and earnestly petition you to advocate and to adopt such measures as are requisite to the end that prohibition of the importation and exportation, manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, may become an integral part of the National Constitution, and that our party candidate shall be by character and public pledge committed to a National prohibitory constitutional amendment."

The CHAIRMAN. It will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. BAYNE, of Pennsylvania. I move the Convention do now adjourn until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock. At the suggestion of several gentlemen I move that we take a recess until to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock.

OWNERSHIP OF REALTY BY FOREIGNERS.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman in front of the Chair [Mr. Russell, of New York] was recognized a few minutes ago to introduce a resolution which he had not then reduced to writing. He has now written it out, and it is ready for the Secretary.

The resolution was as follows :

Resolved, That the Committee on Resolutions be, and they are hereby directed, to give a hearing to a committee appointed by the Irish National League of America to present a memorial to the Convention on the subject of the ownership of realty in the United States by foreigners.

The CHAIRMAN. The resolution will be referred to the committee.

Mr. BAYNE. Now I renew my motion to take a recess.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves that the Convention do now take a recess.

Mr. SHELBY M. CULLOM, of Illinois. I desire, before the motion to adjourn is put, to make a statement to the Convention, if the gentleman from Pennsylvania will yield.

Mr. BAYNE. I yield.

Mr. CULLOM. In the call of the States for the votes of the different delegates on the question of the election of Temporary Chairman, Mr. Cook, one of my colleagues, was called, and the alternate voted in his name without his own name being called. Mr. Cook is now present, and if he had been in his place when the roll was called, would have voted for the gentleman from Arkansas, instead of the present Temporary Chairman of the Convention.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection the correction will be made.

Mr. BAYNE. I now renew my motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves that the Convention take a recess until to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock. The question is upon that motion.

The question was put and carried, and the Convention took a recess until 11 o'clock A. M., June 4, 1884.

SECOND DAY.

WEDNESDAY, June 4, 1884.

The Temporary Chairman called the Convention to order at eighteen minutes past eleven o'clock, and said :

"The Convention will now be opened with prayer by the Rev. John H. Barrows, of this city."

PRAYER BY REV. JOHN H. BARROWS.

Let us unite in prayer. Lord, Thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations. We bless Thee, God of our fathers, that Thou hast dealt so graciously with this American people; that a Nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the sublime truth that all men are created equal, has endured to this hour. We praise Thee that Thou hast delivered us from dismemberment and shameful overthrow. We magnify Thy name, O King of kings and Ruler of mankind, that institutions founded upon the precepts of the New Testament, and in which there is so much of the life-blood of Jesus Christ, have survived the shocks of war and the wastings of time and corruption.

And we thank Thee for the vast moral and political changes indicated by the presence here of him who now so worthily presides over this Convention. We thank Thee, O God, for every service to the cause of human rights, of good government and of popular education, rendered by the political organization whose representatives are assembled here at this time. We thank Thee for the names of Lincoln and Lovejoy, of Sumner and Garfield—names which have been given to the imperishable galaxy of history; names associated forever with triumphs of humanity. And we pray Thee, O God, that the men of to-day may be equally faithful to duty; that they may be equally loyal to the new duties which new occasions ever teach. May the leaven of unrighteousness, wherever it lurks, be cast out utterly.

God grant that among the people North and South, and East and West, there may not only be a deepening sentiment of Nationality, but also a growing enlightenment, a more vigorous conscience, and a strengthened purpose that iniquity and folly shall not be enacted into law.

God bless and perpetuate the Union of these American States, to which Thou hast given at last the impregnable defense of freedom and of justice.

And we pray Thee, O Lord, that the spirit of wisdom and of fraternity may prevail in all the deliberations of this great Convention, overruling differences and divisions, for our National welfare. And may Thy favor which is life, and Thy loving kindness which is better than life, abide with him who now presides over this body; and wilt Thou bless the race and the commonwealth and the cause which he represents.

And we pray Thee, O God, that when this Convention is dissolved, it may have presented to the suffrages of the Nation, for the highest office in the people's gift, a candidate who in personal character, in devotion to duty, in loyalty to American institutions, in courage, experience and wisdom, shall worthily succeed to the chair of Washington, and thus help the Nation to become, not only more prosperous and just and peaceful, but also to be an inspiration and a blessing to the struggling peoples of mankind. And to Thy name shall be all praise. Amen.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the pleasure of the Convention?

TEMPERANCE MEMORIAL.

Mr. JAMES A. GARY, of Maryland. I desire to present to this Convention a memorial from the Maryland State Temperance Alliance. And it is exceedingly brief—will not occupy more than a minute and a half—I ask consent that it may be read, and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The CHAIRMAN. The memorial will be read by the Secretary.

The Secretary read the memorial as follows :

"The undersigned, the President and Secretary of the Maryland State Temperance Alliance, as well as the Central Executive Committee thereof, do hereby certify that the following resolutions were passed by the Central Executive Committee of the Maryland State Temperance Alliance at a regular meeting held the 6th of May, 1884."

Mr. A. J. ROSENTHAL, of Texas. I move that the memorial be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The CHAIRMAN. The Secretary is not through reading it yet, and will proceed.

The Secretary proceeded :

"*Resolved*, By the Central Executive Committee of the Maryland State Temperance Alliance, acting under the advice and by the authority of the Maryland State Temperance Alliance, and which latter being the representative of the temperance organizations, churches, schools and all moral and reform associations of the State, that we do hereby earnestly appeal to the Republican and Democratic Conventions that will nominate candidates for President of the United States in the present year of 1884, to adopt an article in their platform of principles distinctly recognizing the right and policy of the people to suppress or prohibit by law the liquor traffic, and to nominate candidates in accord with this declaration.

"*Resolved*, That the President and Secretary of this Executive Committee be directed to certify and forward the above resolution, together with a copy of the resolution recently adopted by the late convention of the Maryland State Temperance Alliance in relation to the same subject matter, to each of these nominating conventions or to the presiding officers thereof.

"And we do hereby further certify that the following resolution was passed by the late annual meeting of the Maryland State Temperance Alliance in convention assembled on the 17th day of April, 1884, every county of this State being duly represented, excepting one, therein.

"*Resolved*, That the question of the suppression of the liquor traffic has become one of such vital political importance to the Nation as to justify the prohibitionists of both the Democratic and Republican parties in requiring of them, at their next nominating Conventions for President and Vice-President of

the United States, to distinctly and positively recognize this question in their respective platforms, and to nominate candidates who are in accord therewith; and if both parties shall do so we will not make the question a political one in this Presidential campaign; and if either party shall distinctly do so, and the other refuse or decline, we will cast our suffrages for the party thus favoring this question in preference to the one refusing, regardless of our political affiliations."

The CHAIRMAN. It will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

PRESIDENTIAL TERM OF OFFICE.

Mr. GEO. V. MASSEY, of Delaware. I hold in my hand, sir, a resolution, which on behalf and by direction of the unanimous sentiment of my delegation, I am instructed to present to this Convention. I ask permission to send it to the Secretary's table to be read, and then desire to submit a motion for its adoption.

The CHAIRMAN. The resolution will be read by the Secretary. The Secretary will read.

The resolution was read by the Secretary as follows :

WHEREAS, The propriety of the adoption of such an amendment to the Federal Constitution as will enlarge the term of office of the President of the United States to six years, and render the incumbent of that office ineligible to re-election, is a subject well worthy of the consideration of this Convention, in order that the possibilities of an abuse or misuse of the public patronage may be avoided; therefore,

Resolved, That the subject be referred to the Committee on Resolutions to the end that it may be duly considered and a suitable deliverance made on that behalf.

Mr. MASSEY. I now move its adoption, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The motion is not in order. The resolution will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

LAND OWNERSHIP.

Mr. PRESTON B. PLUMB, of Kansas. I offer the following resolution:

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator will send up his resolution. The resolution will be read as offered by the gentleman from Kansas.

The Secretary read the resolution as follows:

Resolved, That American land should belong alone to those willing to assume the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship. The best interests of the Republic are with those who are bound to it by the ties of ownership and possession of the soil. The system of tenant-farming and absent landlordism, which has disturbed Ireland and destroyed the peace of Europe, is opposed to the doctrines of the fathers, and has no place in the policy of a Republic.

Mr. PLUMB. I move it to be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. S. W. HAWKINS, of Tennessee. I send a resolution to the Secretary's desk which I ask to be read; and I move that the rules be suspended and the

resolution passed, because it is a resolution pledging the support of this Convention to its nominee, whoever he may be.

PLEDGING MEMBERS TO SUPPORT THE NOMINEE.

The CHAIRMAN. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The Secretary read the resolution, which was as follows :

Resolved, As the sense of this Convention, that every member of it is bound in honor to support its nominee, whoever that nominee may be; and that no man should hold a seat here who is not ready to so agree.

Mr. HAWKINS. I move that the rules be suspended, and that this resolution be passed. I ask for a vote by States upon that.

Mr. PIERCE, of Massachusetts. I trust that that resolution will not pass. I have come to this Convention, as I believe every member has come, expecting in good faith to support its nominee, and believing that this Convention will nominate no man who will not command the universal support of the members of this Convention, and of the Republican party of the United States. That resolution has had in the past a bad paternity—brought here never when Lincoln was nominated; brought here only by a delegate from New York—Mr. Conkling, the late Mr. Conkling. I trust this Convention will not bind its conscience by a mere perfunctory pledge like that.

Mr. F. C. WINKLER, of Wisconsin. I take it that our presence here is an assertion in itself on the part of every one of us that we propose to support the nominee of the Convention; and that it needs no resolution in order to enforce that assertion; and it is for that reason that I am opposed to adopting any resolution upon that subject.

Mr. HAWKINS. In offering that resolution, I do it in good faith, and I trust that there is no delegate here that is not willing and ready to subscribe to that resolution; and if there be here a delegate who is not willing and ready to subscribe to that resolution; if there be here a delegate who is not willing to support the nominee of this Convention, he surely ought not to participate in the deliberations of this Convention, I don't care where he comes from. I know of no harm that can come to a man who is here for the purpose of participating in making this nomination—I know of no harm that can come to him for endorsing that resolution and being willing to stand by the nominee of this Convention. I have heard whispers in the air as to the course of some gentlemen. I don't believe that they are true; but for the purpose of showing to the world that the Republican party stands here to-day, united and determined to support the nominee of this Convention, I introduced that resolution and moved its adoption.

Mr. GEORGE A. KNIGHT, of California. I hope that that resolution will pass. No honest Republican, no man having the good of the great Republican party at heart, should dare to stand on the floor of this Convention and vote down that resolution. There are already whisperings in the air, of men high in the Republican party, or that once stood high in the Republican party, openly and avowedly declaring that they will not support one man if he be nominated by this Convention—a Convention of the most intelligent men of this Nation.

That kind of men we want to know, and the sooner they are out of the Republican party the better for the party.

Gentlemen of the Convention, no more enthusiastic people are under the shadow of the American flag than those of the section that I come from. No more enthusiastic people for their candidate can be found in this Convention; but if he should not be the choice, I believe we would be false to every principle of the Republican party, we would be false to the constituency which we represent, we would be false to ourselves, if we did not abide by the nominee of this party of intelligence. Tell me one reason that can be urged why the members of this Convention, selected alone for their intelligence, their patriotism and their zeal in behalf of the Republican party, should not support the nominee of this Convention. None can be given.

Therefore, gentlemen of the Convention, I hope, and I insist for the section of the country that we come from, that this resolution will be adopted; and that the nominee of this Convention, whoever he may be, will have the hearty support and the votes of the Convention; and let all those, be they editors of newspapers or conducting great periodical journals, who refuse to support the nominee, let them be branded, that they not only come here and violate the implied faith that was put in them, but the direct and honest convictions of this Convention, expressed by a direct vote upon the subject.

MR. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, of New York. A Republican and a free man I came into this Convention. By the grace of God, a Republican and a free man will I go out of this Convention. Twenty-four years ago I was here in Chicago. Twenty-four years ago I took part with the men of this country who nominated the man who bears the most illustrious name in the Republican party; and the brightest ray in whose halo of glory and immortality is that he was the great emancipator. In that Convention, sir, a resolution was offered in amendment of the platform. It introduced into that platform certain words from the Declaration of Independence. That amendment was voted down in that Convention, and Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, rose from his seat and was passing out of the Convention. As he went he passed by my chair, and I reached out my hand—I was well nigh a boy, and unknown to him. I said, "Sir, where are you going?" He said to me, "Young man, I am going out of this Convention, for I find there is no place in a Republican Convention for an original anti-slavery man like me."

Well, gentlemen, he yielded to persuasion and took his seat; and before that Convention proceeded to its nomination, by a universal roar of assent, the Republican party there assembled declared, without one word of doubt or dissent, that no sound should ever be heard in a Republican Convention that in the slightest degree reflected upon the honor or upon the loyalty of the men who took part in that Convention.

The gentleman last upon the floor says that he dares any man upon this floor to vote against that resolution. I say to him, in reply, that the presentation of such a resolution in such a Convention as this is a stigma, is an insult, to every honorable member who sits here.

Ah, Mr. Chairman, this question is not a new question. In precisely, if I do not mistake, the same terms in which this is couched, it was brought into

the last Republican Convention. And a man from West Virginia—I honor his name—that man said in the face of the roar of the gallery; in the face of all dissent—Mr. Campbell, of West Virginia—said: “Hold! I am a Republican who carries his sovereignty under his own hat.”

Now, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Campbell’s position in that Convention, the wise reflection and the afterthought of the Republican Convention of 1880, under the lead of that great and immortal leader, whose face confronts us there—James A. Garfield, of Ohio—under the lead of Garfield, I remind my friend from California, the Convention in taking its action, induced the gentleman who presented the resolution to withdraw the resolution from the consideration of the Convention.

Now, sir, in the light of the character of the Republican party, in the light of the action of the last Republican Convention, the first Convention which I have known in which such a pledge was required of candidates or the members, I ask this Convention—mindful of all that hangs upon the wisdom, the moderation, the tolerance, the patriotism of our action—I beg this Convention to remember Lincoln, to remember Garfield, to remember the very vital principles of the Republican party, and assume that every man here is an honest and an honorable man; and vote down this resolution, which should never have appeared in a Republican Convention, as unworthy to be ratified by this concourse of free men that I see before me.

MR. FRANCIS B. POSEY, of Indiana. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. For or against the resolution? The Chair will state that under the rules of the Convention—

MR. POSEY. Against the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. The rules of the House of Representatives have been adopted for the government, as far as applicable, of this Convention. Under the rules of the House, or, at any rate, under its usage and custom, speeches are allowed to be made alternately for and against a proposition. That is why the Chair asked which side the gentleman was upon.

MR. POSEY. I desire to say a few words against the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the Chair would be obliged to recognize somebody who would like to speak on the other side, if any gentleman desires.

MR. HAWKINS. Please have the resolution read again.

The CHAIRMAN. The Secretary will again read the resolution.

The Secretary read as follows :

Resolved, As the sense of this Convention, that every member of it is bound in honor to support its nominee, whoever that nominee may be; and that no man should hold a seat here who is not willing to so agree.

MR. JOSEPH N. DOLPH, of Oregon. I move to lay the resolution on the table. I think it is ill-timed and injudicious.

The motion was seconded from several parts of the house.

MR. HAWKINS, of Tennessee. Before the vote on that resolution shall be taken I wish to withdraw it; it was voted for in the last Convention by Chester

A. Arthur and James A. Garfield. If this Convention does not want to be pledged to it, I withdraw it.

The CHAIRMAN. The resolution is withdrawn.

REPRESENTATION IN DISTRICT CONVENTION.

Mr. J. K. EWING, of Pennsylvania. I desire to offer a resolution; and I wish first to explain it.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will send up his resolution.

Mr. McCURE, of California. I desire to make a partial report from the Committee on Credentials, so that we may go back to our work.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will recognize the gentleman for that purpose, as soon as the resolution is read.

Mr. KEYES, of Wisconsin. I call for the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

The CHAIRMAN. As soon as this is disposed of. The Secretary will read the resolution of the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The Secretary then read the following :

Resolved, That hereafter in the selection by District Conventions of delegates to Republican National Conventions, the basis of representation of the several counties, parts of counties, or wards, comprising the Congressional district, shall be the same as that which at that time prevails in each district respectively for the nomination of Republican candidates for members of Congress; and wherever a majority of the counties or subdivisions containing not less than one-half of the population of the district shall regularly unite in the call and conduct of the Convention, the action thereof shall be valid.

Mr. EWING. I move that the rules be suspended and that resolution adopted. The resolution provides an amendment to the present rule. The rule heretofore prevailing is somewhat vague and indefinite. I therefore move that the rules be suspended and that the resolution be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sees that this subject has already been referred to a committee; and the Chair thinks that this is proper to be referred in connection with the same matter.

Mr. ALPHONSO HART, of Ohio. I move that it be referred to the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be so referred.

Mr. McCURE, of California. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman rise to make a report from a committee?

Mr. McCURE. I am instructed by the Committee on Credentials to report progress; and to say that we hope to be able to make a complete report early this afternoon or early in the evening.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION AMENDMENT.

Mr. EDWARD H. ROLLINS, of New Hampshire. I am directed to present this preamble and resolution, and I would like to have them read.

The CHAIRMAN. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The Secretary read the following :

WHEREAS, The evils of the traffic in alcoholic beverages are great and general; and, in the belief of many of the people, are such as to require a change in the Constitution of the United States in order that by the co-operation of State and National legislation, there may be a more efficient exercise of the right of society to control that traffic and to remove the evils thereof; and

WHEREAS, It is essential to the growth of Republican institutions, and the preservation of constitutional liberty, that the right of the people to amend the fundamental law should be fully exercised; therefore,

Resolved, That this Convention recommends the submission by Congress to the legislatures of the States of a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the prohibition of the traffic in alcoholic beverages, that the same may be adopted or rejected according to the will of the people.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. The Chair is informed that the Committee on Permanent Organization are ready to make their report. The report of the Committee on Permanent Organization will now be received.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. GEORGE B. WILLIAMS, of Indiana, the Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization. *Mr. Chairman*: I am directed by the Committee on Permanent Organization to report the name of Gen. John B. Henderson, of Missouri, for Permanent President. I will place the list of Vice Presidents and Assistant Secretaries in the hands of the Reading Clerks for the purpose of being read.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee reports the name of Gen. John B. Henderson, of Missouri, as Permanent President of the Convention, and the other officers as agreed upon by the State delegations. The Chair thinks it is not necessary to read them.

The remainder of the report, including the names of the Vice-Presidents and Secretaries, was as follows :

Secretary—Hon. Charles W. Clisbee, of Michigan.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Alabama.....	Paul Strobach	Maryland.....	J. McPherson Scott
Arkansas.....	Samuel H. Holland	Massachusetts.....	William W. Rice
California.....	William Johnston	Michigan.....	George W. Webber
Colorado.....	D. F. Crowell	Minnesota.....	Alphonso Barto
Connecticut.....	Frederick Miles	Mississippi.....	R. F. Beck
Delaware.....	John Pilling	Missouri.....	B. M. Prentiss
Florida.....	John G. Long	Nebraska.....	Eugene L. Reed
Georgia.....	W. A. Pledger	Nevada.....	S. L. Lee
Illinois.....	John I. Rinaker	New Hampshire.....	Charles H. Sawyer
Indiana.....	James C. Veatch	New Jersey.....	John I. Blair
Iowa.....	T. M. C. Logan	New York.....	Thomas Cornell
Kansas.....	John G. Woods	North Carolina.....	Thomas B. Keogh
Kentucky.....	W. L. Hazslip	Ohio.....	Edwin Cowles
Louisiana.....	R. F. Guichard	Oregon.....	Joseph N. Dolph
Maine.....	Joseph R. Bodwell	Pennsylvania.....	Hamilton Disston

VICE-PRESIDENTS -- continued.

Rhode Island.....	Daniel G. Littlefield	Dakota.....	J. L. Jolly
South Carolina.....	Samuel Lee	Idaho.....	W. N. Shilling
Tennessee.....	A. H. Pettibone	Montana.....	Lee Mantle
Texas.....	N. W. Cuney	New Mexico.....	Eugenie Romere
Vermont.....	Alonzo B. Valentine	Utah.....	Nathan Kimball
Virginia.....	L. S. Walker	Washington.....	John L. Wilson
West Virginia.....	E. L. Buttrick	Wyoming.....	James France
Wisconsin.....	E. B. Brodhead	Dist. of Columbia....	Perry H. Carson
Arizona.....	L. H. Goodrich		

ASSISTANT SECRETARIES.

Alabama.....	J. C. Duke	New Jersey.....	Thomas B. Harned
Arkansas.....	A. A. Tufts	New York.....	Titus Sheard
California.....	George W. Schell	North Carolina.....	Charles D. Upchurch
Colorado.....	A. L. Emigh	Ohio.....	Clarence Brown
Connecticut.....	Luzerne J. Munson	Oregon.....	A. G. Hovey
Delaware.....	Daniel J. Layton	Pennsylvania.....	H. H. Bingham
Florida.....	A. C. Lightborne	Rhode Island.....	Albert L. Chester
Georgia.....	W. T. B. Wilson	South Carolina.....	S. E. Smith
Illinois.....	Charles T. Stratton	Tennessee.....	H. F. Griscom
Indiana.....	Eugene G. Hay	Texas.....	R. J. Evans
Iowa.....	Calvin Manning	Vermont.....	Truman C. Fletcher
Kansas.....	J. S. McDowell	Virginia.....	R. L. Mitchell
Kentucky.....	R. A. Buckner, Jr.	West Virginia.....	T. B. Jacobs
Louisiana.....	Clifford Morgan	Wisconsin.....	George B. Shaw
Maine.....	Austin Harris	Arizona.....	A. H. Stebbins
Maryland.....	William Coath	Dakota.....	Nelson E. Nelson
Massachusetts.....	Edward H. Haskell	Idaho.....	D. P. B. Pride
Michigan.....	S. C. Moffatt	Montana.....	Wilbur F. Saunders
Minnesota.....	C. H. Graves	New Mexico.....	W. H. H. Llewellyn
Mississippi.....	W. H. Kennon	Utah.....	Joseph E. Galigher
Missouri.....	O. C. Hill	Washington.....	George D. Hill
Nebraska.....	George W. Burton	Wyoming.....	J. W. Meldrum
Nevada.....	C. S. Young	Dist. of Columbia....	Frank B. Conger
New Hampshire.....	Frank D. Currier		

All of which is respectfully submitted. **GEORGE B. WILLIAMS,**

Chairman.

Mr. JOHN D. LAWSON, of New York. Is it in order, before the settlement of the contested seats, to elect a permanent President?

The CHAIRMAN. That is a matter within the discretion of the Convention.

Mr. LAWSON. I raise that point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thinks that that is a matter within the discretion of the Convention. It seems that is what was done four years ago.

Mr. ROBERT SMALLS, of South Carolina. I would like to ask a question. Can we elect a President before the Committee on Credentials have reported and we know who are the members of this Convention?

The CHAIRMAN. That is for the Convention to decide. It is what was done four years ago.

Mr. GEORGE B. WILLIAMS, of Indiana. I move that we adopt the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.

The CHAIRMAN. It is moved that the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization be received and agreed to.

The motion was carried.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will appoint, as the committee to conduct the Permanent President of this Convention to the stand, the Hon. G. A. Grow of Pennsylvania, George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, and George B. Williams of Indiana.

The committee conducted the Permanent President to the platform, and the Temporary Chairman introduced him to the Convention in the following words :

"Gentlemen of the Convention : I take pleasure in introducing to you your Permanent President, the Hon. John B. Henderson."

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

Gentlemen of the Convention : We have assembled on this occasion to survey the past history of the party, to rejoice as we may because of the good it has done; to correct its errors, if errors there be; to discover, if possible the wants of the present, and with patriotic firmness provide for the future.

Gentlemen, our past history is the Union preserved, slavery abolished, and its former victims equally and honorably by our sides in this Convention; the public faith maintained; unbounded credit at home and abroad; a currency convertible into coin, and the pulses of industry throbbing with renewed health and vigor in every section of a prosperous and peaceful country. These are the fruits of triumphs over adverse policies, gained in the military and civil conflicts of the last twenty-four years. Out of these conflicts has come a race of heroes and statesmen challenging confidence and love at home and respect and admiration abroad.

And when we now come to select a standard-bearer for the approaching contest, our embarrassment is not in the want but in the multiplicity of Presidential material. New York has her true and tried statesman, upon whose administration the fierce and even unfriendly light of public scrutiny has been turned, and the universal verdict is: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant." Vermont has her great statesman, whose mind is as clear as the crystal springs of his native State, and whose virtue is as firm as its granite hills. Ohio can come with a name whose history is but the history of the Republican party. Illinois can come with a man who never failed in the discharge of public duty, whether in the council chamber or upon the field of battle. Maine has her favorite, whose splendid abilities and personal qualities have endeared him to the hearts of his friends, and the brilliancy of whose genius challenges the admiration of mankind. Connecticut and Indiana also come with names scarcely less illustrious than any of these.

And now, gentlemen, in conclusion, if because of personal disagreements amongst us, or the emergencies of the occasion, another name is sought, there yet remains that grand old hero of Kenesaw Mountain and Atlanta. When

patriotism calls, he can not, if he would, be silent; but grasping that banner, to him so dear, which he has already borne in triumph upon many a bloody field, he would march to a civic victory no less renowned than those of war.

Gentlemen, I thank you for this distinguished mark of your confidence, and will discharge the duties imposed at least with impartiality.

PRESENTATION OF A GAVEL.

The SECRETARY. I am requested to read the following:

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION—*Dear Sir*: We have the pleasure no less than the honor of presenting to you a gavel which is made of wood from every State and Territory in the Union, including Alaska, and the handle of it is from the old Charter Oak tree of Hartford, Conn. The gavel is a solid unit, and through it the States speak with one voice. If the delegates from all the States and Territories from which this gavel comes, will act in a manner equally united, the best interests of the country will be subserved. Respectfully,
A. H. ANDREWS & CO.

The PRESIDENT. An omen, no doubt, gentlemen, of our success in November next, a Union of the States once more. What is now the pleasure of the Convention?

Mr. A. H. STEBBINS, of Arizona. I have a resolution which I wish to have read and referred.

Mr. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio. I move that the present of that gavel be accepted, and that the thanks of this Convention be tendered to those presenting it.

The motion was carried.

APPOINTMENTS TO OFFICES IN TERRITORIES.

The Secretary then read the following resolution, offered by Mr. Stebbins, of Arizona:

Resolved, That appointments to office in the Territories by the President ought to be made from the bona-fide residents of the Territories, and in accord-ance with the wishes of the people thereof.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution of the gentleman from Arizona will go to the Committee on Resolutions, as a matter of course.

A DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

Mr. WM. JOHNSTON, of California. I have a resolution which I will read and ask to have it referred.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will send it up to the Clerk.

The SECRETARY. Mr. Johnston, of California, offers the following resolution:

In behalf of those who represent the great and fundamental industry of our country we demand that agriculture shall have a special representative in the President's Cabinet, therefore be it

Resolved, That the Commissioner of Agriculture be made a Cabinet officer.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution will go to the Committee on Resolutions, as a matter of course.

Mr. SEWELL, of New Jersey. I would ask for information, if the Committee on Rules are ready to report.

The SECRETARY. We have an announcement here to read, that the Committee on Rules and Order of Business are requested to meet in ante-room No. 1, immediately after the adjournment of this session.

Mr. SEWELL. Then I move that this Convention take a recess until 7 o'clock this evening.

The PRESIDENT. Is that motion seconded?

A DELEGATE. I second it.

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved and seconded that this Convention now take a recess until 7 o'clock this evening.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

Mr. GEO. F. HOAR, of Massachusetts. Will the gentleman withdraw that motion while I send up a resolution to be referred?

Mr. SEWELL. Yes.

The PRESIDENT. It will be sent to the desk.

The Secretary read the resolution as follows:

WHEREAS, The women of this country are citizens, producers and taxpayers, and are amenable to all the laws of the land, civil and criminal, which they thus far have had no part in making; therefore

Resolved, That we favor the right of the women of the country to vote.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution will go to the Committee on Resolutions as a matter of course.

The motion of Mr. Sewell was then agreed to, and the Convention took a recess till 7 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention was called to order by the President at 7:35 P. M.

The PRESIDENT. There is a communication in the hands of the Secretary from the Committee on Credentials, which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION—*Sir*: The Committee on Credentials have the honor to notify the Convention that, as important business is occupying the time of the committee, the committee will not be able to report to the Convention this evening. (Signed by the Chairman.)

Mr. CURTIS, of New York. I hold in my hand a resolution of the American Peace Union which I ask to have referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution will be so referred.

TICKETS OF ADMISSION TO VETERANS.

Mr. A. C. MATTHEWS, of Illinois. I desire to introduce and put upon its

passage a resolution which I will forward to the Secretary to be read to the Convention.

The Secretary read as follows :

Resolved, That the Committee on Distribution of Tickets be hereby instructed to furnish five hundred tickets of admission to this hall during the sessions of this Convention to the veteran soldiers who desire to witness the proceedings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask the unanimous consent of this Convention to place upon its passage that resolution.

The PRESIDENT. Is the motion seconded?

Several DELEGATES. Second it; second it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It will be observed, sir, that there are vacant seats here. I wish to say to the Convention that there are veteran soldiers here who have come hundreds of miles to witness the proceedings of this Convention. And to that end this resolution is introduced, and I hope the Convention will adopt it unanimously.

Mr. JOHN M. THURSTON, of Nebraska. I rise to ask a question. I wish to ask in what manner and to what persons for distribution these tickets will be issued?

Mr. W. H. JESSUP, of Pennsylvania. I would move to amend by adding, "that they be distributed according to the representation upon the floor of this Convention to the Chairmen of the various delegations."

Mr. TAFT, of North Carolina. I second the amendment. That is right.

Mr. POWELL CLAYTON, of Arkansas. Having been one of the members of the sub-committee who had charge of the apportionment of seats in this Convention; and, having some knowledge of the seating capacity of the hall, I desire to say that, in the apportionment of these seats, every seat was provided for by tickets; that tickets were provided sufficient to fill every seat in this hall. Now, if these additional tickets are to be issued, I would like to know where the gentlemen are to be seated. Otherwise I would be very glad to see them here. But, unless you have seats for these gentlemen, if they come, they will stand in the aisles, and it will cause interminable confusion. If you can devise some plan by which they can be seated, I would be exceedingly gratified to vote for the resolution.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In reply to the remarks of the gentleman from Arkansas, I have to say that, while it may be true that tickets are issued for every seat in this hall, it is equally true that these seats are not occupied half of the time. If one of these veterans should happen to occupy a seat, and the holder of the ticket therefor should come along and demand it, I will say to this Convention, he will yield to the authority of that ticket. I want to say further that, while these seats are occupied, these men will be glad to lay around the hall and passages, to the end that they might witness these proceedings; and all these men ask is to be permitted to come into the hall and occupy such seats as are not occupied by gentlemen or ladies holding accredited tickets to this Convention.

Mr. JOSEPH E. LEE, of Florida. The State of Florida was entitled to so

many tickets, and yet that State has been unable to obtain those tickets. There are, I understand, twenty-five seats that belong to that State; and if that State can not in any other manner obtain the benefit of those tickets, she is willing to yield those twenty-five seats that the veterans might obtain those seats and witness the proceedings here.

The PRESIDENT. You have heard the resolution. The first question before the Convention is the amendment offered by the gentleman on the left [Mr. Jessup].

Mr. MATTHEWS. I most cheerfully accept the amendment of the gentleman.

The PRESIDENT. The amendment is accepted. The resolution as amended will now be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows :

Resolved, That the Committee on Distribution of Tickets be hereby instructed to furnish five hundred tickets of admission to this hall during the sessions of this Convention to the veteran soldiers who desire to witness the proceedings, to be distributed in proportion to the representation from the States, and delivered for such distribution to the Chairmen of the respective State delegations.

Mr. L. E. PARSONS, of Alabama. I would suggest, Mr. President, that there are States here represented upon this floor which have quite large delegations here, and under the amendment that has been offered they would be entitled to tickets to distribute; and we, unfortunately, have but a few veteran soldiers among us that we know anything about, and I think that this amendment ought to apply to the States that had veteran soldiers in the cause of the Union, to place them in the hands of the Chairmen of the States that have soldiers here, and not in the hands of States that have no soldiers on this floor of that class and of that character.

Mr. MASSEY, of Delaware. I rise to suggest another amendment, sir; and that is, that the resolution be so modified that the distribution shall be made of those tickets by a special committee from the delegation from Illinois, so that those tickets will be placed where they are wanted. If the suggestion made by a gentleman on the right of the hall—by whom I know not, for I did not recognize the member—is to be carried into effect, then it necessarily will be that, in a great many of the States represented here on this floor, from which there are no Union soldiers present, the purpose intended to be accomplished by the resolution will have failed, sir; the purpose being that those soldiers of the Union—men who need no apology to be made for them in a Republican Convention or their right to be here, although they stand upon the floor and are not seated—I say, that if no other arrangement than that now contemplated by the suggestion be carried into effect, it will be futile to reach the object desired; and, therefore, I would suggest that the resolution be so modified as to contemplate distribution through the agency of a special committee from the Illinois delegation, to be selected by themselves.

Mr. CALVIN MANNING, of Iowa. I suggest, in response to the gentleman from Delaware [Mr. Massey], that if there is any delegation present that have

no Union soldiers or veterans, the Chairman of that delegation turn their tickets over to the National Committee, with the request that they be reapportioned to the States that have the Union soldiers.

The PRESIDENT. Before the vote shall have been taken, I desire to state that I am just informed by the National Committee that tickets have been issued for every seat in the hall.

The President put the question.

The PRESIDENT. The noes seem to have it, and the resolution is defeated.

Mr. JOHN D. LONG, of Massachusetts. I move that the Convention adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Mr. McLEAN. I move to amend that by making it 11 o'clock.

Mr. LONG. I accept the amendment.

Mr. CHARLES B. HUSSEY, of Maine. I move to amend that by making it 10 o'clock. I understand that at that time the Committee on Credentials will be ready to report. It must necessarily be a lengthy session, and there will be also a report from the Committee on Rules, and it is necessary to transact this business more expeditiously, in order to get to the close of this Convention.

At this point there was some confusion, and a number of delegates were calling for recognition by the Chairman.

Mr. GREENHALZE, of Massachusetts. I ask for the putting of the motion to adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion to adjourn prevailed, and the Convention adjourned to 10 o'clock A. M., June 5, 1884.

THIRD DAY.

June 5th, 1884.

The Convention was called to order at ten minutes to 11, by the President, Gen. John B. Henderson.

The PRESIDENT. The Convention this morning will be opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Fallows, of Chicago.

BISHOP FALLOWS offered the following prayer :

Almighty God, the fountain of all life and light, we devoutly bless Thee for the national and individual blessings Thou hast mercifully vouchsafed to us. Thou wast with our fathers as in their weakness and feebleness they laid the foundations of the Republic. Thou didst give victory to our struggling armies during the dark and stormy days of the Revolution. Thou didst lead us forth out of our terrible civil conflict, with an emancipated and enfranchised race and an undivided union of the States.

We thank Thee, O God, for the precious heritage of memory, thought and service, bequeathed to us by the labors, the sacrifices and the surrendered lives of heroic, devoted men. We thank Thee that in every period of our history

Thou didst raise up leaders of the people to meet the needs and emergencies of their own time; and we praise Thee that the bright succession has not died out.

We thank Thee for the blessings of free speech, free schools, a free ballot and a free press, so extensively enjoyed. We pray for Thy blessing now upon our common country. Weld it more closely together in a union of fraternity, charity and loyalty.

Bless Thy servant, the President of the United States, and all others in authority. Grant them in health and prosperity long to live. Bless him who presides over this Convention. Give him wisdom and strength for his arduous task. We thank Thee, O God, for the glorious record made in winning opportunity for all, justice for all, liberty for all, equality before the law for all, by the party whose representatives are here assembled.

Direct these before Thee, we pray Thee, in their deliberations and discussions. Save them from error, ignorance, pride and prejudice. Check the hasty word; prevent the inconsiderate act. May those who shall be selected for the loftiest political positions to which mortal man can aspire, be those who shall possess every qualification of body, mind and heart for that high and holy trust. Grant, we pray Thee, that personal preferences and interests may yield to the just demands of a true and broad patriotism; and grant, we pray Thee, that when the time shall come for the suffrages of the American people to be cast, such shall be the declaration of principles adopted by this great body, such the measures devised, such the candidates presented, that the hearty and unanimous support of these here before Thee shall be secured, and the final ratifications made by the people in an unmistakable manner. And the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, shall have the glory, world without end. Amen.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Mr. KEYES, of Wisconsin. I would call for the report of the Committee on Credentials, or of some other committee.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Ballard, of Vermont, the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, announces to the Chair his readiness now to report.

Mr. BALLARD, of Vermont. As Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, before presenting our report, you will pardon me a word. Since the organization of that committee last Tuesday night, the committee have been almost in one continuous session. The members of the committee have had no time for rest, recreation, or the pleasure of booming for favorite candidates. Our labors have been difficult and arduous. The questions that have been submitted to us have been, many of them, difficult and delicate; but I am happy to say that the deliberations of the committee were entirely harmonious. There was no discord in our councils. There was no inquiry whether the claimant to a seat was a Blaine man, an Arthur man, a Logan man, a Sherman man, or an Edmunds man. The question was solely this: Is the claimant rightfully entitled to a seat in this Convention? I congratulate this Convention on the harmony in this Republican party, evidenced by the fact that this committee, gathered from all the States and Territories, have presented an entirely unanimous report. There is no firebrand thrust into this Convention in the shape of a minority report. Our report, which, of course, was hastily written

this morning at the close of our labors (which lasted all through the night), and which I trust will commend itself to the good judgment of the members of this Convention, will now be read to you by Judge Fort, of New Jersey, a member of our committee, who has efficiently aided me as Temporary Chairman during the sessions of our committee at times. He will assist me, and will answer any questions, if any are put to us by the Convention, in regard to this report.

The PRESIDENT. Read the report.

Mr. J. Frank Fort, of New Jersey, then read the report as follows :

TO THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION—*Gentlemen* : Your Committee on Credentials respectfully report that they met for organization on the evening of June 3d instant, and selected Hon. Henry Ballard, of Vermont, as their Chairman; and Edwin C. Nichols, Esq., of the State of Michigan, as Secretary, and proceeded to the consideration of the contests in this body.

Your committee report that they annex hereto the printed roll of membership prepared by the National Committee, with the changes therein made by your committee. As to the several contested cases, your committee report upon each as they have considered them, as follows :

First. In the case of the First District of Alabama the committee find the sitting members, James E. Slaughter and Frank H. Threet, and their alternates, as on the roll of the National Committee, entitled to their seats.

Second. In the case of the Seventh District of Alabama the committee find the sitting members, Robert A. Moseley Jr., and Arthur Bingham, and their alternates, as on the roll of the National Committee, entitled to their seats.

Third. In the case of the Fourth District of Texas the committee find the sitting members, A. G. Malloy and J. R. Carter, and their alternates, entitled to their seats.

Fourth. In the case of the First District of Georgia the committee find the sitting members, A. N. Wilson and James Blue, entitled to their seats.

Fifth. In the case of the Second District of Illinois the committee find the sitting members, W. H. Ruger and C. E. Piper, and their alternates, entitled to their seats.

Sixth. In the case of the First District of Kentucky, the committee find the sitting members, Edwin Farley and P. C. Bragg, with their alternates, entitled to their seats.

Seventh. In the case of the Fourth District of Maryland the committee find the sitting members, James W. Jordan and Henry W. Rogers, with their alternates, entitled to their seats.

Eighth. In the case of the Sixth District of New York the committee find the sitting members, John J. O'Brien and John H. Brady, with their alternates, entitled to their seats.

Ninth. In the case of the Nineteenth District of New York the committee recommend that the sitting delegates, George Campbell and Hiram Griggs, with their alternates, Andrew S. Draper and Madison Covert, and the contestants, James Lamb and James A. Houck, with their alternates, William H. Has-

kell and Nathan D. Wendell, be each admitted to seats in the Convention with one-half a vote to each delegate.

Tenth. In the case of the Twenty-first District of Pennsylvania, the committee find the sitting member [there was a contest only as to one member], James E. Sayers, with his alternate, entitled to his seat.

Eleventh. In the case of the contest of the State of Virginia, the committee, by a unanimous vote, find that the delegation from said State headed by Senator William Mahone are each and all entitled to their seats in this Convention, in accordance with the roll of delegates and alternates as made up by the National Republican Committee.

Twelfth. In the case of the Fifth District of Kentucky, the committee make the unanimous recommendation that the sitting members, Silas F. Miller and John Mason Brown, with their alternates, John Barrett and George W. Brown, and the contestants, Augustus E. Wilson and Michael Minton, and their alternates, Hugh Mulholland and August Kahlert, be each admitted as delegates and alternates to this Convention, with the right to cast one-half a vote each. This recommendation is consented to by the sitting members and contestants.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

HENRY BALLARD, *Chairman.*

EDWIN C. NICHOLS, *Secretary.*

The following is the list of delegates and alternates, with post-office address, attached to the report:

ALABAMA.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

George Turner.....Montgomery
George W. Braxdall.....Talladega
C. C. Sheats.....Decatur
J. C. Duke.....Selma

Benjamin de Lemas.....Haynesville
Thomas J. Lake.....Athens
John H. Thomason.....Athens
C. S. Giddens.....Opelika

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—James E. Slaughter.....Mobile
Frank H. Threet.....Demopolis
2—George W. Washington.....Montgomery
Paul Strobach.....Montgomery
3—Isaac Heyman.....Opelika
William Youngblood.....Union Springs
4—William J. Stevens.....Selma
Hugh A. Carson.....Haynesville
5—Lewis E. Parsons, Jr.....Rockford
William J. Anthony.....La Fayette
6—Algernon A. Mabson.....Birmingham
Lewis J. Washington.....Tuscaloosa
7—Robert A. Moseley, Jr.....Talladega
Arthur Bingham.....Talladega
8—Augustus W. McCulloch.....Huntsville
Peter J. Crenshaw.....Athens

Anthony R. Davidson.....Mobile
Allen Alexander.....Mobile
Augustus W. Johnson.....Evergreen
John Blount.....Montgomery
J. C. Flournoy.....Clayton
Jack Brown.....Fort Mitchell
Elbert W. Locke.....Camden
George B. Griffin.....Greensboro
Charles A. Edwards.....Prattville
Randall J. Storrs.....Wetumpka
Henry Hall.....Birmingham
Henry C. Bryan.....Birmingham
Isaac Frank.....Jacksonville
John B. Simpson.....Helena
Reuben W. Lowe.....Huntsville
P. B. Barton.....Barton

ARKANSAS.

AT LARGE.

Powell Clayton.....Eureka Springs
Logan H. Rootis.....Little Rock
M. W. Gibbs.....Little Rock
Henry M. Cooper.....Little Rock

Harmon L. Rammel.....Newport
E. C. Morris.....Helena
R. B. Thomas.....Rocky Comfort
Moses A. Clark.....Marianna

*Delegates.*ARKANSAS—*Continued.**Alternates.*

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Jacob Trieber.....	Helena	J. Pennoyer Jones.....	Arkansas City
Samuel H. Holland.....	Dermott	M. G. Turner.....	Helena
2—John H. Johnson.....	Augusta	O. M. Norman.....	Brinkley
Ferd. Havis.....	Pine Bluff	Oscar M. Spellman.....	Racine
3—A. A. Tufts.....	Camden	H. W. Wadkins.....	Hampton
George H. Thompson.....	Lewisville	B. G. Bryant.....	Prescott
4—Mason W. Benjamin.....	Little Rock	William Laporte.....	Little Rock
Jacob Yoes.....	Mountainburg	Josiah Clark.....	Hot Springs
5—Lafayette Gregg.....	Fayetteville	J. W. True.....	Eureka Springs
Kidder Kidd.....	Bentonville	James A. Spradling.....	Harrison

CALIFORNIA.

AT LARGE.

William W. Morrow.....	San Francisco	Horace F. Page.....	Placerville
Geo. A. Knight.....	Eureka	Frank M. Pixley.....	San Francisco
Thomas R. Bard.....	Hueneme	Rollin C. Gaskill.....	Oakland
Horace Davis.....	San Francisco	James McM. Shafter.....	San Francisco

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Chauncey C. Bush.....	Redding	Horace W. Byington.....	Santa Rosa
Byron O. Carr.....	St. Helena	James D. Byers.....	Janesville
2—William H. Parks.....	Marysville	David E. Knight.....	Marysville
George W. Schell.....	Modesto	Timothy H. Barnard.....	Chico
3—William Johnston.....	Sacramento	Wallace R. Pond.....	Woodland
Eli S. Dennison.....	Oakland	Thomas H. Thompson.....	Oakland
4—David McClure.....	San Francisco	Frank J. French.....	San Francisco
Charles F. Crocker.....	San Francisco	William B. May.....	San Francisco
5—Adolph B. Spreckels.....	San Francisco	James W. Rea.....	Santa Clara
Maurice C. Blake.....	San Francisco	Sargent S. Morton.....	San Francisco
6—David C. Reed.....	San Diego	Thomas Flint.....	San Juan
Oregon Sanders.....	Visalia	Edwin W. Crooks.....	Santa Barbara

COLORADO.

AT LARGE.

W. A. Hamill.....	Georgetown	F. E. Osbiston.....	Idaho Springs
S. H. Elbert.....	Denver	J. W. Graham.....	Denver
C. C. Davis.....	Leadville	S. W. Jones.....	Breckenridge
Alexander Gullitt.....	Gunnison	J. H. Stead.....	Salida
B. F. Crowell.....	Colorado Springs	J. A. Smith.....	Boulder
A. L. Emigh.....	Fort Collins	D. P. Kingsley.....	Grand Junction

CONNECTICUT.

AT LARGE.

Augustus Brandegee.....	New London	John A. Tibbitts.....	New London
Frederick Miles.....	Chapinville	Samuel Fessenden.....	Stamford
Samuel E. Merwin, Jr.....	New Haven	John S. Fowler.....	New Haven
John L. Houston.....	Thompsonville	Morgan G. Bulkeley.....	Hartford

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Valentine B. Chamberlain.....	New Britain	Charles S. Landers.....	New Britain
Ralph P. Gilbert.....	Hebron	George Belding.....	Rockville
2—Luzerne I. Munson.....	Waterbury	David S. Plume.....	Waterbury
John G. Edmunds.....	Deep River	Henry W. Stocking.....	Cromwell
3—Eugene S. Boss.....	Willimantic	Charles A. Russell.....	Killingly
Ira G. Briggs.....	Voluntown	John R. Buck.....	Hartford
4—Orsamus R. Fyler.....	Torrington	James L. Carson.....	Torrington
Ebenezer J. Hill.....	Norwalk	Andrew J. Crofut.....	South Norwalk

DELAWARE.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

Washington Hastings.....	Wilmington	Joseph T. Bass.....	Wilmington
John Piling.....	Newark	Minot S. Curtis.....	Newark
Geo. V. Massey.....	Dover	D. P. Barnard.....	Lebanon
Daniel J. Layton.....	Georgetown	Jno. H. Johnson.....	Milford

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—John H. Hoffecker.....	Smyrna	Joseph S. Truitt.....	Milford
W. J. Stewart.....	Seaford	H. R. Burton.....	Lewes

FLORIDA.

AT LARGE.

Dennis Eagan.....	Jacksonville	Emmanuel Fortune.....	Jacksonville
Joseph E. Lee.....	Jacksonville	M. M. Lewey.....	Gainesville
Jesse D. Cole.....	Monticello	D. D. Rogers.....	Daytona
Wm. G. Stewart.....	Tallahassee	J. W. Mitchell.....	Tallahassee

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Jas. N. Combs.....	Apalachicola	B. F. Livingstone.....	Marianna
A. C. Lightborne.....	Quincy	M. A. Trapp.....	Marianna
2—John G. Long.....	St. Augustine	Thomas Hinds.....	Georgetown
H. W. Chandler.....	Ocala	D. C. Martin.....	Gainesville

GEORGIA.

AT LARGE.

A. E. Buck.....	Atlanta	Aaron Collins.....	Cartersville
W. A. Pledger.....	Atlanta	Smith W. Easley, Jr.....	Atlanta
L. M. Pleasant.....	Savannah	E. T. Flemming.....	Augusta
C. D. Forsyth.....	Rome	J. N. Blackshear.....	Macon

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—A. N. Wilson.....	Savannah	James A. Sykes.....	Brunswick
Jas. Blue.....	Brunswick	Richard Jackson.....	Darien
2—C. W. Arnold.....	Albany	W. H. Henderson.....	Thomasville
Jno. C. Few.....	Thomasville	Carey Barnes.....	Cuthbert
3—Elbert Head.....	Americus	W. D. King.....	Hawkinsville
E. Seward Small.....	Eastman	B. C. Mitchell.....	Americus
4—W. H. Johnson.....	Atlanta	R. F. Milner.....	Newnan
J. C. Beall.....	La Grange	E. H. Miller.....	Columbus
5—John E. Bryant.....	Atlanta	W. L. Shumate.....	Decatur
W. D. Moore.....	Atlanta	William Wilkins.....	Griffin
6—W. W. Brown.....	Macon	Richard Nelson.....	Gordon
P. O. Holt.....	Macon	W. F. Jackson.....	Forsyth
7—G. P. Burnett.....	Rome	Benj. F. Duncan.....	Rome
J. Q. Gassett.....	Cartersville	T. H. Triplett.....	Dalton
8—Marcus A. Wood.....	Madison	Felix R. Rogers.....	Sparta
Madison Davis.....	Athens	Monroe B. Morton.....	Athens
9—W. T. B. Wilson.....	Atlanta	W. O. H. Shepard.....	Toccoa
James B. Gaston.....	Gainesville	John M. Allred.....	Jasper
10—W. F. Holden.....	Augusta	Jesse Wimberly.....	Waynesborough
R. R. Wright.....	Augusta	O. T. Gonder.....	Warrenton

ILLINOIS.

AT LARGE.

Shelby M. Cullom.....	Springfield	Thomas B. Needles.....	Nashville
John M. Hamilton.....	Springfield	C. S. Smith.....	Bloomington
Barton C. Cook.....	Chicago	Jacob Stampen.....	Cook
Clark E. Carr.....	Galesburg	Benson Wood.....	Efingham

ILLINOIS—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—J. L. Woodward.....	Chicago	Pliny B. Smith.....	Chicago
Abner Taylor.....	Chicago	W. J. Campbell.....	Blue Island
2—W. H. Ruger.....	Chicago	John F. Scanlan.....	Chicago
C. E. Piper.....	Chicago	William Ludewig.....	Chicago
3—George R. Davis.....	Chicago	A. J. Snell.....	Chicago
J. R. Wheeler.....	Chicago	C. H. Plantz.....	Chicago
4—Samuel B. Raymond.....	Chicago	John C. Ender.....	Chicago
L. C. Collins, Jr.	Norwood Park	Christian Dahnke.....	Chicago
5—L. M. Kelly.....	Elgin	A. C. Murray.....	
C. E. Fuller.....	Belvidere	S. Aldin.....	Sycamore
6—Norman Lewis.....	Thomson	H. A. Mix.....	Oregon
O. C. Towne.....	Pecatonica	W. F. Hodgson.....	Galena
7—S. G. Baldwin.....	Prophetstown	R. Harrington.....	Geneseo
Henry T. Noble.....	Dixon	J. W. Hopkins.....	Granville
8—R. W. Willett.....	Yorkville	J. R. Ely.....	Mazon
A. J. Bell.....	Naperville	Walter Reeves.....	Streator
9—S. T. Rogers.....	El Paso	J. Weir.....	Lacon
Thomas Vennum.....	Watseka	M. J. Sheridan.....	Kankakee
10—W. W. Wright.....	Toulon	Z. Beatty.....	Galesburg
R. H. Whiting.....	Peoria	C. E. Snively.....	Canton
11—C. V. Chandler.....	Macomb	Col. S. W. King.....	La Harpe
C. A. Ballard.....	New Boston	Morris Rosenfield.....	Moline
12—A. C. Matthews.....	Pittsfield	A. K. Lowery.....	Mount Sterling
W. W. Berry.....	Quincy	John R. Coats.....	Winchester
13—Dr. William Jayne.....	Springfield	Dr. G. S. Weagley.....	Jacksonville
Dietrich C. Smith.....	Pekin	John J. Snier.....	Taylorville
14—J. W. Fifer.....	Bloomington	J. W. Haworth.....	Decatur
George K. Ingham.....	Clinton	Julius A. Brown.....	Bement
15—Charles G. Eckhart.....	Tuscola	C. P. Hitch.....	Paris
L. S. Wilcox.....	Champaign	Thomas A. Lewis.....	Urbana
16—Charles Churchill.....	Albion	H. F. Wilson.....	Toledo
Harrison Black.....	Marshall	D. W. Barkley.....	Fairfield
17—John I. Rinaker.....	Carlinville	Benson Wood.....	Efingham
J. M. Truitt.....	Hillsboro	R. T. Higgins.....	Vandalia
18—R. A. Halbert.....	Belleville	A. J. Gullick.....	Greenville
H. Reuter.....	Nashville	R. A. Morgan.....	Nashville
19—T. S. Ridgway.....	Shawneetown	A. E. Eismeyer.....	Trenton
C. T. Stratton.....	Mt. Vernon	C. M. Lyon.....	McLeansboro
20—T. M. Simpson.....	Vienna	T. T. Fountain.....	Pinckneyville
W. McAdams.....	Chester	N. B. Thistlewood.....	Cairo

INDIANA.

AT LARGE.

Richard W. Thompson.....	Terre Haute	Edwin F. Horn.....	Indianapolis
Benjamin Harrison.....	Indianapolis	John H. Rockler.....	Evansville
John H. Baker.....	Goshen	Moses Fowler.....	La Fayette
Morris McDonald.....	New Albany	Granville B. Ward.....	Monticello

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—James C. Veatch.....	Rockport	Gilbert R. Stormont.....	Princeton
Francis B. Posey.....	Petersburgh	Philander Cooper.....	Evansville
2—George G. Reiley.....	Vincennes	C. C. Schreder.....	Huntingburg
Wm. R. Gardiner.....	Washington	William Farrell.....	Paoli
3—David M. Alsopangh.....	Salem	Francis Norton.....	New Albany
Albert P. Charles.....	Scymour	Will T. Walker.....	Scottsburg
4—Jno. O. Cravens.....	Osgood	J. P. Hemphill.....	Rising Sun
Eugene G. Hay.....	Madison	E. C. Thompson.....	Kennsclaer
5—Joseph L. Irwin.....	Columbus	C. S. Hammond.....	Greencastle
W. A. Montgomery.....	Gosport	James O. Parker.....	Danville
6—Chas. H. Burchenal.....	Richmond	Andrew M. Kennedy.....	Rushville
Joshua H. Mellett.....	New Castle	James N. Huston.....	Connorsville
7—L. T. Michener.....	Shelbyville	Otto H. Haselman.....	Indianapolis
Henry C. Adams.....	Indianapolis	J. M. Freeman.....	Greenfield
8—Wm. C. Smith.....	Williamsport	M. L. Hall.....	Newport
William R. McKeen.....	Terre Haute	Ed. A. Rosser.....	Brazil
9—Geo. B. Williams.....	La Fayette	Robert Graham.....	Noblesville
Americus C. Daily.....	Lebanon	O. S. Torrer.....	Tipton

INDIANA—DISTRICT DELEGATES—*Continued.*

Delegates.

Alternates.

10—Simon P. Thompson	Rensselaer
Geo. W. Holman	Rochester
11—James B. Kenner	Huntington
Jonas Votaw	Portland
12—Oscar S. Simons	Fort Wayne
Orville Carver	Angola
13—Joseph D. Oliver	South Bend
George Moon	Warsaw

Ulric Z. Wiley	Fowler
Chas. F. Griffin	Crown Point
R. S. Peterson	Decatur
John A. Cantwell	Hartford
John Mitchell	Kendallville
Williamson Rawles	La Grange
Alba M. Tucker	Elkhart
Amasa Johnson	Plymouth

IOWA.

AT LARGE.

J. S. Clarkson	Des Moines
W. G. Donnan	Independence
J. Y. Stone	Glenwood
N. M. Hubbard	Cedar Rapids

Albert Swalm	Oscalooosa
J. H. Gear	Burlington
E. G. Harshorn	Emmetsburgh
W. Vandever	Dubuque

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—D. A. Morrison	Fort Madison
Wm. Wilson, Jr.	Washington
2—John Hilsinger	Sabula
W. T. Shaw	Anamosa
3—H. C. Hemenway	Cedar Falls
W. H. Norris	Manchester
4—A. G. Stewart	Waukon
O. H. Lyon	Rockford
5—J. W. Willett	Tama City
Merritt Green, Jr.	Marshalltown
6—H. S. Winslow	Newton
Calvin Manning	Ottumwa
7—C. H. Gatch	Des Moines
E. W. Weeks	Guthrie Centre
8—W. H. Christie	Creston
W. Wilson	Osceola
9—E. A. Consigny	Avoca
T. M. C. Logan	Logan
10—R. S. Benson	Hampton
C. C. T. Mason	Boone
11—A. B. Funk	Spirit Lake
J. D. Ainsworth	Onawa

Arthur Springer	Columbus Junc.
C. M. Junkin	Fairfield
H. R. Whitehouse	Clinton
C. W. McManus	Davenport
G. A. McIntyre	Shell Rock
J. M. Rea	Grundy Centre
D. W. Clements	West Union
William Kellow	Cresco
L. H. Jackson	Iowa City
J. L. Geddes	Vinton
J. P. Lyman	Grinnell
F. W. Eichelberger	Bloomfield
Lewis Igo	Indianola
J. H. Twombly	Stuart
D. T. Sigler	Corning
S. T. Sherrod	Walnut City
George Gray	Gray
D. B. Miller	Red Oak
O. C. Nelson	Nevada
J. C. K. Smith	Eldora
F. D. Piper	Sheldon
W. L. Culbertson	Carroll

KANSAS.

AT LARGE.

Preston B. Plumb	Washington, D. C.
James S. Merritt	Wamego
J. G. Woods	Wellington
A. W. Mann	Burr Oak

J. H. Ricksecker	Lyons
W. H. Douglas	El Dorado
C. J. Jones	Garden City
Henry Fuell	Lawrence

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Cyrus Leland, Jr.	Troy
Henry E. Insley	Leavenworth
2—J. P. Root	Wyandotte
R. Aikman	Fort Scott
3—J. R. Hallowell	Columbus
W. P. Hackney	Winfield
4—Geo. R. Peck	Topeka
William Martindale	Eureka
5—E. A. Berry	Waterville
C. C. Culp	Salina
6—J. S. McDowell	Smith Centre
C. C. Wood	Stocktown
7—Jos. W. Ady	Newton
R. L. Walker	Wichita

W. R. Smith	Atchison
Dr. H. A. Warner	Meriden
O. A. Gesick	Ottawa
R. B. Stevenson	Iola
Jno. Veits	Hepler
Geo. Miller	Elk City
J. V. Admire	Osage City
H. C. Lockwood	Marion
W. S. Blakesly	Junction City
P. F. Thompson	Minneapolis
D. A. Freeman	Beloit
J. H. Franklin	Russell
Henry Booth	Larned
A. J. Hoisington	Garden City

KENTUCKY.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

William O. Bradley.....Lancaster
 William W. Culbertson.....Ashland
 John W. Lewis.....Springfield
 Walter Evans.....Louisville

William H. Holt.....Mt. Sterling
 Henry Scroggins.....Lexington
 Speed L. Fry.....Danville
 J. R. Puryear.....Paducah

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Edwin Farley.....Owensborough
 P. C. Bragg.....Mayfield
 2—J. Z. Moore.....Owensborough
 Joseph I. Landes.....Hopkinsville
 W. L. Hazslip.....Glasgow Junc.
 Allen Allensworth.....Bowling Green
 4—G. P. Jolly.....Cloverport
 Edw. Hilpp.....Lebanon
 5—Silas F. Miller, *one-half vote*.....Louisville
 John Mason Brown, *one-half vote*,
 Louisville
 Augustus E. Wilson, *one-half vote*,
 Louisville
 Michael Minton, *one-half vote*.....Louisville
 6—David N. Comingore.....Covington
 James A. Scarlett.....Newport
 7—William Cassius Goodloe.....Lexington
 Richard P. Stoll.....Lexington
 8—Robert Boyd.....London
 George Denny, Jr.....Lancaster
 9—George M. Thomas.....Vanceburg
 T. S. Bradford.....Augusta
 10—Andrew J. Auxier.....Louisville
 J. C. Eversole.....Hazard
 11—R. A. Buckner, Jr.....Greensburg
 H. G. Tremble.....Somerset

E. M. Manion.....
 D. M. Brown.....
 Peter Postell.....Hopkinsville
 James McLaughlin.....Henderson
 J. B. Harris.....Franklin
 E. L. Yontes.....Greenville
 W. S. McFarland.....Mt. Washington
 Dan O'Riley.....Litchfield
 John Barrett.....Louisville
 George W. Brown.....Louisville
 Hugh Mulholland.....Louisville
 August Kahlert.....Louisville
 John Woodhead.....Falmouth
 L. R. Hawthorne.....Newport
 L. A. Slade.....Georgetown
 J. M. Walker.....Owenton
 James M. Sebastian.....Booneville
 P. P. Ballard.....Richmond
 D. J. Burchett.....Louisia
 R. C. Burns.....Catlettsburg
 S. H. Kash.....Mt. Sterling
 J. N. Baughman.....Barboursville
 L. B. Hurt.....Columbia
 J. C. Evans.....Glasgow

LOUISIANA.

AT LARGE.

Wm. P. Kellogg.....Washington
 A. J. Dumont.....New Orleans
 P. B. S. Pinchback.....New Orleans
 A. S. Badger.....New Orleans

H. C. Warmoth.....Lawrence
 H. K. Jones.....New Orleans
 James M. Vance.....New Orleans
 Wm. Roy.....New Orleans

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—W. B. Merchant.....New Orleans
 R. F. Guichard.....New Orleans
 2—P. F. Hernig.....New Orleans
 Henry Demas.....Edgar
 3—George Drury.....Napoleonville
 L. A. Martinet.....St. Martin
 4—A. H. Leonard.....Shreveport
 William Harper.....Shreveport
 5—Frank Morey.....Washington
 E. W. Wall.....Vidalia
 6—Louis J. Souer.....Marksville
 Clifford Morgan.....New Roads

L. P. Smith.....New Orleans
 Felix Faguet.....New Orleans
 L. Gillaud.....New Orleans
 W. S. Wilson.....New Orleans
 A. Davis.....Franklin
 T. A. Cage.....Homer
 W. P. Peck.....Conshatta
 A. J. Smith.....Rocky Mount
 John W. Cook.....Lake Providence
 E. A. Neal.....St. Joseph
 B. V. Barance.....Baton Rouge
 Oscar Holt.....Port Allen

MAINE.

AT LARGE.

Josiah H. Drummond.....Portland
 George C. Wing.....Auburn
 Joseph R. Bodwell.....Hallowell
 Joseph S. Wheelwright.....Bangor

Gilman N. Dearing.....Saco
 Edwin O. Clark.....Waldoborough
 Edmund F. Webb.....Waterville
 Samuel N. Campbell.....Cherryfield

MAINE—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Albion Little.....	Portland
Charles E. Hussey.....	Biddeford
2—Amos E. Crockett.....	Rockland
Ruel B. Fuller.....	Wilton
3—Andrew P. Wiswell.....	Ellsworth
J. Manchester Haynes.....	Augusta
4—Austin Harris.....	East Machias
Elbridge A. Thompson.....	Dover

Isaac L. Came.....	Standish
Samuel Hanson.....	Buxton
Samuel H. Allen.....	Thomaston
Alonzo F. Lewis.....	Fryeburg
Eben D. Haley.....	Gardiner
Luther H. Webb.....	Skowhegan
Eben Woodbury.....	Houlton
Edward C. Goodnow.....	Calais

MARYLAND.

AT LARGE.

Hart B. Holton.....	Washington, D. C.
Thomas S. Hodson.....	Crisfield
Lycurgus N. Phillips.....	Mechanicstown
James Wallace.....	Cambridge

Daniel Chisolm.....	Oakland
J. L. H. Smith.....	Baltimore
A. L. Tharp.....	Easton
Wm. J. Hand.....	Centreville

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Chas. T. Westcott.....	Chestertown
James C. Mullikin.....	Easton
2—John T. Ensor.....	Towson
H. M. Clabangh.....	Westminster
3—D. Pinkney West.....	Baltimore
Wm. Coath.....	Baltimore
4—James W. Jordan.....	Baltimore
Henry W. Rogers.....	Baltimore
5—Jas. A. Gary.....	Baltimore
Wm. G. Green.....	Washington, D. C.
6—J. McPherson Scott.....	Hagerstown
Geo. L. Wellington.....	Cumberland

Wilbur Eliason.....	Chestertown
N. W. Dixon.....	Crisfield
Francis Sanderson.....	Arlington
R. F. Tull.....	Elkton
W. W. Johnson.....	Baltimore
Isidor D. Oliver.....	Baltimore
Wm. J. Gray.....	Baltimore
Jas. F. Spriggs.....	Baltimore
Jas. T. Caulk.....	Baltimore
James C. Chaney.....	Dunkirk
John A. Davis.....	Hagerstown
Jno. W. Lancaster.....	Rockville

MASSACHUSETTS.

AT LARGE.

George F. Hoar.....	Worcester
Wm. W. Crapo.....	New Bedford
John D. Long.....	Hingham
Henry Cabot Lodge.....	Nahant

Benjamin S. Lovell.....	Weymouth
Lewis J. Power.....	Springfield
A. H. Grinke.....	Hyde Park
T. W. Higginson.....	Cambridge

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Jonathan Bourne.....	New Bedford
Frank S. Stevens.....	Swansea
2—Frank M. Ames.....	Canton
Eben L. Ripley.....	Hingham
3—Henry P. Kidder.....	Boston
Edward L. Pierce.....	Milton
4—Jesse M. Gove.....	Boston
Chas. T. Gallagher.....	Boston
5—Ephraim Stearns.....	Waltham
John F. Andrew.....	Boston
6—Amos F. Breed.....	Lynn
Carroll D. Wright.....	Reading
7—Edward H. Haskell.....	Gloicester
Geo. W. Cate.....	Amesbury
8—Frederick T. Greenhalze.....	Lowell
Andrew C. Stone.....	Lawrence
9—Joseph G. Ray.....	Franklin
Robert R. Bishop.....	Newton
10—Wm. W. Rice.....	Worcester
Theodore C. Bates.....	North Brookfield
11—Chester C. Conant.....	Greenfield
Rodney Wallace.....	Fitchburg
12—Henry S. Hyde.....	Springfield
Levi L. Brown.....	Adams

Joseph K. Baker.....	Dennis
Alphonso S. Covell.....	Fall River
H. W. Durgin.....	Taunton
J. J. Whipple.....	Brockton
Henry W. Putnam.....	Boston
Roger Wolcott.....	Boston
John Taylor.....	Boston
Wm. N. Young.....	Boston
Julius Chappelle.....	Boston
Geo. C. Bent.....	Cambridge
Francis Childs.....	Boston
Daniel A. Gleason.....	Medford
Milton Stover.....	Haverhill
Simeon Dodge.....	Marblehead
Joseph L. Sargent.....	Dracut
F. C. Clark.....	Lawrence
O. T. Gray.....	Hyde Park
S. Herbert Howe.....	Marlborough
Geo. L. Gibbs.....	Northbridge
Calvin D. Paige.....	Southbridge
Samuel M. Cook.....	Granby
Edward P. Loring.....	Fitchburg
Edward S. Wilkinson.....	North Adams
Chas. N. Yeamans.....	Westfield

MICHIGAN.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Roswell G. Horr Saginaw
 William F. Swift Ishpeming
 Samuel C. Watson Detroit
 Julius C. Burrows Kalamazoo

Joseph B. Moore Lapeer
 Ezra L. Koon Hillsdale
 Aaron B. Turner Grand Rapids
 George W. Robie Mason

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Russell A. Alger Detroit
 W. S. Morey Flat Rock
 2—W. A. Underwood Adrian
 Joseph T. Jacobs Ann Arbor
 3—Edward C. Nichols Battle Creek
 William H. Powers Hastings
 4—S. T. Read Cassopolis
 Josiah Andrews Paw Paw
 5—Geo. W. Webber Ionia
 H. F. Thomas Allegan
 6—M. D. Chatterton Mason
 J. E. Sawyer Pontiac
 7—John P. Sanborn Port Huron
 B. R. Noble Lexington
 8—W. S. Tuck St. Louis
 W. E. Watson Bancroft
 9—M. P. Gale Big Rapids
 Abel Anderson Muskegon
 10—H. H. Applin West Bay City
 George W. Bell Cheboygan
 11—S. C. Moffatt Grand Traverse
 S. M. Stevenson Menominee

W. H. Coats Detroit
 John Greusel Detroit
 W. A. French Dundee
 Edwin J. March Hillsdale
 John C. Sharp Jackson
 W. H. Coombs Barry County
 William L. Stoughton Sturgis
 W. Irving Babcock Niles
 Don J. Leathers Grand Rapids
 J. M. Ferguson Coopersville
 H. B. Hackman Howell
 J. B. Atwood Flint
 Alexander Grant Utica
 Geo. W. Jenks Sand Beach
 S. R. Stevens Stanton
 S. W. Hopkins Mt. Pleasant
 J. R. Bishop Ludington
 F. R. Williams Antrim
 Charles Montague Cairo
 A. H. Swartout Grayling
 Thomas B. Dunstan Hancock
 J. H. Steere Sault Ste. Marie

MINNESOTA.

AT LARGE.

Dwight M. Sabin Washington
 Cushman K. Davis St. Paul
 C. H. Graves Duluth
 O. B. Gould Winona

C. D. Wright Fergus Falls
 W. G. Ward Waseca
 J. A. James Mankato
 L. P. Fluke Farmington

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Thomas H. Armstrong Albert Lea
 C. H. Conkey Preston
 2—A. M. Crosby Adrian
 L. Z. Rogers Waterville
 3—E. V. Canfield Zumbrota
 Liberty Hall Glencoe
 4—Robert B. Langdon Minneapolis
 Stanford Newel St. Paul
 5—Alphonso Barto Sank Centre
 Henry G. Page Fergus Falls

W. H. Officer Austin
 Lewis S. Peck Kasson
 Joseph Bobleter New Ulm
 Gordon Powers Granite Falls
 H. E. Barron Faribault
 W. H. Greenleaf Litchfield
 J. N. Stacy Monticello
 H. F. Barker Cambridge
 H. W. Stone Morris
 Halvor Stenerson Crookston

MISSISSIPPI.

AT LARGE.

Blanche K. Bruce Washington, D. C.
 James Hill Jackson
 R. F. Beck Vicksburg
 J. M. Bynum Ridenzi

Thomas W. Stringer Vicksburg
 B. F. Garrett Canton
 William Noonan Natchez
 A. M. Middlebrook Columbus

MISSISSIPPI—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—H. C. Powers	Starkville	F. L. Hatch	Aberdeen
W. H. Kennon	Columbus	W. H. Chandler	Corinth
2—John S. Burton	Holly Springs	Jerry Robinson	Charleston
D. T. J. Matthews	Sardis	F. P. Hill	Sardis
3—W. H. Allen	Friar's Point	W. E. Mollison	Mayersville
Wesley Creighton	Vicksburg	J. D. Webster	Greenville
4—H. H. Harrington	West Point	G. W. Miller	West Point
J. W. Longstreet	Macon	B. G. Booth	Water Valley
5—F. C. Granberry	Lexington	S. P. Hurst	Lexington
William M. Hancock	Meridian	C. Simmons	Meridian
6—John R. Lynch	Natchez	A. Newberger	Natchez
C. A. Simpson	Scranton	John L. Collins	Bay St. Louis
7—Thomas Richardson	Port Gibson	M. M. McLeod	Jackson
John A. Galbreath	Jackson	G. E. Matthews	Hazlehurst

MISSOURI.

AT LARGE.

B. M. Prentiss	Bethany	David Wagner	Canton
H. E. Havens	Springfield	Chas. H. Brown	Lamar
R. T. Van Horn	Kansas City	J. M. Turner	St. Louis
J. B. Henderson	St. Louis	T. C. Fletcher	St. Louis

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Rob. D. Cramer	Memphis	Wm. Logan	Glenwood
J. T. Barber	Hannibal	C. A. Slavens	Unionville
2—Joseph H. Turner	Carrollton	W. B. Rogers	Trenton
A. W. Mullens	Linneus	J. B. Brantner	Milan
3—J. H. Thomas	Plattsburgh	F. H. Braden	Breckenridge
Ira B. Hyde	Princeton	Jackson Walker	Bethany
4—A. C. Daves	St. Joseph	P. A. Thompson	Langdon
O. C. Hill	Oregon	J. A. Price	Weston
5—John B. Jones	Concordia	A. B. Logan	Warrensburg
Wm. Warner	Kansas City	C. Cryslar	Independence
6—Odin Guitar	Columbia	O. O. Vaughn	Slater
W. S. Shirk	Sedalia	C. R. Simpson	Versailles
7—Theodore Brucere	St. Charles	Daniel Q. Gale	Washington
M. G. Reynolds	Louisiana	Ira Hall	Mexico
8—Henry C. Meyer	St. Louis	Antony Kessler	St. Louis
John C. Beneisek	St. Louis	J. Ben Nichols	St. Louis
9—Chauncey I. Filley	St. Louis	Jos. G. Chapman	St. Louis
Jas. H. McLean	St. Louis	Charles Schweickardt	St. Louis
10—Fred. W. Mott	St. Louis	Louis Grund	St. Louis
Kossuth W. Weber	Farmington	G. W. Mitchell	Mt. Olive
11—Edw'd Neuenhahn	Hermann	L. F. Parker	Rolla
Eben B. Sankey	Salem	Jas. A. Bradshaw	Richland
12—Chas. G. Burton	Nevada	R. E. Beach	Butler
W. D. Tyler	Clinton	J. T. Burney	Harrisonville
13—Joseph B. Upton	Bolivar	C. C. Allen	Carthage
Norman Gibbs	Mt. Vernon	J. P. O'Bannon	
14—A. B. Carroll	Cape Girardeau	W. A. Love	West Plains
Byrd Duncan	Poplar Bluff	T. C. Watkins	Charleston

NEBRASKA.

AT LARGE.

Jno. M. Thurston	Omaha	Leonard W. Gilchrist	Wanhoo
Nathan S. Harwood	Lincoln	Emory M. Stenberg	Omaha
John Jensen	Geneva	Peter Jansen	Fairbury
Geo. A. Brooks	Bazile Mills	Albert G. Scott	Kearney

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Eugene L. Reed	Weeping Water	Wm. Broatch	Omaha
Churn Ilowe	Auburn	G. Larsh	Nebraska City
2—Win. T. Scott	York	Thomas H. Matters	Harvard
Geo. W. Burton	Orleans	Frank H. Swezey	Blue Hill
3—Chas. P. Mathewson	Norfolk	Jno. W. Boggs	Blair
Jno. H. MacColl	Plum Creek	Lucius D. Richards	Fremont

NEVADA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

C. C. Stevenson.....Gold Hill
 M. D. Foley.....Eureka
 J. H. Rand.....Elko
 John E. Dixon.....Tuscarora
 S. L. Lee.....Carson City
 A. J. Blair.....Pioche

M. A. Murphy.....Hawthorne
 Andrew Nichols.....Austin
 John McNaughton.....Eureka
 J. A. Palmer.....Carlin
 Wells Drury.....Carson City
 C. S. Young.....Carson City

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

AT LARGE.

Charles H. Sawyer.....Dover
 George H. Stowell.....Claremont
 Edward H. Rollins.....Concord
 Joseph B. Clark.....Manchester

John H. Hurd.....Dover
 George L. Balcom.....Claremont
 George P. Rowell.....Lancaster
 Herman W. Greene.....Hopkinton

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Charles D. McDuffie.....Manchester
 Warren Brown.....Hampton Falls
 2—Frank D. Currier.....Canaan
 Henry B. Atherton.....Nashua

Charles W. Talpey.....Farmington
 Edward H. Gilman.....Exeter
 Shepard L. Bowers.....Newport
 John B. Smith.....Hillsborough

NEW JERSEY

AT LARGE.

Wm. Walter Phelps.....Teaneck
 Wm. J. Sewell.....Camden
 Jno. J. Gardiner.....Atlantic City
 J. Frank Fort.....Newark

J. Toffey.....Jersey City
 Fred A. Potts.....New York City, N. Y.
 John Hill.....Boonton, N. J.
 Jesse Lawson.....Plainfield

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Isaac T. Nichols.....Bridgeton
 Thomas B. Harned.....Camden
 2—Wm. H. Skein.....Trenton
 Mahlon Hutchinson.....Bordentown
 3—Jno. W. Herbert.....Wickatunk
 James R. English.....Elizabeth
 4—Jno. I. Blair.....Blairstown
 Wm. H. Long.....Somerville
 5—Wm. H. Howell.....Morristown
 Watts Cook.....Paterson
 6—Herman Lebach.....Newark
 Wm. Kiker.....Newark
 7—James Gopsill.....Jersey City
 John Ramsey.....Jersey City

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 H. C. Gulick.....Barnegat City
 J. Perrot Ogden.....Riverton
 J. N. Carpenter.....New Brunswick
 D. Valentine.....New Brunswick
 D. W. Decker.....Deckertown
 Genas Ely.....Flemington
 Donald McKay.....Englewood
 Joseph I. Cunningham.....Ringwood
 Geo. W. Hubbell.....Newark
 Chas. N. Theberath.....Newark
 Jno. D. Carscallen.....Jersey City
 David W. Lawrence.....Jersey City

NEW YORK.

AT LARGE.

Theodore Roosevelt.....New York City
 Andrew D. White.....Ithaca
 Jno. I. Gilbert.....Malone
 Edwin Packard.....Brooklyn

Edward B. Thomas.....Norwich
 Henry F. Tarbox.....Batavia
 Chas. O. Tappan.....Potsdam
 Pascal P. Pratt.....Buffalo

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Geo. Wm. Curtis.....West New Brighton
 Jno. M. Crane.....Jamaica
 2—Edward H. Hobbs.....Brooklyn
 Silas B. Dutcher.....Brooklyn

Thomas Young.....Huntington
 John A. King.....Great Neck
 John McGeehan.....New Lots
 W. H. N. Cadmus.....Brooklyn

NEW YORK—DISTRICT DELEGATES—*Continued.*

Delegates.

Alternates.

3—Andrew D. Baird.....	Brooklyn	D. M. Northrup	Brooklyn
Geo. L. Pease.....	Brooklyn	Geo. W. Moore.....	Brooklyn
4—Wm. H. Beard.....	Brooklyn	J. M. Wood.....	Brooklyn
Martin N. Day.....	Brooklyn	Geo. Marshall.....	Brooklyn
5—Clark D. Rhinehart.....	Brooklyn	J. D. Cochrane.....	Brooklyn
Geo. C. Bennett.....	Brooklyn	Michael Buckman.....	Brooklyn
6—Jno. J. O'Brien.....	New York	Maurice D. Early.....	New York
John H. Brady.....	New York	Patrick H. Goodwin.....	New York
7—John D. Lawson.....	New York	Morris Friedsam.....	New York
Chas. N. Taintor.....	New York	Philip V. R. Van Wyck.....	New York
8—Robert G. McCord.....	New York	John Simpson.....	New York
John Collins.....	New York	Francis Snyder.....	New York
9—Jacob M. Patterson.....	New York	George Starr.....	New York
George Hilliard.....	New York	George W. Coffin.....	New York
10—Michael Cregan.....	New York	John R. Pope.....	New York
Bernard Biglin.....	New York	Jas. M. Turner.....	New York
11—Anson G. McCook.....	Washington, D. C.	Clarence W. Meade.....	New York
John R. Lydecker.....	New York	John McClave.....	New York
12—Edmund Stephenson.....	New York	Charles Whitlock.....	New York
William Dond.....	New York	Joseph L. Perley.....	New York
13—Frank Raymond.....	New York	Wm. R. Spooner.....	New York
John A. Eagleston.....	New York	Chr. N. Middleton.....	New York
14—Wm. H. Robertson.....	Katonah	Alford Romer.....	Pleasantville
Jas. W. Husted.....	Peekskill	J. Thos. Stearns.....	Fremont
15—Benjamin B. Odell.....	Newburg	Abram Merritt.....	Nyack
David J. Blumvelt.....	Nyack	Thomas W. Bradley.....	Walden
16—B. Platt Carpenter.....	Poughkeepsie	Willard H. Mase.....	Matteawan
Hamilton Fish, Jr.....	Garrison's	J. Wilton Brooks.....	Garrison's
17—Thomas Cornell.....	Rondout	C. T. Connelly.....	Esopus
Duncan Ballentine.....	Andes	R. Hume Grant.....	Hobart
18—Martin I. Townsend.....	Troy	Wm. E. Kisselburgh.....	Troy
Henry G. Burleigh.....	Whitehall	Royal C. Betts.....	Granville
19—Geo. Campbell, <i>one-half vote</i>	Cohoes	Madison Covert.....	West Troy
Hiram Griggs, <i>one-half vote</i>	Knowersville	Andrew S. Draper.....	Albany
Jas. Lamb, <i>one-half vote</i>	Cohoes	Wm. H. Haskell.....	Albany
Jas. A. Houck, <i>one-half vote</i>	Albany	Nathan D. Wendell.....	Albany
20—George West.....	Ballston Springs	J. S. L'Amereaux.....	Ballston Springs
John Kellogg.....	Amsterdam	M. L. Stoner.....	Amsterdam
21—John Hammond.....	Crown Point	Samuel Beman.....	Malone
George Chaboon.....	An Sable Forks	Jerome Lapham.....	Glens Falls
22—Leslie W. Russell.....	Canton	W. L. Proctor.....	Ogdensburg
Geo. A. Bagley.....	Watertown	W. W. Butterfield.....	Red Wood
23—W. E. Scripture.....	Rome	C. W. Hackett.....	Utica
A. M. Lampher.....	Lowville	R. J. Richardson.....	Lowville
24—Hobart Krum.....	Schoharie	Eugene Coffin.....	Cobleskill
Titus Sheard.....	Little Falls	Geo. H. Thomas.....	Middleville
25—Carroll E. Smith.....	Syracuse	Robert Bushby.....	Little York
Henry L. Duguid.....	Syracuse	James Frazee.....	Baldwinsville
26—Thomas C. Platt.....	Owego	K. Eugene Burnell.....	Guilford
Milton De Lano.....	Canastota	H. A. Stone.....	Binghamton
27—David D. Osborne.....	Auburn	Chas. T. Saxton.....	Clyde
Theron G. Yeomans.....	Walworth	W. A. Ogden.....	Genoa
28—Jeremiah W. Dwight.....	Dryden	A. H. Hood.....	Seneca Falls
Walter Lloyd Smith.....	Elmira	J. B. Morris.....	Watkins
29—Stephen T. Hays.....	Corning	Jonathan Robie.....	Bath
Geo. R. Cornwell.....	Penn Yan	Robt. L. Moody.....	Hall's Corners
30—Leonard Burritt.....	Spencerport	Jonas Jones.....	Rochester
Hulbert H. Warner.....	Rochester	Dayton G. Morgan.....	Brookport
31—James W. Wadsworth.....	Geneseo	Jas. H. Loomis.....	Attica
Edmund L. Pitts.....	Medina	Thomas B. Little.....	Le Roy
32—Jas. D. Warren.....	Buffalo	J. O. Meyer.....	Buffalo
Josiah Jewett.....	Buffalo	James C. Fullerton.....	Buffalo
33—Geo. Urban, Jr.....	Buffalo	Oscar H. Soule.....	Big Tree Corners
Lee R. Sanborn.....	Sanborn	Isaac H. Babcock.....	Lockport
34—Frank S. Smith.....	Angelica	J. S. Whipple.....	Salamanca
Norman M. Allen.....	Dayton	Jerome B. Fisher.....	Jamestown

NORTH CAROLINA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

J. J. Mott.....Statesville
W. S. Dockey.....Mangum
James H. Harris.....Raleigh
J. E. O'Hara.....Enfield

J. T. Hellen.....Winston
J. O. Wilcox.....Jefferson
W. W. Arrington.....Hellardston
J. H. Young.....Raleigh

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—J. B. Hill.....Raleigh
Elihu A. White.....Belvidere
2—Isaac J. Young.....Raleigh
John C. Dancy.....Tarboe
3—L. W. Humphrey.....Goldsborough
John S. Leary.....Fayetteville
4—Charles D. Upchurch.....Raleigh
John H. Williamson.....Louisburg
5—Thomas B. Keogh.....Greensborough
Patrick H. Winston, Jr.....Winston
6—Wm. P. Bynum.....Charlotte
E. J. Pennypacker.....Wilmington
7—H. C. Cowles.....Statesville
W. E. Henderson.....Salisbury
8—Wm. S. Pearson.....Morganton
L. L. Green.....Boone
9—J. B. Eaves.....Rutherfordton
T. J. Candler.....Ashville

S. A. Blount.....Beaufort
Hugh Cate.....Elizabeth City
A. B. Abbott.....New Berne
W. H. Outlaw.....Winsor

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D. W. Fuller.....Smithfield
O. Hunter.....Raleigh
J. B. Mitchell.....
C. P. Hester.....
J. W. Spaulding.....Whiteville
W. W. Jenkins.....Charlotte

OHIO.

AT LARGE.

J. B. Foraker.....Cincinnati
Wm. McKinley, Jr.....Canton
Mark A. Hanna.....Cleveland
Wm. H. West.....Bellefontaine

Rev. Jas. Poindexter.....Columbus
Robert Harlan.....Cincinnati
Jno. P. Green.....Cleveland
Graham Dewell.....Springfield

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Benjamin Eggleston.....Cincinnati
Wm. B. Smith.....Cincinnati
2—Amor Smith, Jr.....Cincinnati
Charles Fleischman.....Cincinnati
3—Henry L. Morey.....Hamilton
M. J. W. Holter.....Batavia
4—S. Craighead.....Dayton
A. R. Byrket.....Troy
5—J. S. Robinson.....Kenton
Joseph Morris.....Lima
6—Albert M. Pratt.....Bryan
J. N. High.....Napoleon
7—R. W. McMahan.....Bowling Green
W. C. Lemert.....Bucyrus
8—Oscar T. Martin.....Springfield
G. M. Elchelberger.....Urbana
9—Thos. E. Duncan.....Mt. Gilend
John F. Locke.....London
10—C. L. Luce.....Toledo
John B. Rice.....Fremont
11—Alphonso Hart.....Hillsborough
Chas. W. Boyd.....Levauna
12—O. B. Gould.....Portsmouth
H. S. Bundy.....Wellston
13—C. D. Firestone.....Columbus
C. E. Groce.....Circleville
14—Wm. I. Shriver.....New Lexington
Austin W. Vorhes.....Pomeroy
15—H. C. Van Vorhis.....Zanesville
E. L. Lybarger.....Coshoccon
16—E. G. Johnson.....Elyria
W. L. Sewell.....Mansfield

Luke A. Staley.....Cincinnati
Abe Mayer.....Cincinnati
Wm. Ronsheim.....Cincinnati
H. M. Guthardt.....Cincinnati
A. L. Harris.....Eaton
Walter S. Dilatash.....Lebanon
Elijah Devor.....Greenville
O. M. Gottschall.....Dayton
A. M. Kuhn.....Wapakoneta
Theodore Shied.....Fort Recovery
E. B. Walkup.....Delphos
S. G. Robertson.....Paulding
J. H. Ridgeley.....Tiffin
G. W. Kimmel.....Findlay
Andrew R. Creamer.....Washington, C. H.
I. W. Quinby.....Wilmington
E. B. Cole.....Marysville
Samuel R. Dumble.....Marion
James B. Luckey.....Elmore
G. W. Cleary.....Sandusky
Jno. K. Pollard.....West Union
Benj. F. Stone.....Chillicothe
Henry S. Neal.....Ironton
W. Rus Dobyns.....Waverly
A. D. Leib.....Millersport
A. H. Brooke.....Logan
Chauncey M. Holcomb.....Gallipolis
James D. Brown.....Athens
L. K. Anderson.....Coshoccon
T. F. Gault.....New Concord
Geo. Adams.....Millersburgh
Thomas Appleman.....Loudonville

OHIO—DISTRICT DELEGATES—*Continued.**Delegates.*

17—Chas. H. Baltzell.....	Bellaire
M. R. Patterson.....	Cambridge
18—C. H. Andrews.....	Youngstown
Wm. Monaghan.....	New Lisbon
19—E. L. Lampton.....	Jefferson
J. O. Converse.....	Chardon
20—A. L. Conger.....	Akron
T. D. Loomis.....	Lodi
21—Edwin Cowles.....	Cleveland
A. C. Hord.....	Cleveland

Alternates.

Geo. W. Taylor.....	Sarahsville
John W. Doherty.....	Woodfield
S. B. Campbell.....	Steuenville
E. C. Ross.....	Malvern
N. B. Sherwin.....	Cleveland
W. H. Johnson.....	Mcintor
Martin L. Smyser.....	Wooster
Frederic J. Mullins.....	Wooster
Geo. T. Chapman.....	Cleveland
D. A. Daugler.....	Cleveland

OREGON.

AT LARGE.

Joseph N. Dolph.....	Washington, D. C.
John T. Apperson.....	Oregon City
W. J. McConnell.....	North Yam Hill
John M. Swift.....	Baker City
A. G. Hovey.....	Eugene City
O. N. Denney.....	Portland

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PENNSYLVANIA.

AT LARGE.

James McManes.....	Philadelphia
Hamilton Disston.....	Philadelphia
P. L. Kimberly.....	Sharon
J. W. Lee.....	Franklin
Lewis Emery, Jr.....	Bradford
W. H. Jessup.....	Montrose

John L. Hill.....	Philadelphia
William E. Littleton.....	Philadelphia
James S. Biery.....	Allentown
N. P. Reed.....	Pittsburg
H. T. Harvey.....	Lock Haven
John W. Eckman.....	Port Kennedy

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—H. H. Bingham.....	Philadelphia
Wm. J. Pollock.....	Philadelphia
2—Wm. R. Leeds.....	Philadelphia
David H. Lane.....	Philadelphia
3—Samuel B. Gilpin.....	Philadelphia
Harry Hunter.....	Philadelphia
4—Alex. Crowe, Jr.....	Philadelphia
W. Elwood Rowan.....	Philadelphia
5—John T. Thompson.....	Philadelphia
John Ruhl.....	Philadelphia
6—B. F. Fisher.....	Schuylkill
Richard Young.....	Morton
7—Robert M. Yardley.....	Doylestown
J. P. Hale Jenkins.....	Norristown
8—Samuel R. Deppen.....	Robesonia Furnaces
F. S. Livengood.....	Reading
9—Edwin Reinhold.....	Marietta
Lewis S. Hartman.....	Lancaster
10—Samuel Thomas.....	Catasauqua
Wm. S. Kirkpatrick.....	Easton
11—Jas. Cruikshank.....	Danville
Jas. C. Brown.....	Bloomsburg
12—Hubbard B. Payne.....	Wilkesbarre
Henry M. Boies.....	Scranton
13—J. A. M. Passmore.....	Pottsville
J. Y. Sollenberger.....	Mahanoy City
14—Horace Brock.....	Lebanon
Jacob H. Wagner.....	Watsonstown
15—F. Lyon.....	Barclay
G. A. Grow.....	Glenwood
16—E. G. Schleffelin.....	Stokesdale
C. W. Hill.....	Williamsport
17—Daniel J. Morrell.....	Johnstown
Edward Scull.....	Somerset
18—John Stewart.....	Chambersburg
S. E. Duffield.....	McConnellsburg

Jos. W. Thompson.....	Philadelphia
W. W. Alcoan.....	Philadelphia
H. C. Woolpepper.....	Philadelphia
Jacob Wildemors.....	Philadelphia
Wm. D. Lelar.....	Philadelphia
Jos. H. Klemmer.....	Philadelphia
Edmund R. Lyon.....	Philadelphia
Chas. A. Porter.....	Philadelphia
Thos. J. Rose.....	Philadelphia
Thos. W. South.....	Philadelphia
B. F. Speakman.....	Coatesville
G. P. Denis.....	Chester
Harry J. Shoemaker.....	Tullytown
Joseph Bosler.....	Shoemakertown
Charles F. Evans.....	Reading
Albert J. Brumbach.....	Reading
F. A. Diffenderfer.....	Lancaster
Jacob Wolf.....	West Earl
Joseph Thomas.....	Quakertown
Chas. F. Chidsey.....	Easton
W. J. Scott.....	Nescopee
David Keller.....	Stroudsburg
Morgan B. Williams.....	Wilkesbarre
Albert J. Ackley.....	Chinchilla
Chas. E. Matten.....	Pottsville
Heister Albright.....	Orwigsburg
H. H. Kreider.....	Annvile
Joseph H. Nissley.....	Middletown
Benj. M. Peck.....	Towanda
H. B. Larrabee.....	Bethany
F. W. Graves.....	Wellsboro
M. A. Rogers.....	Forksville
S. B. Eldridge.....	Johnstown
Wm. C. Smith.....	Bedford
John A. Nash.....	Huntingdon
B. F. Wagonseller.....	Selingsrove

PENNSYLVANIA—DISTRICT DELEGATES—*Continued.**Delegates.*

19—Wm. H. Lanus	York
Jacob A. Kitzmiller	Gettysburg
20—E. A. Irvin	Curwensville
Dr. Thomas C. Thornton	Lewisburg
21—J. K. Ewing	Uniontown
James E. Sayers	Waynesburg
22—C. L. Magee	Pittsburg
Wm. Flynn	Pittsburg
23—Thos. M. Bayne	Allegheny City
E. M. Byers	Allegheny City
24—E. F. Acheson	Washington
John W. Wallace	New Castle
25—J. B. Henderson	Brookville
H. C. Howard	Indiana
26—T. C. Cochran	Sheakleyville
W. H. H. Riddle	Butler
27—E. W. Echols	Franklin
Joseph Johnson	Free

Alternates.

John W. Kirk	New Cumberland
A. G. Eberly	Mechanicsburg
H. O. Chapman	Lock Haven
H. H. Wensel	Kidgway
G. W. K. Minor	Uniontown
Robt. F. Downey	Waynesburg
Wm. Coates	Pittsburg
Andrew Fulton	Pittsburg
W. W. Spear	Allegheny City
R. G. Wood	Allegheny City
Alex. M. Todd	Washington
Frank S. Reader	New Brighton
Geo. J. Elliott	Reynoldsville
B. F. Langhlin	Brady P. O.
Geo. W. Wright	Mercer
A. H. Steele	Titusville
Charles E. Cooper	Oil City
Thos. J. Devore	Springfield

RHODE ISLAND

AT LARGE.

Gorham P. Pomroy	Providence	Warren O. Arnold	Chepachet
Frank M. Bates	Pawtucket	Frederick C. Sayles	Pawtucket
Ellery H. Wilson	Rumford	Lewis S. Steward	Pawtucket
Daniel G. Littlefield	Central Falls	Henry A. Stearns	Central Falls

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—William A. Steadman	Newport	Wm. P. Sheffield, Jr.	Newport
Jno. C. Burrington	Barrington	Samuel P. Colt	Bristol
2—Thomas C. Peckham	Coventry	Eugene F. Warner	Coventry
Albert L. Chester	Westerly	Z. Herbert Gardiner	Slocumville

SOUTH CAROLINA.

AT LARGE.

Robert Smalls	Beaufort	T. E. Miller	Beaufort
W. N. Taft	Charleston	J. H. Livingston	Orangeburgh
E. M. Brayton	Columbia	A. W. Curtis	Columbia
Samuel Lee	Sumter	T. J. Tuomey	Sumter

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—J. M. Freeman	Charleston	S. W. McKinlay	Charleston
E. H. Webster	Orangeburgh	J. P. Wragge	Charleston
2—Paris Simpkins	Edgefield	W. H. Heard	Aiken
S. E. Smith	Aiken	A. S. Bascomb	Robertsville
3—E. F. Blodgett	Oconee	Z. W. McMonis	Newberry
R. W. Boone	Newberry	W. A. Clark	Anderson
4—C. M. Wilder	Columbia	C. J. Stolbrand	Spartanburg
Wilson Cook	Greenville	J. F. Ensor	Spartanburg
5—C. C. Macoy	Chester	J. N. Clinton	Yorkville
E. H. Dibble	Kershaw	J. H. Johnson	Camden
6—E. H. Deas	Darlington	J. A. Whittemore	Sumter
J. T. Corbin	Charleston	J. B. Johnston	Maysville
7—T. B. Johnston	Sumter	D. T. Middleton	Mount Pleasant
W. H. Thompson	Berkeley	G. E. Harriott	Georgetown

TENNESSEE.

AT LARGE.

W. P. Brownlow	Jonesborough	W. H. Bradford	Dandridge
L. C. Houck	Knoxville	W. C. Hodge	Chattanooga
J. C. Napier	Nashville	C. S. Moss .....	.....
T. F. Cassells	Memphis	J. W. Boyd .....	.....

TENNESSEE—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—A. H. Pettibone.....	Greenville	Allen S. Tate.....	Rutledge
John W. Brown.....	Rogersville	H. C. Jarvis.....	Sneedville
2—W. C. Chandler.....	Sevierville	N. Chambliss.....	Kingston
W. C. Chamblea.....	Maryville	J. M. Cordell.....	Helenwood
3—H. F. Griscom.....	Chattanooga	Doctor Hoge.....	Athens
F. V. Brown.....	Jasper	T. M. Montgomery.....	Cleveland
4—B. W. Burford.....	Carthage	Geo. McKinnis.....	La Fayette
John Pruitt.....	Gallatin	J. S. Smith.....	Lebanon
5—W. Y. Elliott.....	Murfreesboro	J. C. McAdams.....	Shelbyville
W. M. Ekin.....	Lewisburgh	P. Frierson.....	Columbia
6—H. L. W. Cheatham.....	Nashville	D. N. Neylan.....	Nashville
B. J. Hadley.....	Nashville	J. W. Page.....	Clarksville
7—A. M. Hughes, Jr.....	Columbia	A. N. O. Williams.....	Franklin
Richard Harris.....	Pulaski	F. A. Montague.....	Columbia
8—S. W. Hawkins.....	Huntingdon	J. Thompson.....	Camden
J. C. Watson.....	Jackson	George K. Foote.....	Jackson
9—M. E. Bell.....	Dresden	E. W. Masley.....	Union City
S. A. McElwee.....	Brownsville	J. P. Hill.....	Union City
10—Carter Harris.....	Memphis	J. L. Humbert.....	Atoka
James H. Smith.....	Memphis	Hunt Somerville.....	Mason

TEXAS.

AT LARGE.

C. C. Binkley.....	Sherman	A. B. Norton.....	Dallas
N. W. Cuney.....	Galveston	George Hawkins.....	Dallas
Richard Allen.....	Houston	Dr. Hanna.....	Dennison
Robert Zapp.....	La Grange	J. M. Brown.....	Fort Worth

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—R. J. Evans.....	Nevasota	.....	.....
J. B. Farris.....	.....	.....	.....
2—G. W. Burkitt.....	.....	.....	.....
J. D. Davis.....	.....	.....	.....
3—Webster Flannagan.....	Henderson	.....	.....
Alex. Burge.....	Canton	.....	.....
4—A. G. Malloy.....	Galveston	.....	.....
J. R. Carter.....	Jefferson	.....	.....
5—O. T. Lyon.....	Sherman	G. W. Pasco.....	Sherman
Frank L. Cleve.....	Gainsville	H. Eddy.....	Henrietta
6—Jno. S. Witner.....	Dallas	T. C. Byrne.....	Terrell
J. C. Akers.....	Hillsborough	H. L. Dotson.....	Fort Worth
7—B. B. Kentfro.....	Brownsville	.....	.....
H. C. Ferguson.....	Richmond	.....	.....
8—A. J. Rosenthal.....	La Grange	.....	.....
Henry Green.....	.....	.....	.....
9—Nathan Patton.....	Palestine	.....	.....
W. H. Blont.....	Brenham	.....	.....
10—J. C. De Gress.....	Austin	.....	.....
Robt. Hanschke.....	San Antonio	.....	.....
11—Robert F. Campbell.....	El Paso	Engene Marshall.....	Dallas
H. H. McConnell.....	Jacksborough	C. B. Jackson.....	San Angelo

VERMONT.

AT LARGE.

J. Gregory Smith.....	St. Albans	Jed. P. Clark.....	Milton
Redfield Proctor.....	Rutland	Edgar N. Bissell.....	Shoreham
Frederick Billings.....	Woodstock	Dudley C. Denison.....	Royalton
Broughton D. Harris.....	Brattleboro	Samuel D. Hobson.....	Brighton

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Alonzo B. Valentine.....	Bennington	Philip K. Gleed.....	Morristown
Henry Ballard.....	Burlington	Simeon Allen.....	Fair Haven
2—B. Frank Fifield.....	Montpelier	Geo. H. Babbitt.....	Rockingham
Truman C. Fletcher.....	St. Johnsbury	Benjamin H. Hinman.....	Derby

VIRGINIA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Wm. Mahone.....	Petersburg, Va., Washington, D. C.	P. C. Coerigan.....	Newport News
Jas. D. Brady.....	Petersburg	J. S. Pattie.....	New Baltimore
F. S. Blair.....	Richmond	J. H. Ballard.....	Abingdon
S. M. Yost.....	Staunton	Wm. Skeen.....	Covington
W. H. Pleasants.....	Danville	Thomas V. Fry.....	Oak Park
A. A. Dodson.....	Clarksville	Geo. A. Martin.....	Norfolk

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—Duff Green.....	Falmouth	Morgan Treat.....	West Point
L. R. Steward.....	Warsaw	F. D. Lee.....	Gloucester
2—Harry Libbey.....	Washington, D. C.	Geo. W. Claud.....	Boykins
Jordan Thompson.....	Suffolk	A. H. Lindsay.....	Portsmouth
3—W. C. Elam.....	Richmond	J. W. Southward.....	Richmond
J. Anderson Taylor.....	Richmond	Jno. W. Poindexter.....	Louisa C. H.
4—W. E. Gaines.....	Burkeville	B. S. Hooper.....	Farmville
A. W. Harris.....	Petersburgh	James W. Pope.....	Danville
5—Wm. E. Sims.....	Chatham	H. C. Harris.....	Richmond
Winfield Scott.....	Floyd C. H.	J. T. Howell.....	
6—Jas. A. Frazier.....	Lexington	J. B. Dorman.....	Lexington
J. M. McLaughlin.....	Lynchburg	Cesar Perkins.....	Buckingham C. H.
7—L. S. Walker.....	Woodstock	C. M. Zirkle.....	Luray
J. L. Dunn.....	Nortonville	W. P. Moseley.....	Penbenton
8—R. L. Mitchell.....	Alexandria	John H. Deane.....	Winchester
Thomas G. Popham.....	Slate Mills	S. P. Bayly.....	Alexandria
9—H. C. Wood.....	Estillville	Wm. J. Dickenson.....	Lebanon
D. F. Houston.....	Roanoke	John H. Davis.....	

WEST VIRGINIA.

AT LARGE.

B. B. Dovenor.....	Wheeling	C. H. Beall.....	Wellsburg
Wm. M. O. Dawson.....	Kingwood	J. B. Lewis.....	Fairmont
E. L. Buttrick.....	Charleston	C. H. Payne.....	Coal Valley
Warren Miller.....	Ravenswood	W. C. Stiles.....	Volcano

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—C. D. Thompson.....	Wheeling	H. W. Fisher.....	Benwood
T. B. Jacobs.....	New Martinsville	John Donahoe.....	West Union
2—Lamar C. Powell.....	Fairmont	J. J. Hetzel.....	Paw Paw
Arnold C. Sherr.....	Maysville	Arthur Linsel.....	Grafton
3—Neil Robinson.....	Coalburg	J. H. Brown.....	Charleston
J. W. Heavener.....	Buckhannon	A. M. Poundston.....	Buckhannon
4—B. J. Redmond.....	West Columbia	J. J. Peterson.....	Huntington
M. C. C. Church.....	Parkersburg	A. B. White.....	Parkersburg

WISCONSIN.

AT LARGE.

E. B. Brodhead.....	Milwaukee	Martin Field.....	Mukwanago
E. W. Keyes.....	Madison	R. W. Bulton.....	City Point
Jonathan Bowman.....	Kilbourn City	W. S. Stanley.....	Milwaukee
Thomas B. Scott.....	Grand Rapids	J. E. Heg.....	Geneva

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

1—H. A. Cooper.....	Racine	William Meadows.....	Lyons
J. W. Sayles.....	Janesville	Nicholas Smith.....	Janesville
2—W. T. Rambush.....	Juneau	T. W. Spence.....	Fond du Lac
S. S. Barney.....	West Bend	J. T. Ware.....	Fond du Lac
3—Calvin Spensley.....	Mineral Point	C. E. Buel.....	Madison
A. C. Dodge.....	Monroe	J. S. Waddington.....	Argyle
4—F. C. Winkler.....	Milwaukee	H. J. Baumgartner.....	Milwaukee
Edward Sanderson.....	Milwaukee	John A. Dutcher.....	Milwaukee

WISCONSIN—DISTRICT DELEGATES—*Continued.*

Delegates.

5—J. H. Mead.....	Sheboygan
C. E. Estabrook.....	Manitowoc
6—C. B. Clark.....	Neenah
A. B. Kimball.....	Pine River
7—C. M. Butt.....	Viroqua
O. F. Temple.....	Mauston
8—Horace A. Taylor.....	Hudson
Geo. B. Shaw.....	Eau Claire
9—Alexander Stewart.....	Wausau
O. A. Ellis.....	Oconto

Alternates.

D. W. Stebbins.....	Ahuapee
Wm. Carbys.....	Mequon
P. F. Whiting.....	Berlin
M. H. Eaton.....	Oshkosh
A. L. Slye.....	Baraboo
James Donaldson.....	Sparta
A. A. Arnold.....	Galesville
M. C. Ring.....	Neilsville
S. S. Vaughn.....	Ashland
G. Y. Gardner.....	Grand Rapids

ARIZONA.

Clark Churchill.....	Prстон	L. H. Goodrich.....	Phoenix
A. H. Stebbins.....	Tombstone	William Griffith.....	Tucson

DAKOTA.

AT LARGE.

Nelson E. Nelson.....	Pembina	Byron E. Pay.....	Brookings
J. L. Jolly.....	Vermillion	Robert E. Wallace.....	Jamestown

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Frank B. Conger.....	Washington	Andrew Gleason.....	Washington
Perry H. Carson.....	Washington	Arthur St. A. Smith.....	Washington

IDAHO.

D. P. B. Pride.....	Boise City	George A. Black.....	Hailey
W. N. Shilling.....	Blackfoot	Hazen Squires.....	Lewiston

MONTANA.

Wilbur F. Saunders.....	Helena	Mack J. Leaming.....	Fort Benton
Lee Mantle.....	Butte	Hiram Knowles.....	Butte

NEW MEXICO.

AT LARGE.

Eugenie Romere.....	Las Vegas	T. H. Lawrence.....	Mora
W. H. H. Llewellyn.....	Lincoln	F. A. Thompson.....	Socorro

UTAH.

Eli H. Murray.....	Salt Lake City	C. C. Goodwin.....	Salt Lake City
Nathan Kimball.....	Ogden	Joseph E. Galigher.....	Park City

WASHINGTON.

AT LARGE.

John L. Wilson.....	Spokane	William Stine.....	Walla Walla
George D. Hill.....	Seat le	S. F. Sahm.....	New Tacoma

WYOMING.

AT LARGE.

James France.....	Rawlins	James M. Tisdell.....	Rock Springs
J. W. Meldrum.....	Laramie City	O. C. Smith.....	Rock Springs

Mr. STEWART, of Pennsylvania. I move the adoption of the report of the committee with its recommendation.

The PRESIDENT. The committee is not quite through with its report.

Mr. FORT. I move that the report of the committee as presented be received and adopted by the Convention.

Mr. McCURE, of California. I second the motion.

The PRESIDENT. It is moved and seconded that the report just presented by the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials be now adopted by the Convention.

The motion was unanimously carried.

Mr. BAYNE, of Pennsylvania. I move that the roll of the States be called, that they may report the members of the National Committee.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is of the opinion that the members of the National Committee have already been reported.

Mr. BAYNE. I am not aware of that fact.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary informs me that I am mistaken, and that you are right.

Mr. BAYNE. I ask, then, that that motion be put to the Convention.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. I hope that motion will not be put yet; one-half of the delegations on this floor, I apprehend, are not ready to report. The custom has been for the delegates to hand in their National Committeemen at the close of the proceedings of the Convention; and I hope the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Bayne] will withdraw his motion, and let us act in accordance with past precedent in regard to that matter.

Mr. BAYNE. I will withdraw it, then.

The PRESIDENT. The motion is withdrawn.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. PARKS, of California. The Committee on Rules and Order of Business have completed their labors, and have agreed upon the rules that shall govern this body; but upon the resolution referred to them relating to the basis of representation, there is a disagreement; and in order to give the minority sufficient time to prepare a minority report, the committee have agreed to make two reports, and they will send this up at this time and ask permission to make the second report afterward. While the report is going up I will say that the committee have adopted substantially the present rules of this body, with the exception that they make Cushing's Manual the governing law instead of the rules of Congress; otherwise they are substantially the same.

The PRESIDENT. Read the report.

The Secretary read the report, as follows :

The Committee on Rules and Order of Business beg leave to make the following report :

RULE 1. This Convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each State equal to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in Con-

gress, and two delegates from each Territory, and two from the District of Columbia.

RULE 2. This Convention shall be governed by the general parliamentary law, taking Cushing's Manual for authority, except so far as otherwise provided in the following rules.

RULE 3. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegates from any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by a majority of the Convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

RULE 4. Upon all subjects before the Convention the States shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the Territories and District of Columbia.

RULE 5. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Resolutions is acted upon; and the report of the Committee on Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

RULE 6. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, the Secretary calling the roll of the States and Territories and the District of Columbia, in the order heretofore stated.

RULE 7. In making the nominations for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it shall appear that any candidate has received a majority of the votes cast, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" But if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes, the Chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast; and when any State has announced its vote it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error.

RULE 8. In the record of the vote by States, the vote of each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia, shall be announced by the Chairman; and in case the vote of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition; but if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the Chairman of his delegation, the President of the Convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the votes individually given.

RULE 9. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the Convention, except in the presentation of names of candidates.

RULE 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia, represented in this Convention. The roll shall be called and the delegation from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia, shall name, through their Chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee. Such committee shall prescribe a method or methods for the election of the delegates to the

National Convention to be held in 1888, announce the same to the country, and issue a call for that Convention in conformity therewith. Provided, that such methods or rules shall include and secure to the several Congressional districts in the United States the right to elect their own delegates to the National Convention.

RULE 11. All resolutions relating to the platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

W. II. PARKS, *Chairman*.

HENRY B. ATHERTON, *Secretary*.

Mr. GALUSHA A. GROW, of Pennsylvania. I desire to offer a substitute for Rule 10, relating to the duties of the National Republican Committee.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will send it forward to the desk.

The SECRETARY. The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves to amend Rule 10 so as to read as follows:

A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia, shall name, through its Chairman, a person who shall act as a member of such committee. Such committee shall issue the call for the meeting of the National Convention six months at least before the time fixed for said meeting; and each Congressional district in the United States shall elect its delegates to the National Convention in the same way as the nomination for a member of Congress is made in said district; and in the Territories the delegate to the Convention shall be elected in the same way as the nomination of a delegate to Congress is made; and said National Committee shall prescribe the mode for electing the delegate for the District of Columbia. An alternate delegate for each delegate to the National Convention, to act in case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same manner and at the same time as the delegate is elected.

Mr. GROW. I do not propose to occupy the attention of this Convention but a few moments. All the substitute does is to make specific the mode of electing the delegates and their alternates, instead of leaving it to the National Committee to prescribe two or three different forms, and thus make confusion in the election; no form at all, in reality. Rule 10 is the rule providing for the election of delegates; and leaves it to the National Republican Committee to provide the plan and announce it. The rule did not provide for alternates before. It tells them to elect them, but don't tell them how to do it. This makes it specific, that is all. My substitute simply provides that each Congressional District shall elect its delegate in the same way they nominate a member of Congress, and the delegates in the Territories shall be elected in the same way that they nominate their delegate to Congress. It avoids all confusion; it goes home to the people; it is the same method that they have established of electing the representatives to make their laws and speak in the councils of the Republic. What better mode can there be? Let the delegates go to the National Convention in the same mode, the same method that the people elect their

lawmakers, and those who are to announce the great doctrines that are laid down in the platforms of the political organizations of the country; that is all, Mr. President, there is in the substitute.

I have only one other word to say. I do not propose it as a part of this substitute, but it strikes me that it would be the part of wisdom if the delegation was less instead of greater; so that the Republican National Convention should be more of a deliberative body. For years the Republican National Conventions have settled the ideas and principles which prevail in this government, and which go into the legislation of the country. We announce the principles of the political party of the Republic that go into the law; first, they enter into the education of the people, into their ideas; next, they become a part of the fundamental doctrines of the Republican party. Then, if the delegations were less instead of greater, I think it would be a wise move; but my substitute provides nothing but a definite mode for the election of delegates.

Mr. WM. H. PARKS, of California. If I understand the amendment correctly, there can be no objection to it. I understand it adopts the same manner, but points it out more specifically than we have in the committee report. I would like to hear the amendment read once more which the gentleman from Pennsylvania offers. [Calls for reading of Rule 10 and the amendment.] Mr. President, will you be kind enough to have Rule 10 and the amendment read afterward?

The Secretary again read the rule and the amendment.

Mr. GROW. There seems to be a confusion about the delegates-at-large. The first resolution reported by the Committee on Rules, provides that the National Convention of the Republican party shall consist in each State of twice the number of the Senators and members of the House of Representatives from that State. That leaves the delegates-at-large to be elected by a State Convention, and I say nothing about it; it would simply make confusion. This only provides how the delegates shall be elected in Congressional Districts, leaving two to each Territory, and two to the District of Columbia; but the National Committee must prescribe the mode of electing in the District of Columbia, as they don't send a delegate to Congress. In the Territories the machinery is all in operation, and under party organization. And we need not interfere with it.

Mr. PARKS. I see no objection to the amendment. It simply provides that this Convention shall determine how the delegates shall be elected, instead of leaving it discretionary with the National Committee. If this Convention desires to exercise that right, it certainly has the right to do so. [Calls for the question.]

The PRESIDENT. The question before the Convention is upon the adoption of the substitute offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Grow].

Mr. HUGH A. CARSON, of Alabama. I would make a suggestion to the gentleman who has offered the amendment, or the substitute, that in some of the Southern States no candidates for Congress are nominated at all in some of the districts; and therefore, there is no known means—there are no known ways by which it could be decided by a future National Convention, whether or not the delegates had been elected in the usual mode of nominating candi-

dates for members of Congress; and it might lead to confusion in the future. The reason why these nominations are not made in the Southern districts—in some of them, at least—is too obvious to this Convention to need any comment now. I only suggest it in order that it may now be considered rather than be considered by some Convention in the future.

The President put the question, and the substitute was adopted.

Mr. PARKS. The Committee on Rules unintentionally failed to provide for the order of business. And I have prepared an amendment to send up for the consideration of the Convention, that it may be settled in its order.

Mr. THURSTON, of Nebraska. I ask to hear the rule read which determines the number of ballots necessary to nominate in this Convention.

Mr. CONGER, of the District of Columbia. I submit that having adopted the substitute, it is now in order to proceed to vote on the original motion.

The PRESIDENT. There is an amendment sent up to the report by the gentleman from California [Mr. Parks], which is the question, or will be the question when it shall have been read.

Mr. PARKS. The motion has not been put for the adoption of the rules, and I propose this additional one.

The PRESIDENT. The report will be read as presented by the gentleman from California.

The SECRETARY. The gentleman from California [Mr. Parks], from the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, submits the following additional report :

RULE 12. The Convention shall proceed in the following order of business, commencing after the reports of the Committee on Credentials and Rules :

First—Report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

Second—Presentation of candidates for President.

Third—Balloting.

Fourth—Presentation of candidates for Vice-President.

Fifth—Balloting.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from California offer this as an addition to a rule, or as a new rule ?

Mr. PARKS. As a new rule. I was laboring under a mistake. I thought the vote had been taken on the adoption of these rules, and intended to submit this for the consideration of the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. That report has not yet been adopted.

Mr. PARKS. But as it is there, I will consider it as a new rule offered by myself.

The PRESIDENT. You offer this as an amendment to the report ?

Mr. PARKS. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon the adoption of the new rule moved as an amendment by the gentleman from California.

Mr. BAYNE, of Pennsylvania. Those propositions do not seem to embrace all that we require to handle this Convention. No provision is made for the reception of the names on the call of the States for the report of the members

of the National Committee. If that matter be corrected, I, for one, am perfectly satisfied with the proposition.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is of the opinion that the gentleman is mistaken.

The SECRETARY. There is a rule on that subject.

The PRESIDENT. There is a rule. It will be read by the Secretary.

Mr. BAYNE. I ask that the rule be read.

The SECRETARY. It is a part of the substitute offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania. [Reading.]

"A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia, represented in this Convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia, shall name, through its Chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee."

Mr. BAYNE. Which is quite true, but no time is fixed by the proposition submitted by the committee for the call of the States for such report. I move, as a sixth proposition, and as an amendment to the proposition of my friend from California, that the Chairmen of the respective delegations be authorized to hand in to the Secretary of the Convention the names of the members of the National Committee chosen by the respective delegations at any time; and if there be any controversy in respect to any choice, that matter can be corrected afterward.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman be so kind as to reduce his proposition to writing, and send it to the desk?

Mr. THURSTON, of Nebraska. I understood from the reading of one of the rules that it provided for a nomination by this Convention of the man who received a majority of the votes cast. If that be so, or, in order to determine if it be so, I ask to hear that rule read before the adoption of this report, in order, if such be the case, to offer an amendment that it shall require a majority of all the votes of this Convention to nominate a candidate.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Bayne] offers the following as an amendment to the rule offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. Parks].

Mr. BAYNE. I desire to make a motion that that proposition be inserted immediately before the beginning of the first ballot for the nomination of the candidates for President.

The PRESIDENT. What rule does that gentleman refer to? Rule 7?

Mr. BAYNE. The last proposition submitted by the Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will connect it together and read it.

The SECRETARY. To be inserted before the presentation of candidates for President, do I understand?

Mr. BAYNE. Yes, sir.

The SECRETARY. To read that the roll of the States be called to report the members of the National Committee in the order of business.

Mr. PARKS. I accept the amendment.

The PRESIDENT. The amendment being accepted, the question now is—
Mr. GROW. Now, let it be read as amended.

The Secretary read the rule offered by Mr. Parks, of California.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. *Mr. President:* A question of inquiry. This is a matter of importance. Suppose this rule is adopted and the roll of the States is peremptorily called at the period designated. It may in future Conventions work all right, but it is taking the present Convention by surprise. There are many delegations who have not selected their committeeman. We want some provision so that we will not be disfranchised by some iron rule adopted on the spur of the moment without deliberation or consideration—

Mr. PARKS. If the gentleman will allow me—

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman yield to the gentleman from California?

Mr. HOUCK. I will yield one moment.

Mr. PARKS. I would make a suggestion to him that if there are any delegations that have not selected their candidate they can ask to have the State passed until they do so. That obviates all objections.

Mr. HOUCK. I was about to say, Mr. President, that the better rule, if you are going to have a rule on this question at all, and take it out of the discretion of the Convention, would be to have a provision, if a State is not ready to report, that they may hand in the name at any time after it is acted upon and the name is designated by a majority of the delegation; and I offer that as a proviso. Will you accept that, Mr. Bayne?

Mr. BAYNE. Yes, provided any State be not ready to report—

Mr. HOUCK. That they may hand in the name at any time. Language that will make that read with that sense will satisfy me.

The PRESIDENT. The proviso offered having been accepted, the question now before the Convention is upon the new rule as amended, offered by the gentleman from California. Is the house ready for the question?

The question being put, the rule was adopted.

Mr. McCLURE, of California. I move the adoption of the report as amended.

Mr. SAUNDERS, of Montana. I ask the gentleman from California to permit the making of this amendment and the explanation of its effect by Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from California [Mr. McClure] yield?

Mr. McCLURE. I yield.

Mr. THURSTON, of Nebraska. Can we have read the rule relating to the manner of balloting? We do not understand it—the number of votes necessary to elect.

The PRESIDENT. It shall be read in a moment. The question now pending is the amendment to the rule offered by the gentleman on the left [Mr. Saunders].

The Secretary read the amendment as follows :

Members of such committee shall be eligible to seats in the Electoral College.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is constrained to declare the amendment out of order. The rules have already been adopted, and can not thus now be amended.

Mr. BAYNE. I rise to make an inquiry. Have the rules recommended by the Committee on Rules and Order of Business been adopted by the Convention?

The PRESIDENT. No, sir; not as yet.

Mr. BAYNE. They have not?

The PRESIDENT. That is, the report has not yet been adopted.

Mr. BAYNE. I now move, sir, the adoption of that report; and upon that motion demand the previous question.

Mr. ROOSEVELT, of New York. Will the gentleman give way for one moment for a question for information?

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. BAYNE. I do not yield my motion. I will yield to the inquiry of the gentleman from New York.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves the adoption of the report, and upon that motion calls for the previous question.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. The gentleman has given way to me for a question of information. I thank the gentleman for his courtesy. My question for information is, Has there not been a minority report prepared or presented, as I certainly understood there was to be by certain members of the committee, looking to a reorganization of the representation in this Convention—in the next Convention? I did not understand from the reading of the rules, and neither did several of the members who are round about me, what provisions, if any, were made for the representation of Republicans in future National Conventions; but I knew that there had been a strong feeling among certain members of the committee itself, as well as among the Convention at large, that there should be some reorganization by which the number of delegates to the next Convention should be more nearly proportionate to the Republican votes cast in their respective States; and I merely rose to ask if any such minority report had been presented.

Mr. PARKS. I stated when I made my report, that the committee had withheld the report upon that resolution, and would make it as soon as the minority could prepare their report.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I did not understand that, and I did not distinctly hear the remarks made by the gentleman from California when he first got up. I withdraw the question I made.

Mr. BAYNE. I demand the previous question on my motion for the adoption of the report.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves the adoption of the report, and upon that motion calls for the previous question.

Mr. RUSSELL, of New York. Will the gentleman give way for one moment?

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. BAYNE. I do not withdraw, but I do submit to an inquiry.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will proceed.

Mr. RUSSELL. I submit that if Rule 1, as it is now reported, is adopted, there is no use of submitting the minority report.

Mr. BAYNE. That matter has been canvassed by the committee.

Mr. RUSSELL. One moment. I believe I have the floor.

Mr. BAYNE. It was merely for an inquiry, and the gentleman is proceeding—

Mr. RUSSELL. I am going to ask a question. I ask information from the Chair, whether, if Rule 1 be adopted, a minority report upon the subject of representation will hereafter be in order, or can the Convention take any action upon that subject? And I ask for the reading of Rule 1.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. BAYNE. No, sir; I do not yield. I will only say that my friend is mistaken about that altogether.

The PRESIDENT. The question before the Convention is, will the Convention now sustain the previous question?

Mr. THURSTON, of Nebraska. I rise to make an inquiry of the President of this Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair must decide that the gentleman is out of order. The question is not debatable.

Mr. GEO. R. DAVIS, of Illinois. I rise to a question of order. Is it not necessary that two names should second the previous question before the question is put?

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is right about that.

Mr. L. H. ROOTS, of Arkansas. I wish the gentleman would yield for a moment to the gentleman from Nebraska to offer an amendment.

Mr. BAYNE. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. Thurston] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. THURSTON. Some time since I made a request for the reading of one of the rules reported by this committee, for the purpose of informing many gentlemen upon this floor as to what it was that they were to vote upon here; and asked the Chair that that might be done for the further purpose of giving me an opportunity to move an amendment to that rule, if it read as I understood it.

The PRESIDENT. What is the number of the rule that the gentleman wants read?

Mr. THURSTON. It is the rule relating to the number of votes necessary to nominate a candidate by this Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will proceed to read the rule number seven.

The Secretary read as follows :

When it shall appear that any candidate has received a majority of the votes cast, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be: Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?

Mr. THURSTON, of Nebraska. That is, "of the votes cast?"

The PRESIDENT. Yes, sir.

Mr. THURSTON. Now, Mr. President, I understood that the President of this Convention promised me an opportunity to have this read and to move an amendment.

Mr. DAVIS, of Illinois. All that is necessary is to vote down the previous question.

Mr. THURSTON, of Nebraska. I do not apprehend that the time will ever come when less than a majority of this Convention will nominate any man; but, sir, I believe that if any rule should be adopted and enforced in this Convention, by which a minority of its duly elected representatives should attempt to force upon the Republican party of this Nation a candidate, that such action should be repudiated by the freemen of America. And I move you, sir, to strike out the word "cast," and insert, in lieu thereof, "all the votes of the Convention," and make it so it will read: "a majority of all the votes of the Convention"—"a majority of all the delegates elected and having seats upon the floor of the Convention." I will reduce my amendment to writing, and send it up to the Chair.

The PRESIDENT. You will please do so.

Mr. BAYNE, of Pennsylvania. I accept that amendment so far as I am individually concerned. I think that is the meaning of the rule as it is. It never was intended to be anything else. I cheerfully myself accept that amendment, because it ought to be the rule.

The PRESIDENT. It is not in the power of the gentleman to accept it. It is a question for the Convention.

Mr. DAVIS, of Illinois. I desire to have read that rule which requires the previous question to be seconded by two States, for this reason: that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Bayne] presumes to hold this floor upon a simple motion for the previous question, when he is not entitled to it until it is so seconded.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Illinois is entirely correct, and the Chair was about to call the attention of the gentleman from Pennsylvania to the fact, which the Chair assumed was the fact at the time.

Mr. DAVIS. I want to hear read the rule that we are working under.

Mr. WINSTON, of North Carolina. I wish to ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania a question. I wish my friend from Pennsylvania would tell me whether, under this rule, the President has not authority to announce that some candidate has received a majority pending the roll call.

Mr. BAYNE. No, sir.

Mr. WINSTON. Yes, he has. This rule says: "Whenever it shall appear during the call of the roll that a candidate has a majority, the Chairman shall then" stop the business of the Convention, and ask that it be made unanimous. I am opposed to that. I don't want that until the roll call is ended. I move that as an amendment.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will assure the gentleman, that, whatever the rule is, this Chair would never decide anybody nominated until the roll call was finished.

Mr. GROW, of Pennsylvania. I beg my colleague to withdraw for a moment. There seems to be a great confusion on a question that I do not think there is any ambiguity in. I propose to add by unanimous consent now—the gentlemen can all hear me, therefore—some gentleman raised the question that the substitute that I offered and the Convention adopted, leaves it uncertain how delegates-at-large are to be elected. I do not think that there is any ambiguity about it; but by unanimous consent, Mr. President, I ask that there be added at the end of the substitute that was adopted: “And the delegates-at-large for each State and their alternates shall be elected by State Conventions in their respective States.” And then there can be no ambiguity. I ask unanimous consent to that. I suppose no one objects.

The PRESIDENT. If there is no objection, the amendment will be made by the Clerk.

Mr. WINSTON, of North Carolina. The following amendment I understand to be accepted by the gentleman from Pennsylvania: “Whenever it shall appear at the end of any roll call that a candidate has a majority of all the delegates elected to this Convention.”

Mr. BAYNE. No objection in the world to the amendment.

Mr. RUSSELL, of New York. Is the pending question upon the adoption now of the report of the committee as amended?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is waiting for the gentleman from Nebraska to send up his amendment.

Mr. THURSTON, of Nebraska. I sent it up by some page on the floor some moments ago.

The PRESIDENT. The amendment has not arrived yet.

Mr. RUSSELL. If the Chair will recognize me, pending the coming of that amendment, I move to amend the motion to adopt the report by adding these words: “With leave to the minority of the committee to submit its report, and for the Convention to act thereon.”

The PRESIDENT. While we are considering the amendment of the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. Thurston], will the gentleman from New York [Mr. Russell] prepare his amendment and send it up?

Mr. WINSTON. The amendment which I made was accepted by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will inquire of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Bayne] whether his call for the previous question is made on behalf of the delegation from Pennsylvania and seconded by two other States.

A DELEGATE. I desire to call the attention of the Chair to this one fact. We can not hear anything that emanates from the President of this Convention either owing to the confusion near us or to the hoarseness of the President.

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, will you come to order in the Convention? We can not transact business in this way. There is too much confusion.

Mr. BAYNE. I made a motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Rules. On that motion I demanded the previous question. That motion has not been put. That demand can not be made except, as I understand, I am

authorized by my State. That demand has not been seconded as required. I have yielded to one after another to make such motions and amendments as any gentleman of this Convention might deem proper. I have no idea in the world of applying any gag rule that will shut out any proper correction of these rules; and I submitted to the gentleman from Nebraska, and to other gentlemen. My only object is to arrive at some conclusion and to settle this matter, that we may proceed with some degree of rapidity with the deliberations of this Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The question now before the Convention is the adoption of the report of the committee.

Mr. BAYNE. I accept, sir, the amendment of the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. Thurston].

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you accept my amendment, also?

Mr. BAYNE. What was your amendment? I have not heard it.

The Secretary read the amendment, as follows:

“Whenever it shall appear at the end of any ballot, or roll call, that any candidate has received a majority of all the votes to which the Convention, by the call of the National Committee, is entitled” —

Mr. J. A. KING, of New York. Before the taking of the vote upon the adoption of this report, I move, sir, that the Secretary read to us the report in full, as now amended. There have been many amendments, and we want to know precisely what it is. I mean the amendments; not the whole report, but the rule as amended.

Mr. SAUNDERS, of Montana. I rise to a question of order. I offered an amendment to Rule 10, and moved its adoption, and it was seconded; it has not been put. I am satisfied that every man in this Convention will favor it if he comprehends its significance; and for that purpose I ask the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Hoar] to explain it, saying simply that I wish to secure the same end by the substitute, which changes only the verbiage of the amendment which I offered.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will send it forward. Mr. Saunders, of Montana, offers the following amendment to Rule 10.

The Secretary read the amendment, as follows:

Amendment to Rule 10. Provided that no person shall be a member of the committee who is not eligible as a member of the Electoral College.

Mr. SAUNDERS. I wish to hear from the gentleman from Massachusetts, on that question.

Mr. GEO. F. HOAR, of Massachusetts. The gentleman from Montana [Mr. Saunders] asked me to explain, for the information of the Convention, the law passed by Congress a year ago, commonly known as the Civil Service act. It was not the purpose of that law to prohibit any Federal officer from exercising all the rights of an American citizen. It is expected that he may contribute of his service or of his money to the cause of the political party to which he

belongs, as he would to the cause of his church or to any religious or humane enterprise. That law was enacted to prohibit the exercise of official power over men in official places; and to that end the provision, a most stringent provision, has been enacted, that no person holding a Federal office shall directly or indirectly receive or solicit a contribution of money from any other person holding such office.

Now, if a Federal officer, whatever his office may be, whether member of Congress, or executive or judicial officer, be a member of the National Committee, it will clearly be an offense which will subject him to imprisonment and fine, if that committee, either by itself or by its treasurer, shall receive a contribution of money from any other Federal officer. By placing upon the National Committee, therefore, a gentleman holding such office, you have prohibited every one of your fellow-citizens in the service of the government from aiding in this campaign by a contribution of money. And I suppose it was the purpose of the gentleman from Montana [Mr. Saunders] to have that clearly understood by the Convention in calling upon me to say what I have—that no person holding a Federal office under the Constitution of the United States can be a member of the Electoral College.

Mr. JAMES HILL, of Mississippi. I would like to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts a question.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOAR. I yield.

Mr. HILL. If the Convention that meets here—the members of this Convention who are Federal office-holders—can come here and create a committee for the purpose of soliciting, receiving and disbursing moneys for party purposes, is not that, sir, indirectly on our part doing something that that law prohibits?

Mr. HOAR. That law does not prohibit the receipt of such a contribution by a Federal officer.

Mr. HILL. Indirectly?

Mr. HOAR. It does not, directly or indirectly. It does not prohibit the giving of such a contribution by a Federal officer. It does prohibit the making of a contribution by one Federal officer to any organization of which another Federal officer is a member. And I will state further, that the Congressional National Committee of the Republican party, of which I have the honor to be a member, had a meeting in Washington a few days ago, calling to their council such members of the National Committee as were in the neighborhood, and they unanimously agreed to recommend to this Convention to make such provision that no Federal officer should be a member of the National Committee.

Mr. KING, of New York. I renew my motion that such rules as have been amended shall now be read for the information of the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The question now is upon the amendment offered by Mr. Saunders, of Montana.

Mr. JOSEPH N. DOLPH, of Oregon. I move to lay that resolution on the table.

Mr. BAYNE, of Pennsylvania. I hope not. That would carry the report of the committee; and I hope my friend will withdraw that motion.

Mr. DOLPH. These rules are not adopted yet. We are acting under the rules of the House of Representatives.

The President put the question on the adoption of Mr. Saunders' motion, and it was declared carried. A division was called for.

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will again read the amendment of the gentleman from Montana for the information of the Convention.

The Clerk read the proposed amendment to Rule 10, as follows :

Provided, That no person shall be a member of the committee who is not eligible as a member of the Electoral College.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will again put the motion.

The amendment was again put, and adopted.

Mr. BAYNE. There is only one more amendment, proposed by the gentleman from New York [Gen. Russell]. I have no objection to that.

The PRESIDENT. What is the amendment proposed by the gentleman from New York?

Mr. RUSSELL. I have sent my amendment up.

Mr. KING. I would like to have Rule 10 read, as amended.

The PRESIDENT. In one moment.

The SECRETARY. Mr. Russell, of New York, moves to amend, as follows : With leave to the minority of the committee to submit a report, and the Convention to act thereon.

Mr. BAYNE. There is no objection to that.

Mr. JOHN S. LEARY, of North Carolina. I wish to state that on Tuesday, the first day of the session of this Convention, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Pierce, I believe] introduced a resolution in regard to the apportionment of delegates to the National Convention. That resolution, by a vote of the Convention, was referred to the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. When the Committee on Rules and Order of Business had met, they took into consideration that resolution, and that committee had presented to it various propositions; one by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Bayne], another by the gentleman from New York, a member of the Committee [Mr. Chahoon]. The committee acted on these various propositions, and they adopted a resolution leaving the representation as it now exists. There were some gentlemen in the committee who did not agree with the majority. They said that they would make a minority report. The Chairman of that committee [Mr. Parks, from California] made the report this morning, and he stated that the resolution had been adopted by the committee; but in consequence of the fact that several gentlemen of the committee intended to make a minority report, he withheld that in order that he might make that report. Now, sir, I call attention to the resolution introduced by the gentleman from Massachusetts, that it gives the

committee leave to report on that particular rule at any time before the voting for a candidate for President of the United States.

MR. KING, of New York. Now, Mr. Chairman, I move again that the rules, where they have been amended, be now read.

THE PRESIDENT. One moment. The question before the Convention is upon the adoption of the motion made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Russell].

MR. RUSSELL. Mr. Bayne accepts my amendment.

MR. BAYNE. I have no objection to it.

The amendment was put and carried.

THE PRESIDENT. The question now is upon the adoption of the report.

MR. KING. I move that the amendments, as they have been made, be read in connection with the rules, before we vote.

THE PRESIDENT. It is asked that the report now be read by the Clerk. The Clerk will read all those clauses which have been amended, as amended.

THE SECRETARY. The following is Rule No. 7, as amended :

In making the nominations for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it appears, at the close of any roll call, that any candidate has received a majority of all the votes to which the Convention, by the call of the National Committee, is entitled, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?"

THE SECRETARY. Rule 10, as amended, is as follows: "A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of two members from each State, Territory"— [Cries of "One member."]

MR. RUSSELL, of New York. A clerical error. "One" is right.

THE SECRETARY. I am reading as amended.

MR. RUSSELL. No: "one" is right.

The Secretary resumed :

A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia, shall name, through its Chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee; provided that no person shall be a member of the committee who is not eligible as a member of the Electoral College. Said committee shall issue the call for the meeting of the National Convention six months at least before the time fixed for said meeting; and each Congressional District in the United States shall elect its delegates to the National Convention in the same way as the nomination of a Member of Congress is made in said District; and in the Territories the delegates to the Convention shall be elected in the same way as the nomination of Delegates to Congress is made; and said National Convention shall prescribe the mode of electing the delegates for the District of Columbia. An alternate delegate for each delegate to the National Convention, to act in case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same way

and at the same time as the delegate is elected. Delegates-at-large for each State and their alternates shall be elected by State Conventions in their respective States.

The SECRETARY. Mr. Russell moved that the minority of the committee have leave to submit a report and the Convention to act thereon.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. A matter of inquiry.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is entitled to the floor.

Mr. HOUCK. I want to call attention to the phraseology of the rule in reference to the calling of the roll. Under that phraseology, as I understand it, each delegate would be required to answer to his individual name every time a vote is taken, as I understand it.

Several DELEGATES. Oh, no.

Mr. HOUCK. I will ask that it be read again, that we may know.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read Rule 6, which has already been adopted.

Mr. HOUCK. If that be true, it is satisfactory to me.

Mr. PARKS, of California. I want to state that the amendment proposed by my friend on the left, and last read, is of no value whatever. The committee have reported on the rule, and, when in order, will report upon the resolution that was referred to them. It is a right they have. The matter was referred to them entirely separate from the rules, and they are prepared to report as soon as the Convention disposes of these rules.

The PRESIDENT. Read Rule 6.

The Secretary read as follows :

Rule 6. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, the Secretary calling the roll of the States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, in the order hereinbefore stated.

The PRESIDENT. The question before the Convention is upon the adoption of the report as amended.

The motion to adopt was agreed to unanimously.

The PRESIDENT. The report is adopted.

Mr. PARKS. The Committee on Rules desire to make a report upon the resolution referred to them in reference to the apportionment of delegates to the next Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will send it forward to the desk.

Mr. PARKS. I desire to state on my own behalf that I shall send this report up without debate as far as I am concerned.

The Secretary read as follows :

The majority of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, who were directed to inquire into the subject of revising the apportionment of delegates to future National Conventions, have considered the same, and respectfully report the following resolution:

Resolved, That in future Republican National Conventions representation by delegates shall be as follows :

First.—Each State shall be entitled to four delegates-at-large and to two additional delegates-at-large for each representative-at-large, if any, elected in such State at the last preceding Congressional election.

Second.—Each Territory and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to two delegates.

Third.—Each Congressional District shall be entitled to two delegates.

W. H. PARKS, *Chairman*.

HENRY B. ATHERTON, *Secretary*.

Mr. BISHOP, of Massachusetts. On behalf of a minority of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, consisting of delegates from New York, Indiana, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Michigan, New Jersey, New Hampshire, West Virginia, and other States, I have the honor, with the leave of the Convention, to present the minority report; and move the substitution of this report for the report of the committee; and I ask that the report of the minority be now read.

THE PRESIDENT. It will be read.

The Secretary read the report as follows:

The undersigned, a minority of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, who were directed to inquire into the subject of revising the apportionment of delegates to future National Conventions, being unable to agree with the conclusions of the majority of the committee on this subject, recommend the adoption of the following resolution :

Resolved, That in future Republican National Conventions representation by delegates shall be as follows :

First. Each State shall be entitled to four delegates-at-large and to one additional delegate-at-large for each Representative-at-large, if any, elected in said State at the last preceding Presidential election.

Second. Each Territory and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to two delegates-at-large.

Third. Each Congressional district shall be entitled to one delegate, and an additional delegate for every 10,000 votes, or majority faction thereof, cast for the Republican Presidential electoral ticket at the last preceding Presidential election.

Fourth. The Republican National Committee shall, within the year following each Presidential election, ascertain and certify the representation to which each State and District will be hereby entitled in the next following National Convention.

GEORGE CHAHOON, of New York.

GEORGE REILEY, of Indiana.

ROBERT R. BISHOP, of Massachusetts.

EBENEZER J. HILL, of Connecticut.

GEORGE W. BELL, of Michigan.

JOHN J. GARDNER, of New Jersey.

HENRY B. ATHERTON, of New Hampshire.

WM. M. O. DAWSON, of West Virginia.

Mr. NATHAN PATTON, of Texas. I move to lay that on the table.

THE PRESIDENT. The motion is out of order.

Mr. BISHOP. I will occupy but a moment in speaking in support of this report. The spirit of the Republican party is equality, absolute equality. The present method of selecting delegates to the National Convention is unequal, and therefore unjust. Under the present method, 2,000 Republicans in one State have as much power as 7,000 Republicans in another State. The object of this motion is to bring about, as nearly as possible, equality between the Republicans of the country; so that the Republican National Convention shall be a true exponent of the Republicans of the country. Various State Conventions—many of them—have passed resolutions directing their delegates to advocate the adoption of such a method of equality here. On behalf of the Republicans of my own State, which passed such a resolution, I move the substitution of this report.

Mr. WILLIAM R. GARDINER, of Indiana. I rise, sir, to second the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts, for the adoption of the minority report; and to express the hope that it will be adopted by this Convention. I do not intend, sir, to make any extended remarks upon the subject. It seems to me that the proposition is so entirely in keeping with the genius of the established institutions of the country as to meet with the hearty concurrence of every fair Republican in this Convention. As I understand it, sir, it does not decrease the representation of any district in the Republic, but only adds to that representation in accordance with the number of votes that each district may have. That, sir, we in Indiana consider to be just; and we intend to vote for the adoption of the minority report.

Mr. W. O. BRADLEY, of Kentucky. *Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* For the first time in the history of the Nation, the proposition has been made to disfranchise a portion of the people.

Such a proposition, coming from the Democratic party, with its record of secession and the fugitive slave law, would not be surprising; but I deeply regret that it should instead emanate from the party of Lincoln and Garfield.

Who in this Convention believes that Republican votes in the South are counted? Who doubts that fraud, artifice and force all combine in many portions of that section to prevent the free exercise of suffrage? Yet, our strength is to be measured by the force and fraud of Democracy, rather than by the established rule sanctioned and hallowed by the usage of a century.

If our representation must be cut down by the fraud and force of our enemies on the one hand, and we are to be disfranchised by our friends on the other, then I say, may God pity the downtrodden and suffering Republicans of the South.

Remember, my countrymen, that time and again, by the aid of the South, the cause of Republicanism has been preserved!

Remember, that we sent 300,000 brave soldiers to the field, who contended with their own fathers and brothers for the glorious heritage we have to-day, and whose bones whiten every battlefield from Bull Run to Appomattox.

Remember, that time and again we have enabled the party to hold power in Congress.

Remember, that, in 1876, gallant little Florida gave you the Presidency.

Remember that Virginia, in the person of the heroic Mahone, gave you the control of the United States Senate!

Beware! Beware how you vote upon this question! The tariff will cause a transformation sooner or later. Some of the Republican States will become Democratic, and some of the Democratic States become Republican. Beware lest, like Haman of old, you be executed on the gallows erected for another!

Remember, if we have no electoral vote, it may be traced to the fact that, when, in 1876, we elected Governors in Louisiana and South Carolina, they were counted out by the consent and combination of leading Democrats and Republicans, and a President counted in.

To remain silent now were a crime. I would rather die than prove false to my people!

But the gentleman from Massachusetts says his substitute provides for equality. Equality, indeed! And yet, sir (turning upon the gentleman from Massachusetts), you propose to give to brave little Rhode Island, with 16,000 Republican votes, four delegates from the State at Large, while you give the same number to glorious old Kentucky, which holds within her bosom the ashes of Clay and Crittenden, with her 106,000 Republican votes.

You give to historic little Vermont, with a Republican vote of 45,000, the same number of delegates from the State at Large that you give patriotic Tennessee, with a Republican vote of 107,000.

The substitute is not Republican. It is not in consonance with the principles of the party which, with shackles and chains torn from the limbs of trembling bondmen, erected the noblest monument of recorded time, standing within whose shadow four millions of happy people sang an anthem of deliverance, the swelling notes of which were heard throughout the civilized world. It is not in accord with that party whose record is the most illustrious ever made on earth, and which by the death of martyred Presidents has been carried beyond the stars.

It may be we can give no electoral votes, but I beg you to remember that we are freemen, not slaves. And while we do not seek to dictate the action of this Convention, we must refuse to surrender our manhood and prove craven to our convictions.

Brethren of the Republican States, give us your encouragement and aid, spare us your taunts and frowns, and North Carolina, Florida, West Virginia and the Old Dominion, in spite of Democratic shot-guns and legalized murders that cry to Heaven for vengeance, shall give you their electoral votes.

Mr. LAMPSON, of Ohio. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of this Convention:* I represent a constituency whose devotion and loyalty to the rights of the Republicans of the South is not excelled in any other district of the Union. I come from the home of those grand old abolition fathers, Joshua R. Giddings and Benjamin F. Wade. Gentlemen of this Convention, I rise in my seat to speak against the adoption of this resolution. I do not believe that this Convention should impose a penalty upon the Southern Republicans because the Democracy has disfranchised thousands of them.

Mr. JOHN R. LYNCH, of Mississippi. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I shall only submit a few reasons why, in my judgment, this Convention should not agree to the report of the minority of the committee. Let us consider a moment what the effect of this changed representation will be. Those of us who come from States where your elections are pure and

free will not be materially injured by it. Those of us who come from States where elections are not pure and free will be materially injured by it. When you adopt that minority report, you simply say to the ballot-box stuffer at the South, and to the shot-gun holder at the South, that we will let them have the benefit in the Electoral College of each colored man's vote, but we will give him another blow in addition to that, by turning him, the colored man, out of the Republican Convention.

Now, gentlemen, as a Southern Republican, I say that if you will so change the National law—as, in my opinion, you have a right under the Fourteenth Amendment to do—as to reduce the representation in Congress and in the Electoral Colleges of States that disfranchise voters as they do in the South, we will submit to it. Or, if you will pass a law saying to the ballot-box stuffer at the South: “You shall not have a fraudulent vote in the House of Representatives, you shall not have a fraudulent vote in the Electoral College, if you disfranchise these men, if you shoot down these men, if you endeavor to obtain control of this Government by election methods which no honest man can endorse.” We think it is wrong, and we think it is unjust to us Southern Republicans to allow our oppressors to get the benefit of our misfortune, and to deprive us of the power we would be entitled to in a Republican Convention. I hope the members of this Convention will not inflict that injustice upon us.

If I admit that we do not have the vote, according to official returns, that we are entitled to, the argument seems plausible. But let me call attention to another fact. When they make what is called the official return the basis of representation, I say to you, gentlemen, that in my State the official return is an official fraud. When I ran for Congress in the Sixth District of Mississippi in 1880, I know that there were not less than 5,000 votes polled for me that were counted for the man that ran against me. Now, bear in mind the official report gave him 5,000 of my votes. If you adopt this amendment you say to me: “We will only admit you on what the Democrats choose to give you.” Now, I say that is wrong, and I will give you another proof of it.

Our experience has been this: We apportioned the representation in the county conventions upon the Republican votes polled in the different precincts; but during the last five years, in nearly all of the Republican counties in that State, we have been compelled to adhere to the apportionment that was adopted in 1873 and 1874. Why? Because we have never been able to find out what the Republican vote has been since.

MR. WILLIAM WARNER, of Missouri. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of this Convention:* I appear here as a delegate from a State polling 153,000 Republican votes; I come from a State that holds the sacred remains of Gen. Lyon, and that patriot that rendered such valuable service to the cause of the Union, Gen. Frank P. Blair; I come here on behalf of the Union men of Missouri; I come here on behalf of that State which filled the quota of Union soldiers for its own State, and furnished a part to the State of Illinois and the State of Iowa; and there never was a draft in that State. I am here on behalf of those Republicans that fought the Democratic rebelism during the war, and are still fighting Democracy, to protest against the Republican party giving sanction to the frauds of the Democracy in the South. I am not here advocating the claims of the Southern Republicans.

I say to you, gentlemen of the North, that we men of the border States and of the South know no white Republican and no colored Republican. We stand shoulder to shoulder, trying to redeem our country from the curse of Bourbon Democracy; and I say to you, fellow-Republicans, living in these States where we are in the minority, all we have to fight for is principle, not office. Encourage us, and not cast the brand upon us that we are not entitled to representation in the Republican masses of the country. It is unrepblican.

There are only eight States of this Union casting more Republican votes than the great State of Missouri does. We do not ask that New Jersey's four delegates-at-large shall be cut down, or Rhode Island or Connecticut, or the other States. We ask that the States of this Union be entitled to an equitable and a just representation, and we believe we shall receive it from the Republicans of this Convention.

Mr. J. Y. STONE, of Iowa. In 1876 the Republican party of the United States struck down the Republican party of two States of the South! We can never again attempt to encourage a thing like that. We believe, the State of Iowa believes, its delegation here believes, that the William Mahones of the South should be encouraged in this Convention. And I want to say here and now that Iowa will cast twenty-six solid votes to do it.

Mr. MARTIN I. TOWNSEND, of New York. I participated, in the winter of 1876-7, in endeavoring to count the electoral votes that were cast in this Nation. We counted the votes; and with those votes we declared that Mr. Hayes was President of the United States by lawful election. We found, in those investigations, that there were 20,000 more Republicans in South Carolina than there were Democrats. We found that there were 15,000 more Republicans in Mississippi than there were Democrats—yes, probably 20,000. We found that there was a very, very large majority of Republicans in Louisiana; and that there was a majority in Florida.

Now, knowing these facts, developing these facts, investigating these facts, and presenting them to the world, how will the Republican party look in saying that, because Bourbon violence and intolerance have suppressed the Republican votes in those States, we will disfranchise the brave-hearted men that are willing to vote with us.

Mr. WILLIAM H. WEST, of Ohio. *Gentlemen of the Convention*: I rise to respond to the sentiments of Kentucky and to the sentiments of Missouri. I have lived in Kentucky in the day when Henry Clay was her pride, and Crittenden her glory. I have lived in Virginia, within gunshot of Appomattox apple-tree. These States have been my home. I come to-day from the State of Chase, of Giddings, of Wade, of Corwin, of the illustrious men who, with Garfield, look down upon us from above.

Gentlemen, the Republican party has not yet filled its mission. Sir, although it has secured the personal liberty of a race of bondmen, their political liberties are not yet secured; and, by the grace of God, the Republican party must go forward, until the home of Mahone, and the home of Bradley, and the home of Lynch, shall be fully represented, according to their strength.

Gentlemen, I am ready to raise the standard here. I am ready to incorporate it into our platform, that we will carry on the war until the scenes of Dan-

ville and the scenes of Copiah shall be impossible under the flag of my country. Gentlemen, we must not—we dare not—we can not; and I hope to God the day will never come when I shall be a member of a convention, the representation of which shall be determined by the shot-gun and the tissue-ballot.

Mr. JOHN D. LONG, of Massachusetts. I think it is perfectly evident that this Convention is not prepared to adopt the views of the minority report submitted by my colleague. I think it is also perfectly evident that this Convention is willing to recognize that there is a very serious question here, deserving of its careful and its mature consideration.

We are here to nominate a President, who is going to be elected and give us four years more of Republican administration. That administration is going a great ways to settle this great question of equal rights in the South. I believe I express the sentiments of all here, when I say that at the end of that time, when we shall meet here four years from this time, we shall then be able to take up this matter and decide it with reference to the equality to which the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Lynch] has referred; and with reference to the rights of our Southern brethren who have been so nobly vindicated on this floor. I therefore move, believing that it will meet the cordial sentiment of this whole Convention, that this matter be referred to the National Executive Committee for their report at the next National Convention.

Mr. CHAUNCEY I. FILLEY, of Missouri. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I believe I come from a State—Democratic as it is—that has done as much for the Republican party as any Republican State of this great Nation. Now, sir, I ask of this Convention what it proposes to do with that grand, patriotic, independent Republican band of Missouri, who, in four districts in 1880, marching by different paths to the polls—60,000 in four districts—united with 19,000 independent men, and thereby elected four anti-Bourbon members of Congress. Thereby—and I say it in the presence of the Congressmen who hold seats here in this Convention—thereby only was the Republican party of the Nation enabled to organize the Forty-Seventh Congress that year with Republican officials.

Now, what will you do under this rule with the 66,000 who united with the Greenbackers? Will you rule them out? or will you, as you have done, in a gallant, in a deserved manner, recognize the Independent Republicans of Missouri, as you have the man, the independent man of Virginia, Mahone, who saved the organization of the Senate to the Republican party?

Now, this is a practical point. I never deal in claptrap. I believe in parties. What will you do with the 66,000 votes? Where will they stand in your records when you make them up? Now, we do not propose to be disfranchised in any such way. I am in favor of increased representation for Republican States upon their vote. So I am in favor of increased Republican representation upon Republican votes in Southern States. You can not take from the South what for twenty-five years it has enjoyed.

You were not so fast in 1882. This matter was not adopted by the National Committee after the great cyclone swept over the Northern States—Michigan, New York and Massachusetts. You were not so fast then to adopt this rule, because you had lost Congressman after Congressman in each of

those great States. Now, give us something fixed. Give us a ratio of 10,000 votes. Do not cut off anybody. Do not cut off any State. Do not add on to any State. Make your ratio so that every State may have a fair show, and every Republican will have a fair show in a National Convention.

Mr. J. E. O'HARA, of North Carolina. *Mr. President:* I do not believe for one moment that the minority who presented this report thought or realized that it would be a total surrender upon the part of the Republican party of every Southern Republican, be he white or black. This report proposes to take from the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas, fifty-four votes in the National Convention. It is, as has been said upon the floor here already, an inspiration to the Democrats of North Carolina to take courage and reduce our representation; and as you reduce the representation in this Convention, so will our Democratic friends be fired up with zeal to reduce the gallant band of Southern Republicans on the floor of Congress.

We of the South are determined to leave this Convention and go home expecting to give you ten or fifteen votes in the next Congress of the United States; but adopt this policy, adopt this minority report, and you won't get hardly a corporal's guard.

Mr. POWELL CLAYTON, of Arkansas. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am well aware of the fact that this question has been discussed perhaps upon our side as far as it should be. I am admonished that I should not occupy the attention of this Convention one moment in going over ground that has already been trod upon. There is but one point that I wish to call to the attention of this Convention. I want to ask what the basis of representation was when the party was young, and courageous, and just; when in this very city it nominated the immortal Lincoln. Could anyone say then that the South would cast a single electoral vote? No; not one was expected.

What was the rule when Lincoln was again nominated? Did any one then expect that the South would cast a single electoral vote? No, not one; for the whole South was at that time trodden by the hoof of war. In those days the party acted upon the principle of encouragement. So let it now be. The South, as has been before remarked, fails to send electoral votes here, not on account of any failure of Republicanism to perform its patriotic duty, but because the power of this government, under our Constitution, does not seem to be able to go into the States and see that votes that are cast are counted.

Now, I ask you to consider well this question. Let it be well understood, for it is a great question; and let us meet it squarely. I do not want to see this question referred to the National Committee. Let us come to a square vote. That is all I ask.

Mr. R. R. BISHOP, of Massachusetts. It is entirely evident what the sentiment of this Convention is. It is not for those of us who have held a different view, to say that that sentiment is not right. We bow with entire cheerfulness to the sentiment of the Convention, because we, too, have as much earnestness in our feeling for the Republicans of the South as any Republicans in the country. I therefore withdraw the motion made by me a few moments ago.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts withdraws his motion to substitute the minority for the majority report; and the motion now is on the adoption of the report of the majority.

The motion to adopt the majority report was agreed to.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. BAYNE, of Pennsylvania. I would like to inquire of the Chair whether the Committee on Resolutions is ready to report.

The PRESIDENT [Mr. McKinley, of Ohio, in the chair]. The report of the Committee on Resolutions is ready; and if Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, will take the chair, I will read the report of the committee.

Mr. GROW took the chair, and said :

The Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions will now report.

Mr. MCKINLEY, of Ohio. I am directed by the unanimous vote of the Committee on Resolutions to present the following report :

THE PLATFORM.

The Republicans of the United States in National Convention assembled renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections; and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration, by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal and beneficent, the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens.

The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government, and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration; a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished services in war and peace have endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur, we recognize a wise, conservative and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity; and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people.

The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity, and of the comfort and independence of the people.

We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not "for revenue only," but that in raising the requisite revenues for

the government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer; to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest.

The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the labor or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duties upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world; and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States, is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government; and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-State commerce.

The principle of public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people; and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people, and the railways alike, the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor; the enforcement of the eight hour law; a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues, wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit, we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions; and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

Reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican adminis-

tration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments; and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions, which lurk in the power of official patronage, may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens. And we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war; and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the arrears act of 1879. So that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs; a policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce; and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the bona-fide citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our Territories; and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon church; and that the laws so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military, if need be.

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a Nation, and not a mere confederacy of States; the National Government is supreme within the sphere of its national duties; but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate.

The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions; and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of fruits of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy; and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession and exercise of all civil and political rights.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. McKINLEY, *Chairman*.

WM. WALTER PHELPS, *Secretary*.

MR. CHAUNCEY C. BUSH, of California. *Mr. President*: I move the adoption of the resolutions.

MR. E. L. LAMPSON, of Ohio. I second the motion.

THE PRESIDENT [MR. WM. McKINLEY, of Ohio, in the chair]. The gentleman from California moves that the resolutions be adopted. The question is now on their adoption.

The motion was unanimously carried.

NOMINATIONS OF MEMBERS OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

MR. HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts. We have now reached the point of nominating—

MR. THOMAS M. BAYNE, of Pennsylvania. I rise to a point of order.

MR. A. G. HOVEY, of Oregon. I rise for information.

THE PRESIDENT. The next business in order, as I am informed, is the call of States for the nomination of members of the National Committee.

MR. BAYNE. I move that that be proceeded with.

THE PRESIDENT. It will now be proceeded with. The Chairman of each delegation, when his State is called, will rise, and announce the member of the National Committee from such State.

MR. W. A. PLEDGER, of Georgia. I believe the rule was adopted this morning, preventing any member serving on that committee who holds a government position.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes; that is so.

MR. PLEDGER. I suggest, in view of that fact, that the call of States be deferred until this evening, when the different delegations will be permitted to get together.

THE PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Georgia moves that the call of States be dispensed with until this evening.

The motion was lost.

The roll of States was then called by the Secretary, and the following names were presented as members of the National Committee by the respective State delegations :

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	MEMBERS.	P. O. ADDRESSES.
Alabama	T. Youngblood	Union Springs
Arkansas	Powell Clayton	Eureka Springs
California	Horace Davis	San Francisco
Colorado	J. B. Chaffee	Denver
Connecticut	Samuel Fessenden	Stamford
Delaware	Daniel J. Layton	Georgetown
Florida	Jesse D. Cole	Monticello
Georgia	F. F. Putney	Hardaway
Illinois	David T. Littler	Springfield
Indiana	John C. New	Indianapolis
Iowa	James S. Clarkson	Des Moines
Kansas	Cyrus Leland, Jr.	Troy
Kentucky	J. Z. Moore	Owensboro
Louisiana	Frank Morey	Delta
Maine	J. Manchester Haynes ..	Augusta
Maryland	James A. Gary	Baltimore
Massachusetts	William W. Crapo	New Bedford
Michigan	John P. Sanborn	Port Huron
Minnesota	M. G. Norton	Winona
Mississippi	John R. Lynch	Natchez
Missouri	Robert T. Van Horn	Kansas City
Nebraska	Church Howe	North Auburn
Nevada	Thomas Wren	Eureka
New Hampshire	E. H. Rollins	Dover
New Jersey	Garrett A. Hobart	Paterson
New York	John D. Lawson	Brevoort House, New York City
North Carolina	L. W. Humphrey	Goldsboro
Ohio	A. L. Conger	Akron
Oregon	John T. Apperson	Oregon City
Pennsylvania	B. F. Jones	Pittsburg
Rhode Island	Horace A. Jenks	Woonsocket
South Carolina	John V. Johnston	Maysville
Tennessee	W. P. Brownlow	Jonesboro
Texas	C. C. Binkley	Sherman
Vermont	George W. Hooker	Brattleboro
Virginia	Frank S. Blair	Richmond
West Virginia	John W. Mason	Grafton
Wisconsin	Edward Sanderson	Milwaukee
Arizona	Clark Churchill	Prescott
Dakota	John E. Bennett	Clark, Clark Co.
District of Columbia ..	Perry H. Carson	Washington
Idaho	Sherman M. Coffin	Boise City
Montana	James A. Smith	Helena
New Mexico	Stephen B. Elkins	92 Broadway, N. Y. City
Utah	Charles W. Bennett	Salt Lake City
Washington	Thomas S. Miner	Ft. Townsend
Wyoming	Joseph M. Cary	Cheyenne

B. F. JONES, *Chairman*.

SAML. FESSENDEN, *Secretary*.

Headquarters, No. 242 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

[NOTE. During the foregoing call, the following States failed to report : California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Tennessee, District of Columbia, and New Mexico; but the completed list is here inserted, with the organization subsequently effected.]

Mr. LODGE, of Massachusetts. The formal business of the Convention being now all completed, I move that the Convention adjourn until 7 o'clock this evening.

The motion was agreed to, and the Convention adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

JUNE 5, 1884.

The Convention re-assembled at 7:35 P. M.

The PRESIDENT. Under the rules adopted, the order of business now is the presentation of candidates for President.

ADMISSION TICKETS FOR VETERANS.

Mr. SILAS P. DUTCHER, of New York. I ask unanimous consent to offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on Seats be directed to issue 500 tickets of admission to veteran soldiers and sailors, to be distributed through the Chairmen of the several State delegations.

Mr. HOWE, of Nebraska. I second the motion of the gentleman from New York.

The PRESIDENT. This resolution requires unanimous consent. [Cries of "Object," "Object," and "Question."]

The President put the question, and the resolution was lost.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. BAYNE, of Pennsylvania, I rise to call up the unfinished business of the Convention. According to the order of business of the Convention, before we proceed to nominate candidates for President, the respective States should be called to report the members of the National Committee. That business is unfinished, several States not yet having reported. I therefore move that the States which have not yet reported their members of the committee be now called, and that after the reports shall have been made from the several States the Secretary report the members of the committee from the respective States, in order that we may know that the list is correct.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the States that have not sent up their members.

The SECRETARY. California.

Mr. MORROW, of California. I would suggest that the State of California be passed. It is not ready to report at this time.

The SECRETARY. Colorado.

A DELEGATE. Colorado passes for the present.

The SECRETARY. Florida.

A DELEGATE. Pass for the present.

The SECRETARY. Georgia.

A DELEGATE. The delegation from Georgia present the name of F. F. Putney.

The SECRETARY. Louisiana.

A DELEGATE. Not yet ready.

The SECRETARY. New Hampshire.

A DELEGATE. Not yet ready to report.

The SECRETARY. Tennessee.

A DELEGATE. Not yet ready to report.

The SECRETARY. District of Columbia.

There was no response.

The SECRETARY. New Mexico.

A DELEGATE. Pass New Mexico for the present.

The SECRETARY. That is all that have not reported.

Mr. D. M. SABIN, of Minnesota. I notice that Minnesota was passed. The delegation direct me to name Matthew G. Norton.

Mr. BAYNE, of Pennsylvania. I now ask, sir, that the names reported by the different States be reported to the Convention by the Secretary, in order that the Convention may know that it is a correct list. I make that motion, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT. The motion is only in order by unanimous consent. The Secretary will now call the roll of the States, and when the name of a State having a candidate for President to present is called, the member selected to make the presentation will come forward and speak from this stand; to be followed by gentlemen selected to second such nomination.

Mr. BAYNE. What was the disposition made of the motion I had made? I made a motion, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair informs the gentleman that the list of the National Committee is not yet complete. When the names of all have been sent in, the Chair will have the roll called.

NOMINATIONS FOR PRESIDENT.

The Secretary then began the call of States. There was no response until Connecticut was reached, when Mr. Brandegee came forward to the platform, and was introduced by the President, amid much applause.

NOMINATION OF JOSEPH R. HAWLEY.

Mr. AUGUSTUS BRANDEGEE, of Connecticut. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen*

of the Convention: We are here to select a chief magistrate for thirty-eight States and fifty-five millions of people. If we choose wisely, the selection of June will be the election of November; and March will inaugurate, in lineal and continuous succession, the seventh Republican President of the United States. If we be bewildered to a fatal choice, the solid South, which has already captured the Capitol, will occupy the White House; and the results of the war will be rolled backward for a generation.

We are, sir, the accredited representatives, from every State and all the Territories, of a party to the wisdom and patriotism of whose great leaders, human liberty and human progress owe more than to any political organization since governments were instituted among mankind. To it impartial history will accord a Union saved; a Constitution maintained, and reinfused with a larger spirit of liberty; a race emancipated, enfranchised, regenerated and disenthralled; the credit of a nation preserved; specie payments resumed; all rights for all men secured; and American labor dignified, ennobled and protected. With such a proud history in the past, and such high hopes for the future, we stand pledged, sir, not to make shipwreck of an organization in which the interests and honor of our country are still wrapped up.

Never before, to a National Convention, was such an opportunity presented or the path of duty made so plain. The great tidal wave has ebbed. It has left wrecks along the shore, and disclosed only the flats and shallows. The counsels of our opponents are confused. They have been smitten again with judicial blindness. The heart of the great American people instinctively and unmistakably turns once more to the Republican party.

The supreme duty of the hour is for that party in this Convention to select a candidate under whom we can surely and granlly win. Such a candidate must, first of all, be a true and tried Republican; one whose name alone shall stand for a platform: one who has the courage of his convictions—one whose convictions on all great questions have been always right—right on the war; right on reconstruction; right on each and every one of the constitutional amendments; right on resumption; right on the currency; right on the tariff; right on civil rights; and right on civil service reform.

Standing, sir, in this great presence, in this historic hall, inspired by the memory of the great leaders and martyrs of our faith, who look down as in benediction upon this scene; impressed with the profound conviction of the importance of the trust with which I stand charged, I am requested to nominate such a candidate to the brethren of other States, by the Republicans of Connecticut; and in their name, and on their behalf, I nominate one who fulfills all these conditions, and who, in the largest degree, represents the fitness and the availability of a candidate, and whose name can lead to certain victory in November—Gen. Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut.

Mr. President, the delegates from Connecticut sit in this grand council of the party, uninstructed, uncommitted, and unpledged. They are here, sir, free to speak, free to hear, free to deliberate and to decide. They offer to you the name of their great leader and Senator as the best which, in their judgment, this Convention can select. If it is the best, make our choice yours. If you have a better, we will cheerfully make your choice ours. But wherever the lot

may fall, and whoever the candidate may be, we pledge ourselves in advance, with unhesitating, ungrudging loyalty, with all our hearts, with all our votes, and with all our might, to support the nominee.

General Hawley was born in North Carolina. He draws from Southern blood, and Southern soil, and Southern skies, the generous chivalry of a nature that abhors cant, and hypocrisy, and falsehood, and feels a stain like a wound. Thirty-four years ago, he came, a poor, barefooted, penniless boy, to the rugged soil of Connecticut; where, breathing its free air, listening to its free speech and taught in its free schools, he laid the foundations of a manly character and life in principles which are as enduring as Connecticut's everlasting hills. As a young man he became a citizen of New York, and drew from the classic shades of old Hamilton College that culture which graces the sinewy Saxon of his speech. He studied law with honest John Hooker of Hartford—that John the Baptist of the Free-Soil movement—whose voice even then was crying loud for repentance of the Nation's great sin. But the fire was kindled in the young man's soul, and he could not stand the dry quiddities and the dusty maxims of the law, while human beings were being hunted like partridges over the mountains of New England, under the Fugitive Slave act. When Boston Court House was hung in chains, he threw away his Coke and Blackstone, and could plead after that no more a less sacred cause than that of emancipation and the rights of man. He started the first Free-Soil paper in Connecticut, to become in time the leading Republican newspaper of New England.

At last the storm-cloud burst, and the gun fired at Sumter echoed around the world. He first caught the call of Abraham Lincoln while sitting in his office. He saw the great crowd collected in the old State House Square at Hartford, reading the Proclamation. He threw aside his books, and walked down amongst them, saying: "The time has come. I can stay here no longer. Who will go with me?"

He was the first man in Connecticut that enlisted in the first company of the first regiment that left that soil for the defense of the Capital. He was the last man to leave the stricken field of Bull Run. The English historian of that rout writes: "Hawley brought off in good order his little Connecticut company, while the Union army was flying panic-stricken to Washington." He fought the war through, from Bull Run until that day when the Democratic party laid down its arms under the apple-tree of Appomattox. He went in with a musket; he came out as a Major General.

But, sir, it is not in the purple testament of bleeding war alone that his name is written amongst the foremost. He stands as well in the front rank of debaters, orators and Senators. There is no State where his voice has not been heard preaching the gospel of Republicanism. He was a Republican before the Republican party was born. He believed in its creed before it was formulated. There has been no question in the Senate of the United States which has not received his intelligent thought; he has been thoroughly devoted to all measures of administration or legislation which concern the interest or the honor of our country at home or abroad.

In that dark hour for the Nation's faith, when it seemed as if the old ship was about to be swept by the storm of repudiation from its moorings, it was

Hawley's voice that proclaimed from the very seat that you, sir, now occupy [indicating the President], that every dollar of the Nation's debt should be as sacred as a soldier's grave. And when, in the Senate of the United States, even trusted leaders wavered, he summed up the duty and the honor of the hour in the pithy sentence: "Uncle Sam is a gentleman, and scorns to pay his debts in bogus dollars."

General Hawley believes in the morality of practical politics. He is a reformer; and he believes not in the reform by which "heelers" and "strikers" and "bummers" control the politics of certain sections; nor in the abhorrent forces of "the machine"; but in the duty of every citizen to throw the whole weight of his personal influence, in season and out of season, for the cause of good government, from the primary to the polls.

As, sir, his public record is without a flaw, so is his private character without a stain. There is nothing to apologize for; there is nothing to conceal; there is nothing to extenuate, and nought to defend. The fierce light which beats against the Presidential candidate will explore his record in vain. He will come out brighter from the blaze. His life is gentle; and the elements so mixed in him that nature might stand up and say to all the world: "This is a man."

If to some it should seem that he comes from too small a State to furnish a Presidential candidate, let me remind you, gentlemen, that bigness is not greatness, and that States are measured not by acres, but by men. And in the Charter of Charles, Connecticut was bounded on the west by the "farther ocean"; and though we modestly have not extended our jurisdiction to the Golden Gate, yet we have filled the vast interval with statesmen and with States.

If he shall seem to some to come from too near the North Star, let me remind you that never since this party was born have you given it a candidate from the East; while the men of that section for a generation have cheerfully supported the candidate of your choice.

Mr. President, if this man is nominated, it will be the humiliation of no other candidate. There will be nothing to be forgiven or forgotten; nothing to be unsaid or taken back. His nomination will be like passing an act of oblivion over the dreadful dissensions in other States which have brought this party to the gateway of the grave. If he is nominated, all elements can support him, for he is a radical-conservative and a conservative-radical; the friend of Garfield and the friend of Grant. Sir, if he is nominated, if he should be nominated to-night, this campaign would commence to-morrow and continue until victory is assured; there would be no powder burned to fire in the backs of leaders; it would only be exploded to illuminate the inauguration. The brazen throats of the cannon in yonder square, which are waiting to herald the result of this Convention, would not have time to cool, before his name would be caught up on 10,000 tongues of electric flame. It would sweep down from the old Pine-Tree State; it would go over the hills and valleys of New England; it would insure you Connecticut by 10,000 majority; it would weld together with fervent heat the dissensions in New York; it would blaze through the State of Garfield, that daughter of Connecticut more beautiful than the

mother; it would tend to carry Southern States, for he is the only candidate that this party has ever named, who was born on Southern soil. It would please all parties and all professions. For he is a lawyer, editor, soldier, statesman and orator. It would please the people, for he is what the people all love, God Almighty's noblest work—an honest man.

Such a nomination, sir, would sweep from the storm-vexed coast of the Atlantic to the Golden Gate of the peaceful sea. With him elected in the vigor of his life and the plenitude of his powers, beloved at home and respected abroad, with our free institutions and our imperial domain, we should need no Bartholdi statue standing at the gateway of commerce, with uplifted torch, to typify the Genius of Liberty enlightening the world; but our history, under a Republican President, administered upon a Republican policy, would of itself bear witness to all times and to all peoples, that this is the greatest, freest, and most prosperous country upon which the sun in his course has ever looked down.

The Secretary then proceeded with the call.

NOMINATION OF JOHN A. LOGAN.

When the State of Illinois was reached, Mr. Shelby M. Cullom came to the platform, amid great applause, and spoke as follows :

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention. Twenty-four years ago the Second National Convention of the Republican party met in this city and nominated its first successful candidate for President of the United States. Abraham Lincoln led the Republican party to its first great victory; and stands to-day in the estimation of the world as the grandest man and most majestic figure in modern times. Again, in 1868, another Republican Convention came together in this city, and nominated, as its candidate for President of the United States, another eminent citizen of Illinois, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. And the Republican party was again victorious. Still again, in 1880, the Republican party turned its face toward this political Mecca, where two successful campaigns had been inaugurated; and the martyred Garfield led the Republican hosts to another glorious victory.

Mr. President and fellow-citizens, it is good for us to be here. There are omens of victory in the air. History repeats itself. There are promises of triumph to the Republican party in holding its National nominating conventions in this great emporium of the Northwest.

The Commonwealth of Illinois, which has never wavered in its devotion to Republican principles since it gave to the Nation—aye the world—the illustrious Lincoln, not unmindful of her honors, her obligations or her duties, has commissioned me, through its Republican voters, to present to this Convention for its consideration, as the standard-bearer of the Republican party, another son of Illinois, one who will be recognized from one end of this land to the other, as an able statesman, a brilliant soldier, and an honest man—Gen. John A. Logan.

A native of the State which he now represents in the councils of the Nation,

reared among the youth of a section where every element of manhood is early brought into play, he is eminently a man of the people, identified with them in interest, in taste, and in feeling, and enjoying their sympathy, respect and confidence. The safety, the permanency, and the prosperity of the Nation, depend upon the courage, the integrity, the intelligence and the loyalty of its citizens. When yonder starry flag was assailed by enemies in arms, when the integrity of the Union was imperiled by organized treason, when the storm of civil war threatened the very life of the Nation, this gallant son of the Prairie State resigned his seat in the Congress of the United States, returned to his home, and was among the first of our citizens to raise a regiment, and to march to the front in defense of his country. Like Douglas, he believed that in time of war men must be either patriots or traitors; and he threw the weight of his influence on the side of the Union, and Illinois made a record second to none in the history of States in the struggle to preserve this government.

Among the large number of the brave soldiers of the late war whose names are proudly written on the scroll of fame none appear more grandly than the name of Logan. His history is a part of the history of the battles of Belmont, of Donelson, of Shiloh, of Vicksburg, of Lookout Mountain, of Atlanta and of the famous March to the Sea. He never lost a battle; I repeat again, Mr. President and fellow-citizens, he never lost a battle in all the struggles of the war. When there was fighting to be done, he did not wait for orders; neither did he fail to obey orders when received. His plume, like the white plume of Henry of Navarre, was always to be seen at the point where the battle raged hottest. When the people of his State asked him to come home, to run for Congress, he replied, "No; I have enlisted for the war, if need be to die; I have drawn my sword from its scabbard, and shall never return it until every foe is disarmed and every State back in the Union." During the long struggle of four years, he commanded, by authority of the government, first a regiment, then a brigade, then a division, then an army corps, and finally an army. He remained in the service until the war closed, when, at the head of his army, with the scars of battle upon him, he marched into the Capital of the Nation, and, with the brave men whom he had led on a hundred hard-fought fields, was mustered out of service under the very shadow of the Capitol building, which he had left four years before, as a member of Congress, to go out and fight the battles of his country.

When the war was over, and gentle peace, which "hath her victories no less than those of war," returned, he was again called by his fellow-citizens to take his place in the councils of the Nation. In a service of twenty years in both houses of Congress he has shown himself to be no less able and distinguished as a statesman than he was renowned as a soldier. Cautious, prudent, conservative in the advocacy of measures involving the public welfare, ready and eloquent in debate, fearless in defense of the rights of the weak against the oppressions of the strong, he stands to-day, and I say it without disposition to pluck one laurel from the brow of any man whose name may be presented to this Convention; he stands to-day, in my judgment, closer to the great mass of the people of this country than almost any other man now engaged in public affairs. No man has done more in defense of those princi-

ples which have given life, and spirit, and victory to the Republican party than has John A. Logan, of Illinois. In all that goes to make up a brilliant military and civil career, and to commend a man to the favor of the people, he, whose name we have presented here to-night, has shown himself to be the peer of the best.

We ask you, therefore, to give him this nomination, because it would not be assailed, and it is not assailable. We ask you to nominate him, because his public record is so clean that even political calumny dare not attack it. We ask you to nominate him in behalf of the hundreds of thousands of brave veteran volunteer soldiers, who are to-night, all over this broad land, standing around the telegraph offices, waiting to know whether that gallant leader of the volunteer soldiers of this country is to receive the nomination at your hands.

We ask you to nominate him on behalf of the white and colored Republicans of the South, who appeal to this Convention, as the representative of our grand old party, to give them protection and to vindicate them in their rights.

Now, my friends, standing in the midst of this vast assembly of representative citizens of this grand Republic—aye, in the sublime presence of the people themselves, represented here to-night in all their majesty—we offer you the name of the tried hero and patriot, the soldier without fear and without reproach, the sagacious and incorruptible statesman, the man who, though defeated, never sulked in his tent; we offer you General John A. Logan, of Illinois, and ask you to make him your nominee. If you do, if you give him the nomination, he will give you a glorious victory in November next; and, when he shall have taken his position as President of this great Republic, you may be assured you will have an administration in the interest of labor, in the interest of education, in the interest of commerce, in the interest of finance, in the interest of peace at home and peace abroad, and in the interest of the prosperity of this great people.

Mr. BENJAMIN H. PRENTISS, of Missouri. It is a great pleasure for me to stand here to-night to second the nomination just made, from a State in which I have resided for forty-one years. It is a glorious privilege to me to stand before this Convention, and say a word or two by way of seconding the nomination of a man pursuing his own course, endowed with energy, until to-day he stands the equal of any of the great statesmen of our land—a man pursuing his own course, from poverty up, until to-night he is reaching to the highest round of fame known to earth—that of President of the United States of America; a man who upon the field of battle led his comrades always to victory; a man who in the Senate of the United States, when the bold enemy of this country, combined with timid allies, sought to annul the solemn findings of an honored court, it was he that stepped boldly to the front and cried loud and long: "Hold, in your infamous efforts to place a cloud upon a bright name at the expense of the reputation of a Lincoln and a Garfield."

Oh! it is glorious that I am here to-night. I can not speak plainly all that I feel; but, dear friends, how I love the man that stood by the reputation of the dead, when there were but three living ones whose reputations had been assailed, and your speaker at this moment one of the living. A man who has been my friend; a man who has been the friend of humanity; a man who led

the army of the Tennessee on to Washington, and there mustered it out of service; a man whose star upon his shoulder shone brighter and brighter as he moved on—that man was John A. Logan, the favorite son of Illinois; the favorite of the Mississippi Valley; the favorite of the West; and you, gentlemen, if you knew him as we know him—you of the East—would learn to love him. He is a man in a position to-day to lead on again to victory.

Why, Mr. President, I am not one of those who entertain the idea for a moment that this great Republican party is to be defeated. No! Whoever we nominate is to be the President—whoever we select. I ask you to-night, I ask you as a friend, I ask you as one representing those who have been true to the party for twenty-eight years; one who has stood by it in all its perils; one who has never yet forsaken it at any time; I ask you—oh, I appeal to you, in this Convention, consider well and make the best nomination you possibly can; I ask you in behalf of the cripples of this land; I ask you in behalf of all the old soldiers of this country; I ask you in behalf of men pleading to-day with this Nation for aid; I ask you in behalf of the children of this country that are without aid; I ask you, in behalf of humanity, to give the nomination to John A. Logan, of Illinois.

Mr. President, I believe, sir, that it was Epaminondas of old, at the battle of Mantinea, when he received his death wound his officers carried him back and uplifted him to the heights above, where he could look over the field of battle. And when they perceived him in the agony of death, they wept. "Oh, why do you weep?" he said to them. "We are weeping," they said, "because, sir, you leave us." He said to them: "Weep not, dear friends; you are not helpless. Do I not leave you two daughters, Leuctra and Mantinea?"

Ah, John A. Logan leaves more daughters than that. Everywhere on this Western field of battle he leaves you monuments of his greatness. And to-night the people of Illinois, that love the man, ask of you to come and help us recognize the services of the brightest star in the galaxy of the volunteers of the army. I second the nomination of John A. Logan, God bless his name.

The roll call was resumed, but without any responses until Maine was reached, when Judge West, of Ohio, arose for the purpose of nominating James G. Blaine.

NOMINATION OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

Judge WM. H. WEST. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* As a delegate in the Chicago Convention of 1860, the proudest service of my life was performed by voting for the nomination of that inspired emancipator, the first Republican President of the United States. Four and twenty years of the grandest history in the annals of recorded time have distinguished the ascendancy of the Republican party. Skies have lowered, and reverses have threatened. Our flag is still there, waving above the mansion of the Presidency; not a stain on its folds, not a cloud on its glory. Whether it shall maintain that grand ascendancy depends on the action of this great council. With bated breath a Nation awaits the result. On it are fixed the eyes of twenty millions of Republican freemen in the North. To it are stretched forth the imploring hands

of ten millions of political bondmen of the South ; while above, from the portals of light, is looking down the spirit of the immortal martyr who first bore it to victory, bidding us hail and God-speed.

In six campaigns has that symbol of union, of freedom, of humanity and of progress, been borne in triumph—sometimes by that silent man of destiny, the Wellington of American arms, Ulysses the Great; last by that soldier statesman at whose untimely taking-off a Nation swelled the funeral cry and wept above great Garfield's grave. Shall that banner triumph again? Commit it to the bearing of that great chief, the inspiration of whose illustrious character and great name will fire the hearts of our young men, stir the blood of our manhood, and rekindle the fervor of the veteran; and the closing of the seventh campaign will see that holy ensign spanning the sky like a bow of promise.

Political conditions are changed since the accession of the Republican party to power. The mighty issues of struggling freedom and bleeding humanity, which convulsed the continent and rocked the Republic, rallied, united and inspired the forces of patriotism and philanthropy in one consolidated phalanx. These great issues have ceased their contention; the subordinate issues resulting therefrom are settled and buried away with the dead issues of the past.

The odds of the solid South are against us. Not an electoral gun can be expected from that section. If triumph come, the Republican States of the North must furnish the conquering battalions from the farm, the anvil, the loom; from the mine, the workshop, and the desk; from the hut of the trapper on snowy Sierra, from the hut of the fishermen on the banks of the Hudson, must these forces be drawn. Does not sound political wisdom dictate and demand that a leader shall be given to them whom our people will follow, not as conscripts advancing by funereal marches to certain defeat, but a grand civic hero, whom they will follow with all the enthusiasm of volunteers, as they sweep on and onward to certain victory?

In this contention of forces for political dominion, to whom as candidate shall we intrust the bearing of our battle-flag? Citizens, I am not here to—and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I abate the tithe of a hair from the just fame, integrity, and public honor of Chester A. Arthur, our President. I abate not one tithe from the just fame and public integrity of George F. Edmunds, of Joseph R. Hawley, of John Sherman, of that grand old Black Eagle of Illinois. And I am proud to know that these distinguished Senators whom I have named have borne like testimony to the public life, the public character and the public integrity of him whose confirmation, by their votes, elevated him to the highest office, second in dignity to the office of the President himself—the first premiership in the administration of James A. Garfield. A man who was good enough for these great Senatorial rivals to confirm in the high office of first Premier of the Republic, is good enough for the support of a plain flesh-and-blood God's people for President.

Who shall be our candidate? Not the representative of a particular interest or a particular class. Send a great apostle to the country labeled "the doctors' candidate," "the lawyers' candidate," "the Wall street candidate," and the hand of resurrection would not fathom his November grave. Gentlemen, he must

be a representative of American manhood—a representative of that living Republicanism that demands the amplest industrial protection and opportunity whereby labor shall be enabled to earn and eat the bread of independent employment, relieved from mendicant competition with pauper Europe or pagan Chinese. He must be a representative of that Republicanism that demands the absolute political as well as personal emancipation and disenfranchisement of mankind; a representative of that Republicanism which recognizes the stamp of American citizenship as the passport to every right, privilege, dignity and consideration at home or abroad, whether under the sky of Bismarck, under the palmetto, under the pelican, or on the banks of the Mohawk—that Republicanism that can not regard with indifference a despotism which, under the flaunting lie of *Sic semper tyrannis*, annihilates, by slaughter, popular majorities in the name of democracy—a Republicanism which, while avoiding entangling alliances with foreign powers, will accept insult and humiliation from no prince, State, potentate or sovereignty on earth—as embodied and stated in the platform of principles this day adopted in your Convention. Gentlemen, such a representative Republican, enthroned in the hearts and affections of the people, is James G. Blaine, of Maine.

Gentlemen of the Convention, it has been said that in making this nomination every other consideration should merge, every other interest be sacrificed, in order and with a view exclusively to secure the Republican vote and carry the State of New York. Gentlemen, the Republican party demands of this Convention a nominee whose inspiration and glorious prestige shall carry the Presidency with or without the State of New York—that will carry the legislatures of the several States, and avert the sacrifice of the United States Senate; that shall sweep into the tide sufficient Congressional Districts to redeem the House of Representatives, and restore it to the Republican party. Gentlemen, three millions of Republicans believe that the man to accomplish this, is the Ajax Telamon of our party, who made, and whose life is, a conspicuous part of its glorious history. Through all the conflicts of its progress, from the baptism of blood on the plains of Kansas to the fall of the immortal Garfield, whenever humanity needed succor, or freedom needed protection, or country a champion, wherever blows fell thickest and fastest, there, in the forefront of the battle, was seen to wave the white plume of James G. Blaine, our Henry of Navarre. Nominate him, and the shouts of September victory in Maine will be re-echoed back by the thunders of the October victory in Ohio. Nominate him, and the camp-fires and beacon-lights will illuminate the continent from the Golden Gate to Cleopatra's Needle. Nominate him, and the millions who are now in waiting will rally to swell the column of victory that is sweeping on. In the name of a majority of the delegates from the Republican States, and their glorious constituencies who must fight this battle, I nominate James G. Blaine, of Maine.

MR. CUSHMAN K. DAVIS, of Minnesota. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* In the face of the demonstration which we have seen and heard, it would seem scarcely necessary to second a nomination which appears already to be a foregone conclusion. But in the name of the people of Minnesota it gives me the greatest pleasure to second the nomination of James G. Blaine.

He has never been defeated by the people. He has borne his great faculties so nobly that, year after year, in success and adversity, he has grown so completely into the affections of the people of this country, that at this moment he, in his own person, and without doubt, is the embodiment and definition of their choice for President of the United States. This preference is not the growth of any locality or of any one idea. It does not spring from any cold calculation of expediency, although it is coincident with the highest expediency—the expediency of success. It is the majestic voice of 3,000,000 of the great party of the Union, of National progress, which emancipated man, which raised the country from the hell of a civil war and made it so great that neither foreign foe nor domestic faction can ever affect it, where it stands secure upon the eternal basis of right whereon it has been placed.

Mr. Blaine is not the man of any State. He has grown far beyond that. To-day his persistent popularity, his magnificent personal traits, his unflinching tact, his unswerving loyalty to his party, and his commanding statesmanship are felt and honored in every community from Maine to California, and from Minnesota to the Gulf. Without the aid of that thing called organization, without self-seeking, without combination, with no such condition to his success as the ruin of another man, he stands here to-day with all these attributes; and the people of this country ask this Convention to gratify their twice-deferred desire. He stands upon the friendship and confidence of Garfield; and when the life of the Nation seemed ebbing away with the spirit of the great son of Ohio, when all the functions of government were languid, and when business men felt the need of security, it was upon the arm of the great Secretary that the Nation leaned, because it was in him that the Nation believed.

He has conducted our foreign affairs so as to make us respected abroad; and that too, upon principles almost coeval with the foundations of the government. He has undergone defeat in two Conventions, and risen from each with greater strength than before. The campaigns which followed were most momentous, and imperiled the very existence of the party. Did he sulk in his tent in the apathy of disappointed ambition? No; he rose upon the ruins of adversity, and made them the monuments of glory. He led his competitors through the arch of triumph to the White House. No word from him that the nomination was unfortunate. No auguries from him of want of success. But then he, this man from Maine, came forward with all his armament, like a magnificent war vessel, every pennant flying, every sail set, every man at his post, and every gun thundering from its sides. This is the man, faithful to all trusts, superior to any fortune, beloved as no American statesman has ever been, whom we present for your suffrages.

Col. WM. CASSIUS GOODLOE, of Kentucky, seconded the nomination of Mr. Blaine with the following speech: *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention*: Coming from a city which was the immediate home of that wonderfully magnetic orator and idol of the people, the great "Harry of the West," and, too, from the State that gave birth to the great liberator, Abraham Lincoln, I arise to second the nomination of one who has faithfully adhered to the teachings of those great men—James G. Blaine, of Maine. Since the death of Mr. Clay, Kentucky has seemingly forgotten the wisdom of his words, and strength

of his presence, for she has never given a single electoral vote for any Republican candidate; nor is there the slightest probability that at the coming election she will deviate in any degree from her oft-trodden and well-beaten Democratic path.

She has blindly supported the party ticket, and solidly thrown her electoral vote against every one of our illustrious candidates, all of whom were elected, save one, from the "Pathfinder," in 1856, to the lamented Garfield, in 1880.

Party spirit has impelled the support, alike, with equal force and warmth, of a Democrat of the strictest school, a General of the Union armies, and an original and avowed Abolitionist. Such persistency in the same line of voting, regardless of the antecedents of candidates, very justly excites a suspicion that the goal these pliable pilgrims are struggling to reach is one of spoils, and not of principles. Coming myself as a Republican from this strong Democratic section, I certainly shall have the modesty to refrain from any semblance of dictation as to whom Republican States shall have as their candidates. I am here, with others, to counsel with delegates having Republican constituencies at their backs, and to follow their lead, that we may all move on to victory. We do not propose to trammel your future action by an abuse of the power that we now possess, but which falls limp from our hands the very instant your President raps the adjournment of this Convention. Southern Republicans who have passed through every vicissitude of fortune only to be strengthened in their conscientious devotion to the principles of the party, are happy in the belief that Republicans are too brave to be frightened from any course the majority may deem best to pursue, through any unseemly clamor of the opposition, or of their weak-hearted and trembling-kneed allies.

I am not one of those who believe that long and honorable services in behalf of Republicanism, and an intimate knowledge gained through experience of the strength and needs of the Nation, are in any sense a disqualification for leadership.

The great popular heart always beats in perfect unison with the right; and if, without organization or preconcerted arrangement, that sentiment has, with one impulse from ocean to ocean, clearly indicated its choice, it seems to me then that the plain and simple duty of delegates is to ratify the people's preference.

We come not here to disparage any candidate, but, with the kindest feeling and sincerest admiration for all, we have only endeavored to learn the choice of those States and those delegates having Republican electoral votes to sustain their judgment and their preferences. Speaking for myself and others from the South, and conscientiously believing that choice to be the great Commoner from Maine, I, with great pleasure, second the nomination of James G. Blaine.

MR. THOMAS C. PLATT, of New York. *Gentlemen of the Convention*: I rise with pleasure to second the nomination of James G. Blaine. I second this nomination, believing, as I do, that his turn has come; believing, as I do, that expediency and justice demand it; believing, as I do, that the Republican people of the Republican States that must give the Republican majorities want him; believing, as I do, that he is the representative of that strong, stern, stalwart Republicanism which will surely command success; believing, as I do,

that with him for our standard-bearer success is surely assured; believing, in my inmost heart, that with him as our standard-bearer success is assured in the great State of New York.

Fellow-delegates, friends of James G. Blaine, stand firm, stay solid. With steady step and strong purpose, victory is ours, now and in November.

Mr. GALUSHA A. GROW, of Pennsylvania. At the close of this the second century of National existence, not less than two hundred millions of people will be dwellers on the soil over which to-day floats the flag of our fathers. Each year half a million of people leave the crowded bee-hives of industry in the Old World to find homes in the New. Great social problems of citizenship, and economic questions of capital and labor, affecting our social and political institutions, are crowding upon us for solution. And upon the wisdom of their solution depends the success of the Nation in the great experiment of free constitutional government among men.

The development of the material resources of the country, the security of individual rights, and the protection of American citizenship at home and abroad, are the grave questions which confront the statesmanship of the present. A quarter of a century of successful administration, beginning in the "long roll" of one of the most gigantic wars of history, is the conclusive evidence of the ability of the Republican party to manage the affairs of government wisely and well. With the shadows of its mighty events and the shades of its mighty dead around us, we meet to voice the sentiments of that great party whose achievements in war and peace have contributed so much to the greatness and glory of the Republic.

The great cardinal idea of its existence was equal rights and the best interests of the laboring classes. Almost its first act in administering the government was to dedicate the unoccupied public lands of the Union in free homes for free men; and its constant legislation has been to foster and protect American labor in developing American industries.

Its great champions and chosen standard-bearers have been in their own lives the representatives of labor and its trials. Lincoln, Wilson, Greeley, Wade and Garfield, in youth and early manhood, earned their daily bread by their daily toil in the workshop and the field, or along the highways of commerce. With standard-bearers true and faithful to the great principles of its organization, the Republican party will march to victory on the political battle-fields of the country in the future as in the past. [Loud applause, and cries of "Take the platform."]

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman suspend for one moment?

Mr. GROW. I will occupy but a moment. [Loud cries of "Platform!" "Platform!" "Platform!"]

Mr. Grow then ascended the platform and spoke as follows:

The solution of the greatest social problems, since the extinction of slavery, falls upon this generation, and those that are to succeed it. The high offices of the government, therefore, require men of ripe statesmanship, experienced in public affairs, and of a life training in sympathy with labor.

The statesman of Maine began life a school teacher, day laborer in a printing office, and in youth and manhood, by his own efforts, unaided and alone, without the aid of wealth or family influence, he has carved his way to honorable distinction.

MR. LUKE STALEY. *Mr. President:* I desire to say to this Convention that, while I am not here in the interest of James G. Blaine, I hope this Convention will not forget that we are gentlemen, and we are Republicans, and I hope and trust that this Convention will give Mr. Grow a hearing here to-night.

MR. GROW [resuming]. I stand before you representing in part the State in which James G. Blaine was born. As one of his neighbors I would call your attention to the trials of his early life; to those struggles which develop the inherent elements of manhood. His achievements in later years are part of the history of the country. Architect of his own fortune, he has climbed almost to the topmost round of the ladder which leans against the sky. The Republican party, with him as its standard-bearer, who is one of the illustrious compeers of the great men who have made the name of the Republican party illustrious, will march to victory in November next under the broad banner of protection to American labor, the equal rights of all men before the law, and the enforcement of the constitutional guarantees of citizenship.

THE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will proceed with the call of the roll of States.

The Secretary then proceeded with the roll-call.

When New York was called, Mr. Martin I. Townsend arose for the purpose of nominating President Arthur.

NOMINATION OF CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

MR. MARTIN I. TOWNSEND. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* America is proud of her great men; the Republican party is proud of her great men; and the great men of America are in the Republican party. It has warmed the cockles of my heart to hear the eulogiums pronounced here to-night. I abate not one whit from the speakers who have uttered the eloquent eulogiums, in my admiration of the men whom they have named. I come here to say amen and thrice amen to all achievements of the Republican party; including the glorious histories of the gentlemen whose names have been presented here.

I come here, however, to talk about the well-being of the Republican party in the future; and I say to the gentlemen of this Convention that, however joyous our evening interview may be here, there is a very grave responsibility resting upon us that has got to be borne, and decided by cool and deliberate judgment.

The question is, How shall we put ourselves before the American people in a shape to secure their suffrages at the November election? And it is a serious question. In France, when the National assemblies from 1790 to 1880 were assembled, a demonstration from the surrounding mobs of Paris and assent by the National Assembly, settled the question. But we may exert influence upon

this body; we may obtain the assent of this body; and yet our work is not done. We have got to go down to the constituencies that sent us here; we have got to shape our action so that it shall commend itself to the men that go to the churches; the clergymen, and the elders, and the deacons, and the members, and the citizens that attend the churches—all that fear God and love the Republic have got to canvass our action and pass judgment upon what we have done.

Now, how shall we meet the views of these people? I have come to speak to you in carrying out what I believe is most likely to gain the favor of the electors of this country—the Republican electors—I have to speak of an individual. I speak of Gen. Chester A. Arthur, of the State of New York. I shall not dwell upon the early history of Chester A. Arthur. I shall content myself with saying that his veins are filled with blood that derives its richness from the Campbells of Argyll and from the north of Ireland, the sturdiest stock in the universe. He passed the typical life of the American boy; without money, he had to make up by energy and pluck for what he lacked of the filthy lucre. Four years ago he was taken up by the National Assembly that met here, and nominated for the office of Vice-President of the United States. He was elected upon the same ticket with the sainted Garfield; a man that I loved.

I knew Mr. Garfield way back in 1856, when a boy struggling in college, in my own college in Williamstown, in dear old Massachusetts; where my early boyhood days were passed; and I met him in the National Congress. Four long years I sat by his side; and I felt that when the National Convention had nominated Garfield, they had done themselves honor; they had done the country the greatest favor that it was possible in that day and under the then circumstances, for them to confer upon it.

In the providence of God—a mournful, and melancholy, and never-to-be-forgotten providence—Mr. Garfield was removed from the field of action; and Mr. Arthur was called to the difficult and almost disheartening duty of taking his position as the chief executive officer of this Union. And from that day his work has been constant, forward, unswerving, kind, faithful, considerate to all. And with charity for all and malice against none he has discharged his duties, until, within a year, every Republican Convention in this Union has passed a resolution of unqualified commendation upon this man and his conduct in the Presidential office.

Shall I say that I need not utter commendation? What have you said to-day? "In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity; and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen." This is to go down to the fireside of every constituent of this assembly—I mean of this Republican assembly; and they will hold you—my friends of this Convention, they will hold you to what you have said on this occasion.

We have a peculiar constituency; we have greater difficulties than our Democratic friends. When our Democratic friends declare their principles, they get their friends to believe that they are in earnest; and they achieve a triumph. Nothing makes them so happy, nothing makes their constituents so

proud of them, as to have them turn tail and profess that they never meant what they said. Our people hold no such doctrine. What will they say to us if we say we are not in earnest about this thing?

Some ten years ago a large portion of our citizens came to feel that the mode of distributing inferior and clerical offices throughout the country was injurious to public morality; and would in the end be subversive of the best interests of the people. They started then what is called the agitation for "civil service reform." A great many hesitated; a great many believed it was not necessary; but by and by the persistency of the earnest men who favored this movement, the earnest men that determined that the reform of the civil service upon the principles that they indicated must and should be accomplished and preserved, had its effect; until now for more than eight years, no National, no State convention, has ever been organized without passing a resolution in favor of civil service reform.

We passed laws, we have appointed commissioners; the commissioners have gone into action; and through the administration of Mr. Garfield all the principles of the civil service reformers—and that included the whole Republican party—have been put in practice. It is not I that say so. The commissioners themselves, in their report to the National Congress, declared that Mr. Arthur in every respect has carried out the law and aided them to the extent of his power.

Another thing has come to pass under this administration. It may be said that I hold an office. I do. For which I am indebted to the late President, Rutherford B. Hayes, a most excellent gentleman, who did honor to the country in the office. I come here to speak for the man who is now President; but the day has come when a man can safely come to oppose the head of the National administration. There sits my friend Judge Robertson, of the city of New York, the Collector of the port of New York; coming here like an honest man, like a brave-hearted man, to carry out his views, directly in opposition to the President. He fears no disturbance, he does it in perfect safety.

I am bound to say another thing. I would hate myself forever if I did not say it. Much has been said about New York State politics; much has been said about the "New York machine," with Roscoe Conkling and Thomas C. Platt turning the crank of the machine. I have, sir, to prove that Mr. Arthur has not prostituted his office to the purposes of faction, but to point to the fact that Roscoe Conkling has given his whole influence against Mr. Arthur; and that Mr. Thomas C. Platt, the man that resigned his office, and the man that could not sit in his seat in the Senate during Garfield's administration because Mr. Blaine was so wicked as to persuade Mr. Garfield to nominate Mr. Robertson for Collector of the port of New York—he is also opposed to Mr. Arthur. I am an old man; but I am one of those men that for fifty years, in speaking of politics, have uttered just the sentiment that I felt and believed. My work is almost done; but if it be the last act of my life, I want to call the attention of this Convention to the exhibition we have had here to-night, as an evidence that the executive chamber, if it ever was otherwise, is not now the caucus-room of faction.

Now, the people, when we go down to our homes, will say: "What means

this? Mr. Arthur has had everybody's commendation. The politicians met at Chicago, and were compelled by the force of public opinion, by what we thought, to give this unqualified commendation for the administration of Chester A. Arthur; and yet he was not re-nominated!"

Mr. President, when you took the chair, in speaking of the great and glorious men whose names had come before this Convention for consideration, you said that Chester A. Arthur had justly won the commendation—"Well done, good and faithful servant." Sir, you quoted from a book. But what is said in that book should be done with the good and faithful servant? Turn him out into the brush-pasture to starve? That is not the doctrine of that book. The good and faithful servant is everywhere promised his reward. That is a wonderfully good book; and, for a digression, let me say to the young gentlemen, not members of this Convention, who cried so loudly for my friend Ingersoll last night, that there is a great deal of most instructive and interesting reading in that book, if they shall have the grace to study it.

I have stated that the people are full of scrutiny. There is more, sir. We are to meet an intelligent, a tireless enemy. The Democratic party are watching for a break in our armor. They have their lances at rest; they have their spears pointed; and whenever we lay open our armor they are ready to pierce the Republican party to the heart. What will they say? "Oh, here! oh, here! What a nice party you are! You have been prating ten years about the reform of the civil service; you have been prating ten years about having a non-factional administration. You found one, as you say yourselves; and yet, for the purpose of picking up somebody else, you have struck down and cast into oblivion, as far as you had the power to do it, the very man that has done the work that you set him to do, after spending ten years in preparing for this end."

I said the Democrats could do anything. They had their friend of civil service reform. They had their Mr. Pendleton in Ohio. They claqued him loudly. They patted him on the back, when he made his speeches for civil service reform; but when he came down to Ohio for renomination to be returned to the Senate, they whistled him down the wind. Said they, "It will strengthen the party, but it will not strengthen us."

Our constituents will look unto us. In the days of James II., he got into difficulty with the Bishops. He imprisoned all the leading Bishops in England. Among them was Trelawney, from Cornwall, Bishop of Bristol. The Cornishmen were very much excited because their friend was in jail; and a distich was sent out, the burden of which was this:

"And shall Trelawney die? and shall Trelawney die?

Then thirty thousand Cornishmen will know the reason why."

And in this case, strike down Mr. Arthur, and not 30,000 Republicans, but thirty times 30,000, will know the reason why.

Now, my friends, I have presented substantially the considerations which govern me in proposing the action which I have to take. We have in every case, since the Republican party was formed, done one of two things: We have, when our President has finished his term, renominated him, except in the case of Mr. Hayes, who refused a renomination, and given him a second term. We

refused to give Gen. Grant, much as we regarded him, a third term. These are traditions of the party, the common understanding. And in order to show that I take the common understanding of the party, I have but to quote a letter from a most distinguished statesman in the northeasterly portion of the Union, written the 20th of December, 1880, in view of the incoming administration of Mr. Garfield, in which he says, speaking of the administration, "Not at all directing its energies for re-election, yet compelling the result by the logic of events and the imperious necessities of the situation." So said that great statesman—so has said every man; so says the community; so will say the voters. And God grant that this Convention may adopt such a course as to conciliate the solid intelligence of the men of the Republican party; and that victory in November, so important to the well-being of this country, may again perch, as it has for twenty-four years, upon the Republican banner.

Mr. HENRY H. BINGHAM, of Pennsylvania. Republican Pennsylvania will utter no uncertain sound in the coming November contest, when the suffrages of her industrious people will roll up 30,000 majority for the nominee of this Convention.

Honest, outspoken, and well-defined differences exist in the Pennsylvania delegation as to whose name would cluster around it the largest expression of public confidence and approval, and best typify the principles of our party; but that individual choice will be expressed only in the deliberations of this representative gathering, and, its wise decision once rendered, the candidate who shall carry the banner of our party will find the sturdy sons of the Keystone State laboring and battling for Republican success.

I rise to second the nomination of Chester A. Arthur, of the State of New York, and in doing so I but voice the unanimous sentiment of the Pennsylvania Convention, as well as the expression of every Republican Convention in the Union, when they point with pride to his wise administration of public affairs; congratulate the people upon the marked prosperity of the country; proclaim his unswerving integrity, and declare his unquestioned capacity and fitness for the discharge of every responsibility which the providence of God, for His own great purposes, in His omnipotence and omniscience, has placed upon him.

The unknown man of four years ago has become the best known within the confines of the Republic. What a man can do is best determined from what he has done. Recognizing the supreme duty resting upon the highest wisdom and best judgment of this patriotic body, no name, no record, so illustrates all that will contribute to peace, prosperity, and national honor, as that of the distinguished statesman who four years ago received in National Convention the plaudits of the people, as generous and as enthusiastic as yours are to-night, and was proclaimed the choice of the Convention—a judgment ratified by the votes of millions of freemen—and who to-day renders to this body the record of his work and the fulfillment of every duty which his great office has demanded. Thirty-eight States declare, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant." After three years of administration he presents a party reunited. It is for this Convention to declare whether that party shall be invincible. Three years of administration, and every principle we have

inscribed upon our broad banner of liberty is more deeply rooted in the minds and hearts of the American people. Flaming all over the horizon of our party's birth, we read of the liberty of man, and equality under the law. Abraham Lincoln believed, as the Republican party believed, that all men were created equal, and, when the havoc of war was at its highest and the dead were legion, he proclaimed to the Republic the emancipation of the black man, and to-day in all this broad land the sun never rises upon a bondman or sets upon a slave. God's great chosen ruler. Well done, good and faithful servant. And when the Convention of 1864 assembled, the representatives of the people called upon him again to carry the banner for law, for liberty, for the Union, and for victory. That great and silent soldier, sent by the armies of the West to break down the seemingly impregnable barriers surrounding Richmond, triumphantly carried the matchless and masterful armies of the North into the capital of rebellion, and received the capitulation of treason upon the memorable field of Appomattox. Great in war, he was greater in peace. The suffrages of the people lifted him into the chair of Washington and Lincoln, and so faithfully and well was every duty performed, National honor and integrity maintained, that in the Republican Convention of 1872 no other name than that of Ulysses S. Grant was considered, and he deservedly received the unanimous renomination of his patriotic party. The wise, honest, capable, and safe administration of Rutherford B. Hayes commended itself to all the friends of good government. Accepting his high trust, he announced to the nation unqualifiedly his determination to lay down the robes of authority at the expiration of his term of office, and return home to the people of his State, where he had been upon many occasions honored and always loved.

Who can ever forget the inspiring scenes and proceedings in this hall four years ago, when we joined Ohio and New York in bonds so firm that only death do us part. The name of James A. Garfield called forth the enthusiastic indorsement of the people of that safe Republican State, and the power, the force and the strength of the name of Chester A. Arthur welded to the Republican column uncertain and doubtful New York. Had Garfield lived—but no; his great possibilities only an all-wise Providence knows. He was, indeed, the people's idol, and his memory will be ever green, and his grave ever watered with the tears of the millions of the Republic.

"Ashes to ashes, dust to dust;

He is gone who seemed so great:

Gone, but nothing can bereave him

Of the force he made his own,

Being here; and we believe him

Something far advanced in state,

And that he wears a truer crown

Than any wreath that man can weave him.

God accept him, Christ receive him."

Into the firm, strong hand of Chester A. Arthur, under constitutional forms and procedure, the baton of power and authority fell. I will not paint the picture of that day and time: a great man died; but a strong, brave, resolute man still stood at the helm, and the old ship rode safely through the storm into

peaceful waters, into the harbor of safety and prosperity. Every trust and responsibility was accepted; how faithfully every obligation has been fulfilled, and how true he has been to the people, to law and to liberty, he may read who runneth.

The Republican party has not been unmindful of the rewards and honor due faithful leadership and well-attested public service. Lincoln reaffirmed in his high office. Grant reaffirmed in his high office. Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war. Three years of administration, and how stand the Nation's finances? On the solid foundation of integrity. Every promise fulfilled. Ask a response from this centre of capital and enterprise. Ask the business men of New York City, who a few days since assembled in mass meeting, and whose representatives, one hundred strong, sit in this Convention hall. Do the great money centres of the country need a resolute hand, a clear head, and an incorruptible man in the executive chair? Read the recent decision of the Supreme Court on paper money, and then ask if capital needs safe and secure administration. The treasury of the nation is filled to overflowing, and unwise legislation is now ready to deplete the surplus. Read the vetoes of Chester A. Arthur, and you will find him courageous to rebuke extravagance, even when his own party has formulated the legislation. The foreign relations of the country bring us only love and respect, and the State Department is quiet, and at peace with all the world. Our home conditions mark a people prosperous, happy and contented, capital employed, labor protected, a fair day's living wages for a fair day's work. The manufacturing interests find the name of Chester A. Arthur signed to the legislation of the Forty-seventh Congress, side by side with that of William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania; McKinley, of Ohio; Morrill, of Vermont; and Aldrich, of Rhode Island. Commerce finds in him a familiar defender, agriculture an advocate, and labor a devoted champion. The men of the South will eloquently tell how true he has been to their cause, to liberty, and the right.

Civil service reform—his record is rounded and complete. There sits upon this platform to-night the leader and Chairman of the New York State delegation. Perhaps for advanced thought, for high leadership, for broad National statesmanship, no man excels him in the country. What was his utterance in official declaration as to Chester A. Arthur's fulfillment and observance of every requirement of the law? He proclaimed him faithful and consistent. I can only trust and hope that in the deliberations of this Convention, the gentleman may have an opportunity to so express himself to this gathered multitude. This is the supreme moment. This splendid opportunity may never again come to the Republican party. He has been the President of the people, wisely administering the law, faithfully obeying the Constitution, self-poised, firm, courageous to do right, confident in the rectitude of his purpose, ever loyal and true. We know him, the country knows him, safety looks to him; for peace and prosperity have been his gift to the American people.

One word more: From this platform to-night, in the presence of 20,000 freemen, in language eloquent and in utterance fervent and impassioned, there have been spoken sentiments that I can not as a Republican approve. When, in this Convention of peers and equals, that basis and fundamental doctrine of

my party and your party, we are told that the highest judgment, the perfection of the duty of the Republican party, is to be found only where Republican electoral votes are to be counted, I denounce it as a sentiment repugnant and as a principle to be condemned.

All over the South—in her rich lowlands and upon her sunny hills—we find the camping grounds and battle fields of the armies that have fought for Republican principle and contended for Republican thought, and while we have gained great victories in the indivisibility of the Union, and the freedom of the black man, we have other triumphs to secure, and in our deliberations and action we need, we require, and we must have, the judgment, courage, conviction and earnest faith of the brave men of the South, until every hillside is marked with the school house, and every man, white and black, can cast his ballot with freedom and have it fairly counted.

Wipe out from the banner of the Republican party her legends of liberty, that have been our cloud by day and our pillar of fire by night, and we have a flag without faith, proclaiming only material prosperity and material success.

In rising, therefore, to second the nomination of Chester A. Arthur, I conclude, as I began, that the well-expressed and well-digested judgment of every Convention of the Nation is, that he has faithfully and well performed his duty, and it is for this Convention to-night to decide whether the written and unwritten law of our party shall no longer be recognized in Republican National Conventions.

MR. JOHN R. LYNN, of Mississippi. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention* : It seems to me that very little remains for me to say. Therefore, I will say a very few words. I recognize the fact that I come from a State that is at present in a politically prostrate condition. In consequence of that fact, I hope that it is modest in me to give a few reasons why, in my opinion, the man of my choice should receive the nomination of this Convention. Although the State from which I come is at present politically powerless to contribute to the success of the nominee of this Convention, yet our voters are there, having loyal hearts, patriotic impulses, and a determination to do whatever they can.

Let me say that the Republicans of my section have no feeling of ill-will, no feeling of antipathy, toward any one of the distinguished gentlemen whose names have been presented to this Convention, or may hereafter be presented. We entertain for all of them the highest admiration, the profoundest respect, and we are determined that whichever one may receive the nomination from this body will receive our cordial and united support.

Then, Mr. President, I feel that I express the honest wish and sincere desire of every member of this Convention when I say that whatever differences may have existed in our ranks heretofore, whatever factions may have existed in days gone by, when we leave this hall we all hope that every sore shall have been healed, and every faction shall have been destroyed.

The Republicans of my section believe that the present administration should be continued because Mr. Chester A. Arthur has given us a safe, wise, pure, honest administration. We believe that, having done so well, he ought to be allowed to continue at least another term in well-doing. We believe that, having been compelled, in consequence of circumstances which he could not control,

and which all of us seriously deplore, to assume the Presidential chair, he has done better than his friends expected, and certainly better than his enemies expected. Therefore we believe that he is a safe, wise, prudent and judicious party leader. Believing that, our desire is that he should be allowed to succeed himself. Whether he be the choice of the Convention or not, I am satisfied in my own mind that, whoever the nominee may be, no man will do more to contribute to his success than the present occupant of the Presidential chair, the Hon. Chester A. Arthur. He has never failed, and I am satisfied he will not fail hereafter. He will not shirk, he will not falter, he will not say that "I am the only man that can be elected." His friends do not say, I do not say, that Mr. Arthur is the only man we can elect; for I believe we will elect anybody we nominate; but we believe that he should have an opportunity to succeed himself; that is all.

One more reason, and I will take my seat. We all know that Mr. Arthur is an earnest, sincere advocate of civil service reform. All of us are civil service reformers, the office holders included; I may say the office holders especially. We have declared in our platform for civil service reform. Mr. Arthur is known to be sincere and honest in the advocacy of civil service reform. Give him an opportunity to do a little better than he has done.

Gentlemen, it is not worth while for me to say more, but simply to express the hope that you will ratify the nomination of Mr. Arthur when you come to a ballot.

MR. PATRICK H. WINSTON, of North Carolina. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of this Convention:* The victory of arms won on the immortal field of Appomattox was not more glorious than the moral victory that lies within the grasp of the Republican party. A generation has grown up south of the Potomac whose accepted watchword is: This shall no longer be a Union of two opposing sections, but a Union of fifty millions of freemen. The unrivaled glory of the past sacrifices endured by the patriotic Union men of the South appeals irresistibly to the sympathy of those who have contributed to freedom the brightest page in its annals. Let the friends of freedom in the North in the coming contest touch elbows on the march with their fellow-countrymen of the South, and the Solid South will be broken forever. Twice since the close of the war, North Carolina has given her electoral vote to the Republican candidate for President. The great State of New York has done no more. Because we are determined that henceforth we will be found in the front rank of the party of progress, we are here to-day with the courage of our convictions.

Upon what principle shall we proceed to select our candidate for President? Behold our country! We are at peace with the world; the wounds of domestic strife are healed; public confidence is established; the National honor is sustained; the civil service is without a stain; honest labor is paid with honest money; capital is secure; happiness and prosperity abound. There is not one of us here present who does not feel, in his own condition, and in the condition of his country, that these blessings are largely due to the conservative statesmanship of the President of the United States.

The jewel of fair play shines with unequaled lustre on American soil. Why forego the advantages of so happy a situation? The Republican party presents

to the world the sublime character of Abraham Lincoln as the embodiment of its patriotism in the pioneer days of freedom ; and as the type of its power and glory in the era of war, the great soldier of the century, who took the nation in his arms and put it on the plane of liberty and equality. The era of peace is before us. Let us prolong it forever. Let us choose a leader to-night who is the representative of our party in the day of its peace, and prosperity, and progress. As such a leader, as the exponent of all that is best in the party, as the choice of the conservative sentiment of the country, as the impartial ruler of the whole people, and on behalf of the State of North Carolina, I second the nomination of Chester A. Arthur.

Mr. REED, of California. Mr. President, it is now past eleven o'clock, and these people are tired. I move that this Convention adjourn. [Cries of "No, no."]

The PRESIDENT. The motion is in order, gentlemen.

The motion was put to vote and lost.

Mr. P. B. S. PINCHBACK, of Louisiana. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* This is the second time in my life that I have had the honor to rise in a National Convention to second the nomination of one of our distinguished fellow-citizens. I have not arisen in this Convention to second the nomination of Chester A. Arthur alone; but I have taken the floor for the purpose of meeting some of the accusations that have been brought against the Southern Republicans.

I desire to say, that if Southern Republicans come into this Convention and second the nomination of Gen. Chester A. Arthur, it is not because they desire to dictate to this Convention, or to the Republican States of the North, who will be called upon to furnish the electoral votes, but because we have noticed in the South that every State Convention held in the great Northern States, so far as I have seen, has, with singular unanimity, indorsed the administration of Gen. Chester A. Arthur.

We feel in the South that, in the present occupant of the White House, we have a prudent, a safe and a reliable ruler; a man who is not only acceptable to the Republicans of the South, but acceptable to the Republicans of the North; and, what is still better than all of these, a man who is acceptable to the Republic.

I can say to you, gentlemen, that on my way from New Orleans to this Convention, all along the line of the railroad, in conversation with the passengers, and at the stations in conversation with the citizens generally—the substantial citizens of the country—I was admonished to stand by Chester A. Arthur.

I was told in Louisville, Ky., by the members of several of the leading business firms of that city, that if Chester A. Arthur was nominated the business men of Louisville, Ky., would give him 10,000 more votes in Kentucky than ever had been cast for a Republican candidate before.

I was told in Louisiana by the sugar-planters, and by the people who are interested in the tariff question, that, if the Republican National Convention should place in nomination Chester A. Arthur, they were prepared, if the Democratic National Convention should fail to put a protective plank in their platform, to put in the field an Independent electoral ticket in our State and give their votes for its election.

I second the nomination of Gen. Chester A. Arthur for these reasons. They are to me evidences that he is not only a fit and proper candidate, but I conscientiously believe that he has the best chance of any gentleman whose name has thus far been placed before this Convention of carrying the country in November next.

I hear delegates in this Convention talking about New York, talking about what Mr. Grant will do ; and what Mr. Conkling will do ; and what this man and that man will do ; but I want to say to you that I have spent a good deal of my time in New York within the last year ; and I am here to say that for every vote lost to Mr. Chester A. Arthur by the defection of the gentlemen named, he will gain two. There is a strong sentiment in the minds of the people, a strong belief in the minds of the people of New York, as well as there is in many other sections of this country, that the trouble between these gentlemen is that Gen. Chester A. Arthur was President instead of somebody else. I believe it is the desire of this Convention, I believe it is the desire of the Republican party, I believe it is the desire of the great American people, that whoever shall occupy the Presidential office shall be President of the United States.

I am in favor of Gen. Chester A. Arthur for the additional reason that my constituents are in favor of him. And while they failed to instruct me to cast my vote for him, they made it manifest in many ways that they desired me to do so. And I know that what is true in Louisiana is largely true of every other Southern State. And I know that most of the Southern delegates left their homes with the impression upon the country that they were in favor of Chester A. Arthur.

And I have seen in the press, while on the way to this Convention, rumors that we were a mercantile element ; that especially the colored delegates to this Convention would be bought and sold like so many sheep. I want by my vote recorded in this Convention—and I hope to have the vote of every other colored man recorded in the same way—in favor of Gen. Chester A. Arthur, to give the lie to these maligners of our race. I want to demonstrate, by our fealty to this chosen chief of ours, that we are as pure, as incorruptible, when holding public trust, as the whitest man that may sit beneath this roof. And if I had no other reason but this, so important is it to me to lift up the standard of integrity of my people, that that alone would induce me to stand by Chester A. Arthur as long as his name is before this Convention.

NOMINATION OF JOHN SHERMAN.

Mr. J. B. FORAKER, of Ohio. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention :* If noise and demonstration, and nominating and seconding speeches, when numerically considered, could either nominate a candidate or elect him to be the President of the United States, I would not, in view of what has transpired in this hall to-night, take this stand to perform the duty that has been imposed upon me. But, in view of the fact that such results do not necessarily follow such demonstrations ; but more particularly in view of the fact that these demonstrations are conflicting, and these orators are opposing, I am emboldened

to come before you that I may in a humble way say a few plain words for a very plain but a very great and grand man.

But, sirs, first and foremost, I want to say again, here and now, what I have had occasion to repeat so many times since I came to Chicago to attend this Convention, and that is, that Ohio is a Republican State. She will cast her electoral vote for the nominee of this Convention. But, sirs, she claims no credit, and she asks no favors, on that account. She would be untrue to herself if she did otherwise. She could not do less without injustice to the memory and teachings of a long line of distinguished sons who have won imperishable renown for themselves and their country, both on the field and in the Cabinet.

I am not here, therefore, to ask anything for her, or in her name, as a condition precedent. On the contrary, let it be distinctly understood that whatever she may do in other years, and I happen to know that she sometimes acts strangely [laughter], she never fails to carry our flag to victory in Presidential campaigns. She has always been ready to enthusiastically follow the chosen leader of the party; and she was never more so than at the present time. To-day, as in the past, her highest ambition is, that with her October election, she may worthily and victoriously lead the Republican column.

If, therefore, it be true that in the past she has enjoyed distinguished favor, she humbly hopes it has been no more than a just recognition accorded by her generous sister States; and if she is proud of the names of Grant, and Sherman, and Sheridan, and McPherson, and Chase, and Stanton, and Hayes, and Garfield, it is only because, for their illustrious services to the whole people, the whole people are proud of them, also; and if for these distinguished men Ohio first claimed National consideration and honor, it was not because they were her sons, but only because the better knowing their worth she put them forward for the common good. She has had no selfish purposes to subserve; she has none such to-day; she fully recognizes and appreciates the fact that what is best for the whole Republican party, is best also for her.

Moved by no other feeling, she has a name to place before this Convention. You have heard it before. From one end of the land to the other it is as familiar as a household word. It is the name of a man who has been an acknowledged leader of the Republican party for the last thirty years. He is identified with every triumph of our most wonderful career. He stood at the forefront in the struggles with slavery. He was a very pillar of strength to the Government in its death-grapple with secession. His personal impress is on every line of reconstruction; and when our National integrity had been preserved by the valor of our soldiers in the field, and there came that wild and senseless mania of inflation that threatened to sweep the country and tarnish the National honor, it was his lot to stand in the breach as no other man stood. Save only the war, that was the gravest danger that ever menaced the American people. A failure to resume specie payments in 1879, would have been almost as surely fatal to this Republic as could have been success for Lee at Gettysburg. It was patriotic courage and heroism in the one case no more than in the other, that saved the day, and accomplished for us the sublime results in which we have ever since rejoiced.

The people of this country know and appreciate that fact, and they still have a profoundly grateful recollection of the services thus rendered. And this is especially true at this particular time, when Wall street gambling, and what you characterized in the platform this day adopted as "Democratic horizontal reduction," have done their bad work. The flood-tide of prosperity has been arrested, and we have been brought through the several stages of stagnation and decline to the very verge of business demoralization and panic. Confidence has been shaken and impaired. Its restoration is to be the controlling question of this coming campaign; and if we would act wisely here we must recognize that fact and make our nomination accordingly.

What man, then, of all those presented to this body for consideration, most fittingly and completely meets the requirements of this situation? In answering that question, I can say, as others have said here to-night, that I have no thought or word of detraction or disparagement for any other name that you will be called upon to consider; and in the language of that platform, as it was read by our friend from New York here to-night, I, too, can say and do say, without hesitation, that in the present chief magistrate we have had a wise, a conservative, and a patriotic administration. And I can say too, that no man's admiration is greater than mine for that brilliant genius from Maine. [The speaker was here interrupted by long-continued applause for Blaine.]

Gentlemen of the Convention: I shall not compliment anybody else until I come to my own man.

But, resuming, permit me to remind you that you have violated that old and time-honored maxim: "Never to holler till you get out of the woods." [Great laughter.] You should not do so, for I may want to say something now that you won't want to applaud. For that which I want to say further to this Convention is this: That what we want, what we must have, what we stand here to-night charged with the grave and responsible duty of laying the foundation for, is success in November next. And to the end that we may have that success, we must nominate a man who will make not only a good President, but the best possible candidate.

And to that end, we want a man who is distinguished, not so much for the brilliancy of his genius as for that other, safer, better, and more assuring quality, the brilliancy of common sense. We not only want a man who is a pronounced Republican, thoroughly tried in the crucial tests of our experience, but we want also a man whose very name will allay instead of excite the distrust that disturbs the industrial interests of this country. He must, of course, as gentlemen have eloquently said from this platform to-night, be a friend of human liberty and the equality of rights. He could not be a Republican if he were not. He must believe, too, as it has been well said, in the protection of American citizens at home as well as abroad. And not only that, but he must be a man who can find, under the Constitution and laws of this country, some method whereby the brutal butcheries of Copiah and Danville may for the future be prevented.

And not only must he believe in these things; but there is one thing in particular that our platform reminded us of to-day, that he must not believe in; and that is, a substantial reduction of the tariff duties on iron, steel and wool.

On the contrary, he must believe, and that in the most unqualified sense, just as we have declared here to-day, in the protection of American industries, the development of American resources, and the elevation and dignity of American labor.

And not only must he believe in these elementary and fundamental propositions of Republicanism; but he must have a record so clear, so bright, as to not only challenge and defy criticism to assail it, but at the same time make him the representative of all the highest and purest ambitions and aspirations of the great Republican party.

And over and above all this, he must be a man in whom the people believe; not simply that he is honest, not simply that he is capable, not simply that he loves Republicanism and hates Democracy, not simply that he is loyal and patriotic, but that, combined with all these essential attributes, he possesses, by reason of his experience, that essential qualification that makes him most competent to deliver us from the evils that threaten our present safety.

Nominate such a man, and victory is assured. We will have four more years of Republican rule; during which time the Republic will continue to grow in greatness at home and increased respect abroad. As such a man I nominate John Sherman, of Ohio.

MR. WM. H. HOLT, of Kentucky. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* The responsibility resting upon this Convention is beyond measure. Over 50,000,000 of people, living in millions of prosperous homes in this country, are demanding of us careful deliberation, and forbidding hasty action. Enthusiasm for a candidate is to be admired; but our candidate, and the nominee of this Convention, should be selected after careful consideration, and without bitterness. The people of this country demand that we shall place before them for their indorsement, a safe, prudent, experienced man; a man of the highest type of American politics.

I rise to second the nomination of a man whose history is a part of that of the Republican party of this country, and who has followed its fortunes from its birth, through its dark as well as its bright hours; followed it faithfully, no matter where it took him—whether to success or disaster—and who, by reason of his services to his party, and above all to his country, is entitled to your indorsement; and whose nomination by this Convention would sink personal and sectional differences beneath the wave.

A quarter of a century ago the history of John Sherman in politics in this country began. His name has been written as that of a master upon the legislation of this country, and the execution of its laws. During all that time his name has been exposed to the blaze of public opinion; and it has never, never been scorched.

But there is another reason, gentlemen, why I come to second this nomination. Although he was called in a time when great ability was needed, to an office of high trust; although he executed the laws of resumption in such a way as to enroll credit upon our National banner and our National history; although that fact, perhaps, added more to the success of the Republican party four years ago than any other; yet there is another reason why he is entitled to honor and credit. What is it? Speaking as a Republican from the South—a Repub-

lican in the South as long as there has been a Republican party there—I undertake to say that John Sherman has always been the advocate of freedom of opinion and thought, of civil rights, and of liberty as against slavery. As long ago as the days when it was a question whether the Territory of Kansas should be cursed with slavery or blessed with freedom, he was found in the ranks of the Republican party battling for freedom. The Republicans in the South have always found in him an advocate; and to-day the civil and political rights of the Republicans in the South are a sacred trust to John Sherman. And to be brief, in the language of that martyred President, who four years ago presented his name to the Republican National Convention, in this hall, I present his name to you for your careful consideration and for your indorsement.

The Secretary then again proceeded with the call of the States. When Vermont was called, ex-Governor John D. Long, of Massachusetts, came forward to the platform, and was greeted with loud applause.

NOMINATION OF GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

Mr. J. D. LONG, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President, and Fellow-Delegates:* We are here to discharge a trust. Let us remember that we are to account for it hereafter. I appeal to the unimpassioned judgment of this Convention. I appeal from the excitement of this vast concourse to the afterthought of the firesides of the people. And remembering that an American audience never fails in fair play, I appeal even at this late hour for an opportunity for brave little Vermont.

The Republican party commands to-day the confidence of the country. It need not invoke its record of twenty-five years; for that is the common knowledge and admiration of the world. It need not appeal to its principles, for those are the very foundation of the marvelous progress and prosperity of this great Republic. There only needs that in its candidate, in the simple elements of his personal and public character, it furnish a guarantee of its continued fidelity to itself. There only needs that it respond to the instinct of the people. That done, and its triumph in the coming Presidential election is as sure as the coming of election day. But, gentlemen, that instinct must be obeyed. It represents a demand which is as inexorable as fate itself. It recognizes the merits and the services of all the candidates before us. It obtrudes no word of depreciation for any of them. It cares little for views of expediency, or preferences of personal or party liking. But by that awful voice of the people which is as the voice of God, it sets an imperative standard of its choice, and bids us rise to that or fall.

We are convened, therefore, in behalf of no man. The country and the party are greater than the fortunes or the interests of any one man, however dear or honored he may be. We are here as Republicans, and yet brave and broad enough not to be here in the interest of the Republican party alone. Even in this tumultuous excitement, we feel that, charged with the most sacred

responsibilities that can fall upon the representatives of the people, we are here in the interests of the people and all the people,—of the country and the whole country.

We are here to select for President a man from our own ranks indeed, but a man whose record and character, whose tested service, whose tried incorruptibility, whose unscathed walk through the storms and fires of public life, whose approved wisdom, equal to every emergency, whose recognized capacity to put a firm, safe hand upon the helm, and whose hold upon the confidence of the people, make him not our choice for them, but their choice for themselves.

He must be one who will command their undivided support. Not merely brilliant qualities on the one hand, nor meritorious qualities on the other, are enough. He must have all the staying qualities of the sturdiest American character. He must represent no wing nor faction of the party, but the whole of it. He must be one who will hold every Republican to his cordial allegiance; who will rally indifference and independence even into aroused conviction and an earnest front on our line; one who will stand for every beat that ever throbbed in the National heart for humanity, freedom, conscience and reform; one who will stand for whatever has been honest and of good report in our National history, and for whatever has made for economy, financial wisdom, clean politics and the integrity of National life. Above all, he must be one whose name will carry in the coming canvass that sense of security to which at each Presidential election the country turns as to a very rock of salvation. Such a man, honest and capable, will first master the sober judgment and approval of the people; and thenceforward he will stir them to the only enthusiasm, my friends, that counts; and that is the enthusiasm of public confidence. Then on election day, conscious where their safety lies, the irresistible uprising of the people, like the mighty unrolling of an ocean tide, will sweep him, never fear, into the highest seat of your public service.

This is the measure, not of a party but of the country. Meet it, and you have done your work and won your victory in advance. Respond here and now to this instinct of the people, and they will take care of the result. The measure is high, but the candidate I name rises to it. If there be an ideal American citizen in the best sense, it is he. You know—the people know—that his character, his ability, his worth, his courage, are as recognized and familiar as a household word. His fame needs not the kindly nothing-but-good with which death obscures the faults and exaggerates the virtues of public men. Calumny dare not assail him; and if it dare, recoils as from a galvanic shock. Against no other candidate can less be said than against him. For no other candidate can more be said.

I stand here, Mr. President, honored, though it were alone, with the duty of presenting his name to this Convention. But it is not I, it is not the State nor the delegates whom I here represent, who present that name to you. It is presented by uncounted numbers of our fellow-citizens, good men and true, all over this land, who only await his nomination to spring to the swift and hearty work of his election. It is presented by an intelligent press from Maine to California, representing a healthy public sentiment and an advanced public demand. It is the name of one whose letter of acceptance of an unsolicited

honor will constitute all the machinery he will have put into its procurement. It is a name which in itself is a guarantee of inflexible honesty in government, and of the best and wisest cabinet the country can afford, with no man in it greater than its head. It is a guarantee of appointments to office, fit, clean and disinterested all the way through; a guarantee of an administration which I believe, and which in your hearts you know, will realize, not only at home but abroad, the very highest conceptions of American citizenship. It is a name, too, which will carry over all the land a grateful feeling of serenity and security, like the benignant promise of a perfect day in June. It will be as wholesome and refreshing as the Green Mountains of the native State of him who bears it. Their summits tower not higher than his worth; their foundations are not firmer than his convictions and truth; the green and prolific slopes that grow great harvests at their feet are not richer than the fruitage of his long and lofty labors in the service of his country. Honest and capable, unexceptionable and fit, the best and the most available, the very staunchest of the old Republican guard, the most unflinching of American patriots, with the kindly heart of a courteous gentleman, as well as the robust and rugged mind of a great statesman, yet is he not more sternly just in the halls of Congress than tender in that sanctuary of the American heart, the American home. A man of no class, no caste, no pretense, but a man of the people, East, West, North, South, because a representative of their homeliest, plainest and best characteristics! Massachusetts, enthusiastically leaping her own borders, commends and nominates him to this great Republican Convention, as the man it seeks, as the man of its instinctive and hearty choice, as the one man whom its constituents everywhere will hail with an unbroken shout, not only of satisfaction, but of relief.

Gentlemen, I nominate as the Republican candidate for the next President of the United States the Honorable—aye! the *Honorable* George F. Edmunds, of Vermont.

MR. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, of New York. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen:* I shall not repeat to you the splendid story of the Republican party; a story that we never tire of telling; and that our children will never tire of hearing; a story which is written upon the heart of every American citizen, because it recounts greater services for liberty, for the country, for mankind, than those of any party in any other nation, at any other period of time.

And what is the secret of this unparalleled history? It is simply that the Republican party has been always the party of the best instincts, of the highest desires, of the American people. This is its special glory. It has represented the American instinct of nationality, American patriotism, and American devotion to liberty.

Now, fellow-citizens, we approach a new contest, and we shall be tried by the candidate whom we submit to the people. I say, we shall be tried by the candidate that we present. Do not forget that upon the man of our choice the eyes of the country will turn to see what it is that the Republican party honors and respects. It will turn to see what are the objects, what is the spirit, and what shall be the method, of continued Republican administration. And, therefore, our candidate must be in himself a resplendent manifesto of Repub-

lican principle, Republican character, and Republican purpose; a candidate who is in himself a triumphant victory.

We, gentlemen, have been long in power; and prolonged power breeds, as we have learned to our cost in the State of New York, and as you have learned, therefore, to your cost—prolonged power breeds dissensions within the party. The times are hard; and every man who feels poor, at once blames the administration of the government. The old issues are largely settled; and new men with new views are arising all around us; and vast questions, to which no man can be blind, solicit our present attention and sympathy.

This is the state of the country; this is the state of the party; and we are confronted with the Democratic party, very hungry, and, as you may well believe, very thirsty; a party without a single definite principle; a party without any distinct National policy which it dares to present to the country; a party which fell from power as a conspiracy against human rights, and now attempts to sneak back to power as a conspiracy for plunder and spoils.

Nevertheless, fellow-Republicans, we have learned, and many of you whom our hearts salute, have learned upon fields more peaceful than this, that our foe is not a foe to be despised. He will feel our lines to find our weakest point. He will search the work of this Convention with electric light. He will try us by our candidate. And therefore the man to whom we commit the banner—the banner that Abraham Lincoln bore—must be, like Abraham Lincoln, a knight indeed; and like the old knight, a “knight without fear and without reproach.” He must be a statesman, identified with every measure of the great Republican past, and a pioneer in every measure of its future of reform; and in himself the pledge that the party will not only put its face forward, but will set its foot forward; and a pledge, also, that that mighty foot will trample and crush and utterly destroy whatever disgraces the public service, whatever defiles the Republican name, whatever defeats the just expectation of the country and of the Republican party.

He must be also, and I do but echo the words of the distinguished orator who preceded me—he must also be an unswerving Republican; a man, a statesman, not strong in an unrecorded obscurity, but walking for many a year conspicuous, commanding, upon the heights of eminent places, in the full sunlight of unquestioned and unquestionable purity of personal and of public conduct—a statesman, as all our hearts assure us, the most eminent, the one prominent Republican, about whom Republicans have never differed; and for whom every Republican, every Democrat, every Independent voter, every American citizen, who under any circumstances whatever would support the Republican ticket, would gladly and proudly vote. This is the man, fellow Republicans, whom the situation of the country, whom the condition of the party, and whom our knowledge of the combat upon which we enter, designate as the man, the fitting man—in my judgment, the most fitting man—to be our leader.

Mr. President, in the beginning of the Revolution, a Green Mountain boy crossed Lake Champlain; and, followed by his brave comrades, climbed the sheer precipice, and in the name of the Great Jehovah and of the Continental Congress, demanded and received the surrender of British Ticonderoga. There

is another Green Mountain boy; let us make him our captain in the great contest upon which we enter; make him our captain of the host, the vast host of loyal followers, as indeed, followers we shall be, doubtless, of any man who bears the banner of the Republican party; and in the name of the Great Jehovah and of the Republican party, he will demand and receive the surrender of the Democratic party.

His name is in your hearts before it leaves my lips. Incorruptible, unsailable, a Republican whom every Republican trusts to the utmost; whom every Democrat respects with all his heart; a candidate who will make every Republican State surer, every Democratic State uneasy, and every doubtful State Republican, and who will awaken all the old conquering Republican enthusiasm of principle and character. This is the candidate whose name has been presented to us by the old Bay State; and the candidate whose nomination on behalf of every American who believes that political honesty is the best political policy, I proudly second, in repeating the name of George F. Edmunds, of Vermont.

The Secretary finished the call of the roll of States; and there were no more responses.

MOTION TO PROCEED TO BALLOTING.

Mr. J. B. FORAKER. I move you, sir, that this Convention do now proceed to ballot for a nominee as its candidate for President of the United States.

The motion was seconded from several parts of the house.

Mr. JOHN STEWART, of Pennsylvania. I assume that the purpose of this motion is to economize the time of this Convention. If I am correct in that, I sympathize with the gentleman who made the motion; but the motion is inadequate in itself. If we desire to economize time, we have time not only for one ballot but for five. I therefore move to amend the motion of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Foraker] to the effect that we proceed to take five ballots before adjournment.

MOTION TO ADJOURN.

Mr. J. M. THURSTON, of Nebraska. I am so overwhelmed with the tide of eloquence received here to-night, that I want a little time for quiet, deliberate, honest, conscientious reflection before I voice my sentiments. I therefore move you, sir, that this Convention take a recess until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Mr. SILAS P. DUTCHER, of New York. I sincerely hope that the motion to take a recess until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock will not prevail.

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved and seconded that the Convention now take a recess until to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

The motion was put, and declared to be lost.

Mr. THURSTON. On behalf of Nebraska, I demand a call of the States upon the motion. [Cries of "Ballot."]

Mr. SEWELL, of New Jersey. I second the demand in behalf of New Jersey.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will proceed to call the roll of States. The Chair will inquire of the gentleman from Nebraska whether his demand for a call of the States has been approved by the delegation of his own State and approved by two other States. [Cries of "No!" "No!" and a voice: "One other."]

The PRESIDENT. One other. Then, it is out of order to call the roll of States.

Mr. SEWELL. I have seconded the demand for the delegation from New Jersey.

Mr. STEWART, of Pennsylvania. I second it for the delegation from the State of Pennsylvania.

A DELEGATE. Have they the approval of their delegations?

Mr. SEWELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEWART. It is not necessary to have it a unit. [Calls for "The Rule!"]

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the rule.

Mr. PARKS, of California. Before you call the roll, we would like to know upon what proposition you are calling it.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will inform the gentleman in a moment.

Mr. STEWART. Before you proceed to call the roll of the States on that motion, I desire to know what was the fate of the amendment which I offered to the motion of the gentleman from Ohio.

The Clerk read Rule 6 as follows :

"When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, Territories and the District of Columbia, the Secretary calling the roll of the States, Territories and the District of Columbia, in the order heretofore stated."

A DELEGATE. I ask to have the question stated.

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon adjournment until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Mr. HOAR, of Massachusetts. I rise to a question of order. It is impossible to hear what the question is. I desire that it be stated by the Chair.

The PRESIDENT. The question is to adjourn until to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

A DELEGATE. No ; take a recess.

The PRESIDENT. Well, take a recess.

CALLING THE ROLL.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll.

When Delaware was called,

Mr. MASSEY said : *Mr. President* : There are but four of the Delaware delegates present. I can not assume to vote on this question for the two not here, because I am not authorized.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman can not vote for those that are absent.

Mr. MASSEY. Of the four who are present, three vote to adjourn, and one not to adjourn.

When New York was called,

Mr. CURTIS said : Will you pass New York for a moment ? The vote is not quite ready.

The PRESIDENT. We can not pass any State in the call of the roll.

Mr. CURTIS. Can't you pass the vote of New York for a moment ?

The PRESIDENT. We can not pass any State in the call of the roll.

The SECRETARY. We can wait for it.

Mr. CURTIS. Can't you suspend the call ?

Mr. TURNER, of Alabama. Is it permissible for Alabama to make an alteration in its vote at this time ?

The PRESIDENT. Not at this moment. The gentleman can call the attention of the Chair to it hereafter.

Mr. TURNER. I will call the attention of the Chair to it at the end of the roll call.

Mr. CURTIS. New York votes 29 aye, 43 no.

Mr. RICHARDSON, of New York. I would like to know how the gentleman knows how to announce New York's vote. Here are a dozen men who have not been asked how they voted at all.

The PRESIDENT. Let me inquire if the count as reported to the Chair is disputed by the delegate. Is the count disputed from New York ?

Mr. LAWSON, of New York. I question the correctness of the vote of New York, as announced. I demand that the delegation from New York be called.

The PRESIDENT. That is a right the gentleman has. Call the roll of New York.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll. When the name of John M. Crane was called,

Mr. KING arose and said : Mr. Crane is not here. John A. King is his alternate. I am the alternate of Mr. Crane, John A. King, and I vote "no."

The SECRETARY. Thomas Young is the alternate.

The PRESIDENT. Is Mr. Young present ?

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Young is in the city, but Mr. King is the alternate of Mr. Crane.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. King is not entitled to vote, as the record stands. Mr. Young is the alternate for Mr. Crane.

A DELEGATE. The roll was corrected yesterday, and the gentleman voted two or three times after it was corrected.

Mr. KING. Allow me to explain. I have credentials from the State of

New York, but I did not bring them to-day, because it was arranged yesterday. The State of New York elected two delegates from each Congressional district. If Mr. Curtis were not here, Mr. Young would be the alternate.

MR. CURTIS. I have the credentials in my hand. I will send them to the Chair.

THE PRESIDENT [after examining the credentials]. The record corrects the impression of the Chair, and contains the name of Mr. King.

The call was proceeded with, and Mr. King voted "no."

MR. ANDREW S. DRAPER, on his name being called, said: By the action of the Convention in adopting the report of the Committee on Credentials, the delegation from this district is entitled to but one vote, and the contesting delegation is given a vote likewise—half a vote to each man.

The following was the result of the roll call for New York:

Ayes—Anson McCook, Wm. H. Robertson, James W. Husted, David J. Blauvelt, Thomas Cornell, Duncan Ballentine, James Lamb ($\frac{1}{2}$), James A. Houck ($\frac{1}{2}$), George West, John Kellogg, John Hammond, Leslie W. Russell, George A. Bagley, W. E. Scripture, R. J. Richardson (alternate), Hobart Krum, Titus Sheard, Carroll E. Smith, James Frazee (alternate), Milton De Lano, David D. Osborne, T. G. Yeomans, Walter Lloyd Smith, George R. Cornwell, Stephen T. Hayt, Edmund L. Pitts, Norman M. Allen, Frank S. Smith—28.

Noes—Theodore Roosevelt, Andrew White, Jno. I. Gilbert, Edwin Packard, George William Curtis, John A. King (alternate), Silas B. Dutcher, Andrew D. Baird, George L. Pease, William H. Beard, Martin N. Day, Clark D. Rhinhardt, George C. Bennett, John J. O'Brien, John H. Brady, John D. Lawson, Charles N. Taintor, Robert G. McCord, John Collins, George Starr (alternate), George Hilliard, Michael Cregan, Bernard Biglin, John R. Lydecker, William Doud, Joseph L. Perley (alternate), Frank Raymond, John A. Eagleston, Benjamin B. Odell, B. Platt Carpenter, Hamilton Fish, Jr., Wm. E. Kisselburg, Henry G. Burleigh, George Campbell, A. S. Draper (alternate), George Chahoon, J. B. Morris (alternate), Leonard Burritt, Hulbert H. Warner, James W. Wadsworth, James D. Warren, Josiah Jewett, George Urban, Jr., Lee R. Sanborn—44.

When Pennsylvania's vote was announced as a State,

MR. FISHER, of that State said: *Mr. President*: I challenge the count, and ask for the call of the roll.

THE PRESIDENT. The roll of Pennsylvania will be called.

The Secretary then called the roll of Pennsylvania, with the following result:

Ayes—P. L. Kimberley, J. W. Lee, Lewis Emery, Jr., Alexander Crowe,

Jr., W. Elwood Rowan, B. F. Fisher, Richard Young, Robert M. Yardley, J. P. H. Jenkins, Samuel R. Deppen, F. S. Livengood, Edwin L. Reimhold, Lewis S. Hartman, Samuel Thomas, W. S. Kilpatrick, James Cruikshank, Hubbard B. Payne, Henry H. Boies, Horace Brock, Jacob H. Wagner, F. F. Lyon, G. A. Grow, E. G. Scheffelin, C. W. Hill, Daniel J. Morrell, John Stewart, B. F. Wagonseller (alternate), William H. Lanus, Jacob A. Kitzmiller, E. A. Irvin, Dr. Thomas C. Thornton, J. K. Ewing, Thomas M. Bayne, E. M. Byers, E. F. Acheson, John W. Wallace, J. B. Henderson, H. C. Howard, Thomas C. Cochran, W. H. H. Riddle, E. W. Echols, Joseph Johnson—42.

Noes—James McManes, John L. Hill (alternate), W. E. Littleton (alternate), H. H. Bingham, William Leeds, David H. Lane, Samuel B. Gilpin, Harry Hunter, John T. Thompson, John Ruhl, James C. Brown, J. A. M. Passmore, J. Y. Sollenberger, Edward Scull, James E. Sayers, C. L. Magee, William Flynn—17.

On the call of the District of Columbia,

MR. CONGER said: "*Mr. President*: I believe that my colleague is absent from the hall; but I am not certain, and, therefore, ask that the roll be called of the District of Columbia."

THE PRESIDENT. Has the gentleman voted?

The Clerk again called the District of Columbia.

THE PRESIDENT. Vote.

MR. CONGER. Call his name.

THE PRESIDENT. No; vote. You have got to vote.

MR. CONGER. I wish the roll called.

THE PRESIDENT. The gentleman has no right to a roll call.

MR. CONGER. Why not?

THE PRESIDENT. What is wrong? Is the vote disputed?

MR. CONGER. The count has not been announced.

THE PRESIDENT. It must be announced before I can have the roll called of the District of Columbia.

MR. CONGER. *Mr. President*: Mr. Conger, of the District of Columbia, votes "no." I understand that the alternate of Mr. Carson is here present. Probably Mr. Carson is absent. I desire to have Mr. Carson's alternate called. I wish a record made of this vote.

THE CLERK. The District of Columbia votes one "no."

MR. CONGER. Now, I dispute that, and ask for a call of the roll.

THE PRESIDENT. Then, the gentleman disputes his own vote, does he?

MR. CONGER. No: I do not. I know what I am talking about. I insist upon having the names of the delegates from the District of Columbia called.

THE PRESIDENT. Call the roll.

Mr. Conger voted "no," and Mr. Smith, Mr. Carson's alternate, "no."

Mr. STEWART, of Pennsylvania. I now move that this Convention take a recess until——

The PRESIDENT. The motion is out of order until the vote has been announced.

Mr. TURNER, of Alabama. I desire to change the vote of Alabama.

The PRESIDENT. Is it to correct a numerical error? or is it a change of sentiment of the delegate?

Mr. TURNER. It is a change in the vote.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman has no right to change.

Mr. STROBACH, of Alabama. I insist upon it that a delegate has a right to change his vote. We have adopted Cushing's Manual; and by that manual we are able to change the vote, if there is nothing in the rule prohibiting it. I would like to hear the rule. There is no such rule. Four years ago I was a member of the Convention, and we had a rule. But this time we have no rule prohibiting a change of the vote; and I insist that he has a right to change his vote, and I ask the ruling of the Chair.

The PRESIDENT. The rule will be read.

The Clerk read the rule:

“And, when any State has announced its vote, it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error.”

Mr. TURNER. Does that apply to every ballot in the Convention upon any question?

The PRESIDENT. Upon any question, as I understand it.

The Secretary announced the result of the vote, as follows:

Whole number of votes cast.....	801
Ayes	391
Noes	410
Majority against	19

The vote by States and Territories was as follows:

States and Territories.	No. of Votes.	Ayes.	Noes.	States and Territories.	No. of Votes.	Ayes.	Noes.
Alabama.....	20	20	----	Maryland.....	16	12	4
Arkansas.....	14	14	----	Massachusetts.....	28	----	28
California.....	16	16	----	Michigan.....	26	19	7
Colorado.....	6	6	----	Minnesota.....	14	5	9
Connecticut.....	12	----	12	Mississippi.....	18	1	17
Delaware.....	6	3	1	Missouri.....	32	9	20
Florida.....	8	----	8	Nebraska.....	10	8	2
Georgia.....	24	----	24	Nevada.....	6	6	----
Illinois.....	44	3	41	New Hampshire.....	8	1	7
Indiana.....	30	23	7	New Jersey.....	18	18	----
Iowa.....	26	26	----	New York.....	72	27	41
Kansas.....	18	14	4	North Carolina.....	22	3	19
Kentucky.....	26	8	18	Ohio.....	46	23	23
Louisiana.....	16	7	8	Oregon.....	6	6	----
Maine.....	12	12	----	Pennsylvania.....	60	42	17

States and Territories.	No. of Votes.	Ayes.	Noes.	States and Territories.	No. of Votes.	Ayes.	Noes.
Rhode Island.....	8	---	8	Dist. of Columbia.....	2	---	2
South Carolina.....	19	---	18	Idaho.....	2	1	1
Tennessee.....	24	7	16	Montana.....	2	---	2
Texas.....	26	12	10	New Mexico.....	2	---	2
Vermont.....	8	---	8	Utah.....	2	---	2
Virginia.....	24	3	21	Washington.....	2	2	---
West Virginia.....	12	12	---	Wyoming.....	2	---	1
Wisconsin.....	22	18	4				
Arizona.....	2	2	---	Totals	820	391	410
Dakota.....	2	2	---				

Mr. SILAS P. DUTCHER, of New York. I move the previous question.

Mr. STEWART, of Pennsylvania. I move that this Convention adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York [Mr. Dutcher] has the floor.

Mr. DUTCHER. I move the previous question on the motion to take a vote.

Mr. WINSTON, of North Carolina. I second that motion for the previous question.

Mr. STEWART. I rise to a point of order. The calling for the previous question does not cut off a motion to adjourn. I move that this Convention adjourn until 11 o'clock.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the Convention that the order of business is a ballot, and there is no use of making any motion to that effect.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. I rise to a question of order. It is utterly impossible to know or hear what is going on.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will entertain no motion until the gentlemen come to order.

Mr. BUSH, of California. In the language of a distinguished gentleman, "What are we here for?"

The PRESIDENT. The motion before the Convention is the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania to adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

SEVERAL DELEGATES. This morning.

The PRESIDENT. That is so; it is after 12 o'clock. [Cries of question.]

Mr. WALKER, of Missouri. I rise to a point of order. The point is this: No business has intervened in the Convention since the last motion to adjourn was voted down.

Mr. STEWART. My motion was to adjourn until 11 o'clock.

Mr. WINSTON, of North Carolina. A gentleman [Mr. Dutcher] moved the previous question before Mr. Stewart's motion to adjourn; he having the floor, and being recognized by the Chair.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman did not announce that the call for the previous question was sustained by his own State and two other States.

Mr. ROOSEVELT, of New York. It was seconded here.

Mr. WINSTON. I seconded the call for North Carolina.

Mr. STEWART, of Pennsylvania. I call for the roll of the States on the motion to adjourn till 11 o'clock.

Mr. THURSTON, of Nebraska. I second the motion for a call of the States.
The PRESIDENT. All in favor of adjourning will say aye. All opposed will say no. The noes have it.

Mr. STEWART. I demand the call of the roll of the States.

The PRESIDENT. The noes have it.

Mr. STEWART. Call the roll of the States.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

CALLING THE ROLL.

The roll call proceeded through to Illinois, with the following result :

States.	Ayes.	Noes.	States.	Ayes.	Noes.
Alabama	4	15	Delaware	3	1
Arkansas	10	3	Florida	--	8
California	16	--	Georgia	--	24
Colorado	6	--	Illinois	1	43
Connecticut	--	12			

Mr. BURROWS, of Michigan. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. What is the gentleman's point of order ?

Mr. BURROWS. Will the Chair be kind enough to inform the delegates what the question is ?

The PRESIDENT. The question is to take a recess until to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

Several DELEGATES. To-day.

The PRESIDENT. To-day; yes, it is after 12 o'clock now.

Mr. STONE, of Iowa. We want to know what the question is.

Mr. MORRIS McDONALD. I move we adjourn.

Mr. JOHN H. ROELKER. I second the motion.

Mr. SHELBY M. CULLOM. I am unable to hear what is being done.

Mr. BURLEIGH, of New York. I would suggest that we make an amendment to adjourn until 10 o'clock.

Mr. MCKINLEY, of Ohio. I move to dispense with the call of the States. I understand the gentlemen all around us are willing that the motion to adjourn until 11 o'clock this morning shall prevail; and in that spirit I make that motion.

Mr. BURLEIGH. I accept the amendment.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I make the motion that we suspend the further call of the States, and take a vote *viva voce* to adjourn until 11 o'clock.

The motion was carried, and the Convention adjourned at 1:45 A. M., Friday, June 6th, to 11 o'clock A. M. same day.

FOURTH DAY.

FRIDAY, June 6, 1884.

The Convention re-assembled, pursuant to adjournment, at 11 o'clock A. M., June 6th, and was called to order by the President at 11:20 A. M.

The PRESIDENT. The Convention this morning will be opened by prayer from the Rev. Dr. Scudder, of Chicago.

PRAYER BY REV. HENRY MARTYN SCUDDER.

Let us pray. Almighty and ever blessed God. We worship Thee as the author of our being, as the creator of our mortal bodies and of our immortal spirits. And we adore Thee as the inexhaustible personal source of all light and love, and truth and liberty, and peace and gladness. And we do glorify Thee as the supreme law-giver, and as the only rightful sovereign of all hearts and all consciences. And we do thank Thee with reverence and gratitude for the benignant providence which, from the very beginning, has watched over our beloved country. We thank Thee for its manifold deliverances in times of National peril, for its grand victory over slavery, for its symmetrical development under Thy fostering care, and for its present advancement among the nations of the earth. And we do also bless Thee for our just laws and fruitful institutions; for our civil and religious liberty; for our fertile lands and abundant resources, our great cities and our happy homes.

We bless Thee, Lord God of truth and grace, for the Christian faith, and for our Christian churches, and for our educational privileges, and for the ample opportunities that Thou dost continuously grant to our people for their growth in the knowledge and the virtue and the power that constitute genuine national manhood.

And we now ask Thee to pronounce Thy benediction upon this Convention. Grant to it to-day the unerring guidance of Thine own infallible Spirit; and may all that is done here be done in the fear of God, and in the righteousness of a true patriotism. And, to this end, may every man in this Convention be endowed and animated with a spirit of true humility and true fidelity to the highest interests of our great Republic.

And now, finally, great and holy God, we pray Thee that this Convention may be led with a hearty unanimity to select for nomination to the Presidency of these United States the right man. And when he is selected by this Convention, may he thereafter be elected by the American people to the chief magistracy of this country.

And after he is elected, if that be Thy will, may his life be precious in Thy sight; and may he be so endowed with Thy Spirit that he shall give us an administration that shall be an honor to himself, an honor to this Convention, an honor to the Republican party, an honor to the whole American people, a glory

to our country, and a lesson for mankind ; an administration which shall be acceptable in Thy sight, Thou who art the Lord God of hosts.

And we ask this in the name of our adorable Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ. Amen.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* The Secretary will call the roll of States and Territories that did not report their National Committeemen on yesterday; and those States and Territories will now answer.

Mr. BUSH, of California. I desire to offer a resolution, without debate.

Mr. DAVIS of California. I demand the regular order. I object to these resolutions.

The PRESIDENT. Well, we will see what it is. I don't know.

Mr. DAVIS. I demand the regular order.

The PRESIDENT. Call the roll.

The Secretary then called the State of California.

Mr. MORROW, of California. The State of California names Horace Davis.

The Secretary then called the State of Colorado.

A DELEGATE. Pass Colorado for the present.

The Secretary then called the State of Florida.

A DELEGATE. Pass the State of Florida for the present.

The Secretary then called the State of New Hampshire.

A DELEGATE from New Hampshire. New Hampshire presents the name of Edward H. Rollins.

The Secretary then called the State of Tennessee.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. I am unanimously instructed by the Tennessee delegation to hand in the name of W. P. Brownlow as Committeeman for the State of Tennessee.

The Secretary then called the District of Columbia.

Mr. P. H. CARSON. *Mr. President—*

Mr. F. B. CONGER. *Mr. President:* The District of Columbia has not agreed.

Mr. CARSON. And I am satisfied we won't agree.

Mr. CONGER. All right.

The Secretary then called the Territory of New Mexico.

Mr. W. H. H. LLEWELLYN. New Mexico presents the name of Wm. L. Rivers.

Mr. BUSH, of California. I desire to withdraw that resolution, by the request of members here.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution is withdrawn.

BALLOTING FOR PRESIDENT — THE ROLL CALL FOR FIRST BALLOT.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* There is now nothing in order except to call the roll for the nomination, by ballot, of a candidate for the Presidency.

The Secretary called the State of Alabama.

Mr. TURNER, of Alabama. Is the roll call for balloting for President?

The PRESIDENT. For balloting. Announce your candidate.

Mr. TURNER. Alabama casts one vote for James G. Blaine, one vote for John A. Logan, seventeen votes for Chester A. Arthur, with one delegate absent. I desire to state, Mr. President, that one delegate is sick in bed at the hotel; otherwise, the vote would be eighteen for Chester A. Arthur.

The PRESIDENT. He can not vote unless he or his alternate is here.

Mr. TURNER. I have not cast his vote.

The Secretary then called the State of Arkansas.

Mr. LOGAN II. ROOTS. Arkansas casts two votes for George F. Edmunds; four votes for Chester A. Arthur; eight votes for James G. Blaine.

A DELEGATE from Arkansas. Not being satisfied with that announcement, I ask for a call of the roll of delegates.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Arkansas question the accuracy of the announcement?

The DELEGATE. I challenge the announcement.

Mr. HOAR, of Massachusetts. He challenges the vote.

Mr. TURNER, of Alabama. The absent delegate from Alabama has now come into the room. Am I at liberty to cast his vote?

The PRESIDENT. Not now.

Mr. TURNER. At the end of the roll call?

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll for the State of Arkansas.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll; and, as the individual responses were made, there were storms of applause intermixed with hisses.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* In consequence of the applause which follows the announcement of the name, it is utterly impossible for the clerks to record the votes. And I appeal to these galleries to cease their hissings and applause. [A voice: "Clear the galleries!"] We can not record the vote here if applause and hisses follow the announcement of the vote.

The roll call for Arkansas resulted as follows :

FOR ARTHUR—M. W. Gibbs, John H. Johnson, Ferd. Havis and Lafayette Gregg—4.

FOR BLAINE—Powell Clayton, Logan H. Roots, Henry M. Cooper, Samuel H. Holland, A. A. Tufts, George H. Thompson, Mason W. Benjamin, and Kidder Kidd—8.

FOR EDMUNDS—Jacob Trieber and Jacob Yoes—2.

The Secretary then proceeded with the call until the State of Florida was reached; when the Chairman from that State announced seven votes for Arthur and one vote for Blaine.

Mr. LONG, of Florida. I demand a poll of Florida.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The SECRETARY. Dennis Eagan.

Mr. EMANUEL FORTUNE. Chester A. Arthur.

Mr. LONG. The delegate is not present.

Mr. JOSEPH E. LEE. We come here entitled to eight votes in this Convention. And our State Convention instructed us in this wise, by this resolution : “ *Resolved*, that no delegate or alternate shall be authorized to give a proxy to any person not elected as such by the Convention; and in case the full number of delegates or alternates are not present at any time in the Chicago Convention, those present shall cast the vote of the delegation.” Mr. President, our State can not be deprived of her eight votes under that resolution.

Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts, here attempted to be recognized by the Chair.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman [referring to Mr. Lee] is out of order.

The Secretary then again called Dennis Eagan.

Mr. LEE. He is not here, but his alternate is here.

The Secretary then called Emanuel Fortune, the alternate of Mr. Eagan, and he voted for Chester A. Arthur.

The roll call was then proceeded with, and resulted as follows :

FOR ARTHUR—Emanuel Fortune [alternate], Joseph E. Lee, Jesse D. Cole, William G. Stewart, James M. Combs, A. C. Lightborne, and H. W. Chandler—7.

FOR BLAINE—John G. Long—1.

The Secretary then proceeded with the call until the State of Kansas was reached.

Mr. P. B. PLUMB, of Kansas. Kansas casts twelve votes for James G.

Blaine, four votes for Chester A. Arthur, one vote for John A. Logan, and one vote for Joseph R. Hawley.

A DELEGATE. I demand a call of the roll for Kansas.

The SECRETARY. Will the gentleman please repeat to me the vote of Kansas?

Mr. PLUMB. The call of the roll is asked for; and that will do away with the necessity of any further statement.

The Secretary then called the roll of delegates of Kansas, with the following result :

FOR BLAINE—James S. Merritt, A. W. Mann, Cyrus Leland, Jr., Henry E. Insley, J. R. Hallowell, W. P. Hackney, William Martindale, E. A. Berry, J. S. McDowell, Joseph W. Ady, C. C. Wood and R. L. Walker—12.

FOR ARTHUR—Preston B. Plumb, J. G. Woods, George R. Peck and C. C. Culp—4.

FOR LOGAN—R. Aikman—1.

FOR HAWLEY—J. P. Root—1.

The Secretary again proceeded with the call until the State of Louisiana was reached.

Mr. W. P. KELLOGG. Louisiana casts ten votes for Chester A. Arthur, three for John A. Logan, and two for James G. Blaine. One of our delegates is absent.

Mr. L. A. MARTINET. I ask a poll of the votes for Louisiana.

The PRESIDENT. Call the roll for Louisiana.

The Secretary called the roll, with the following result :

FOR ARTHUR—A. J. Dumont, P. B. S. Pinchback, A. S. Badger, W. B. Merchant, R. F. Guichard, P. F. Herwig, Henry Demas, George Drury, L. A. Martinet and Louis J. Souer—10.

FOR LOGAN—W. P. Kellogg, Frank Morey and E. W. Wall—3.

FOR BLAINE—William Harper and Clifford Morgan—2.

The Secretary again proceeded with the call until he reached the District of Columbia.

Mr. FRANK B. CONGER. *Mr. President:* My colleague here present declines to announce his vote. The District of Columbia casts one vote for Arthur.

Mr. PERRY H. CARSON. The gentleman makes a mistake. Perry H. Carson casts his vote for James G. Blaine.

Upon the completion of the roll call,

Mr. TURNER, of Alabama, said: Is it consistent with the rules for Alabama to correct its vote at this time?

The PRESIDENT. What does the gentleman desire to correct? a numerical error?

Mr. TURNER. The delegate came in within two minutes after the vote had been declared.

The PRESIDENT. He can not now vote, under the rule.

Mr. TURNER. All right. He will do it next time.

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, if you wish to hear the vote, you must keep silent.

The Secretary thereupon announced the result of the first ballot as follows:

FIRST BALLOT.

Whole number of delegates.....	820
Necessary to a choice.....	411
Whole number of votes cast.....	818
James G. Blaine.....	334½
Chester A. Arthur.....	278
Geo. F. Edmunds.....	93
John A. Logan.....	63½
John Sherman.....	30
J. R. Hawley.....	13
R. T. Lincoln.....	4
W. T. Sherman.....	2

The vote by States and Territories was as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF VOTES.	ARTHUR.	BLAINE.	EDMUNDS.	LOGAN.	J. SHERMAN.	HAWLEY.	LINCOLN.	W. T. SHERMAN.
Alabama.....	20	17	1		1				
Arkansas.....	14	4	8	2					
California.....	16		16						
Colorado.....	6		6						
Connecticut.....	12						12		
Delaware.....	6	1	5						
Florida.....	8	7	1						
Georgia.....	24	24							
Illinois.....	44	1	3		40				
Indiana.....	30	9	18	1		2			
Iowa.....	26		26						
Kansas.....	18	4	12		1	1			
Kentucky.....	26	16	5½		2½	1		1	
Louisiana.....	16	10	2		3				
Maine.....	12		12						
Maryland.....	16	6	10						
Massachusetts.....	28	2	1	25					
Michigan.....	26	2	15	7					2
Minnesota.....	14	1	7	6					

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Votes.	ARTHUR.	BLAINE.	EDMUNDS.	LOGAN.	J. SHERMAN.	HAWLEY.	LINCOLN.	W. T. SHERMAN.
Mississippi	18	17	1						
Missouri	32	10	5	6	10	1			
Nebraska	10	2	8						
Nevada	6		6						
New Hampshire	8	4		4					
New Jersey	18		9	6		1		2	
New York	72	31	28	12				1	
North Carolina	22	19	2		1				
Ohio	46		21			25			
Oregon	6		6						
Pennsylvania	60	11	47	1	1				
Rhode Island	8			8					
South Carolina	18	17	1						
Tennessee	24	16	7		1				
Texas	26	11	13		2				
Vermont	8			8					
Virginia	24	21	2		1				
West Virginia	12		12						
Wisconsin	22	6	10	6					
Arizona	2		2						
Dakota	2		2						
District of Columbia	2	1	1						
Idaho	2	2							
Montana	2		1	1					
New Mexico	2	2							
Utah	2	2							
Washington	2		2						
Wyoming	2	2							
Totals	820	278	334½	93	63½	30	13	4	2

ROLL CALL FOR SECOND BALLOT.

The PRESIDENT. No nomination having been made, according to the rules of the Convention, the Convention will now proceed to another vote. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the State of Alabama.

Mr. TURNER. Alabama casts one vote for John A. Logan; one vote for James G. Blaine, and eighteen votes for Chester A. Arthur.

Mr. PARSONS, of Alabama. I challenge the announcement of the vote as made by the Chairman of the delegation, and demand the call of the roll of the States.

The PRESIDENT. The roll will be called. Call Alabama.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll for Alabama; and had called "John H. Thomason," as alternate for Geo. W. Braxdall.

Mr. PARSONS. I would like to move that the rule be enforced that the delegates must be in their seats when the roll is called, because we can not tell whether a man who answers down there among the alternates is either the delegate or the alternate or somebody else.

Mr. TURNER. We will bring him up here and exhibit him to the gentleman if he wants.

A DELEGATE. The man is an alternate and a proper alternate, and has voted.

The PRESIDENT. If the delegate is present he must vote; and if he is not present then his alternate is entitled to vote.

The DELEGATE. His alternate is here; but the delegate is not.

Mr. TURNER. The alternate has voted, and the vote has been recorded.

The PRESIDENT. Very good. Proceed with the call.

The Secretary then completed the call of Alabama, with the following result :

FOR ARTHUR—Turner, Thomason (alternate for Braxdall), Sheats, Duke, Slaughter, Threet, George W. Washington, Strobach, Heyman, Youngblood, Stevens, Carson, Anthony, Mabson, Moseley, Bingham, McCulloch—17.

FOR BLAINE—Parsons and Lewis J. Washington—2.

FOR LOGAN—Crenshaw—1.

The Secretary then called the State of Arkansas.

Mr. LOGAN H. ROOTS. Arkansas casts three votes for Chester A. Arthur, and eleven votes for James G. Blaine.

Mr. M. W. Gibbs. I demand that the roll be called.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair does not understand the gentleman. What is the demand?

Mr. GIBBS. I move that the roll be called. I am not satisfied with the announcement.

The PRESIDENT. The roll will be called.

The Secretary called the roll for Arkansas, with the following result :

FOR BLAINE—Clayton, Roots, Cooper, Trieber, Holland, Tufts, Thompson, Benjamin, Yoes, Gregg and Kidd—11.

FOR ARTHUR—Gibbs, Johnson and Havis—3.

The Secretary proceeded with the call until he reached the State of Florida.

Mr. JOSEPH E. LEE. Florida casts seven—

Mr. JOHN G. LONG. Call the roll. I demand the poll of Florida.

The PRESIDENT. No vote has yet been announced from Florida; therefore no member is entitled to a call.

The Secretary again called the State of Florida.

Mr. LEE. Florida casts seven votes for Chester A. Arthur and one for Blaine.

Mr. LONG. I demand the poll.

The Secretary then called the roll for Florida, with the following result :

FOR ARTHUR—Dennis Eagan, Joseph E. Lee, Jesse D. Cole, William G. Stewart, James N. Combs, A. C. Lightborne and H. W. Chandler—7.

FOR BLAINE—John G. Long—1.

The Secretary then proceeded with the call until he reached the State of Illinois.

Mr. S. M. CULLOM. Illinois votes: Logan, forty; Blaine, three; Arthur, one.

Mr. ABNER TAYLOR. I challenge the correctness of the vote, and ask for a poll.

The PRESIDENT. The delegates for Illinois will be called.

The Secretary called the roll for Illinois, with the following result:

FOR LOGAN—Cullom, Hamilton, Cook, Carr, Ruger, Piper, Raymond, Collins, Kelly, Fuller, Lewis, Towne, Baldwin, Noble, Willett, Bell, Rogers, Venum, Wright, Whiting, Chandler, Ballard, Mathews, Berry, Jayne, Smith, Fifer, Ingham, Eckhart, Wilcox, Churchill, Black, Rinaker, Truitt, Halbert, Reuter, Ridgeway, Stratton, Simpson and McAdams—40.

FOR BLAINE—Woodward, Davis and Wheeler—3.

FOR ARTHUR—Taylor—1.

The Secretary then called the State of Indiana.

Mr. R. W. THOMPSON. Indiana casts one vote for George F. Edmunds, two for John Sherman, nine for Chester A. Arthur, and eighteen votes for James G. Blaine.

Mr. MORRIS McDONALD. I ask that the roll of Indiana be called.

The Secretary then called the roll for Indiana, with the following result :

FOR BLAINE—Roelker (alternate for Benjamin Harrison), Baker, Gardner, Cravens, Montgomery, Burchenal, Mellett, Michever, Adams, Smith, McKeen, Daily, Thompson, Holman, Kenner, Votaw, Carter and Oliver—18.

FOR ARTHUR—McDonald, Veatch, Posey, Reiley, Alspaugh and Charles, Williams, Simons and Moon—9.

FOR JOHN SHERMAN—Thompson and Irwin—2.

FOR EDMUNDS—Hay—1.

The Secretary then proceeded with the call until he reached the State of Kentucky.

Mr. WILLIAM O. BRADLEY. John Sherman, one; Robert Lincoln, one; Logan, two; Blaine, five; and seventeen for Chester A. Arthur.

Mr. W. L. HAZSLIP. I ask for a call of the roll of Kentucky.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman challenge the vote of Kentucky as announced?

Mr. HAZSLIP. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDENT. Call the roll.

The Secretary then called the roll of Kentucky, with the following result :

FOR ARTHUR—Evans, Bradley, Culbertson, Lewis, Farly, Bragg, Moore, Landes, Allensworth, Jolly, Hilpp, Miller ($\frac{1}{2}$), Brown ($\frac{1}{2}$), Scarlett, Stoll, Thomas, Auxier and Buckner—17.

FOR BLAINE—Hazslip, Wilson ($\frac{1}{2}$), Minton ($\frac{1}{2}$), Goodloe, Bradford and Tremble—5.

FOR LOGAN—Boyd and Denny—2.

FOR SHERMAN—Comingore—1.

FOR LINCOLN—Eversole—1.

When the State of Louisiana was called,

Mr. W. P. KELLOGG said: Louisiana casts nine votes for Chester A. Arthur, two for Logan, and four for Blaine.

The vote was challenged by a delegate, and the roll was called by the Secretary, with the following result :

FOR ARTHUR—Dumont, Pinchback, Badger, Merchant, Herwig, Demas, Drury, Martinet and Souer—9.

FOR BLAINE—Guichard, Harper, Wall and Morgan—4.

FOR LOGAN—Kellogg and Morey—2.

When Missouri was called, the vote was announced by Mr. Havens, as follows :

Sherman, one; Edmunds, five; Logan, eight; Blaine, eight; Arthur, ten.

Mr. NEUENHAHN, of Missouri. I challenge the vote, and ask that the roll be called. I desire the roll of the delegation to be called.

The Secretary then called the roll of Missouri, with the following result :

FOR ARTHUR—Van Horn, Barber, Mullens, Thomas, Hyde, Jones, Warner, Reynolds, Neuenhahn and Carroll—10.

FOR BLAINE—Havens, Dawes, Hill, McLean, Sankey, Upton, Gibbs—7.

FOR LOGAN—Prentiss, Cramer, Turner, Meyer, Filley, Mott, Weber and Duncan—8.

FOR EDMUNDS—Fletcher (alternate for J. B. Henderson), Guitar, Shirk, Bruere and Burton—5.

FOR JOHN SHERMAN—Tyler—1.

NOT VOTING—Benseik—1.

Mr. HAVENS. I desire to state that after the vote of the delegation was taken, one of the delegates retired from the hall, and that is the occasion of the difference between the announcement made by the Chair and the present vote.

When New York was called,

Mr. CURTIS said: New York casts one vote for Robert Lincoln, twelve votes for George F. Edmunds, twenty-eight for James G. Blaine, thirty-one for Chester A. Arthur.

Mr. A. S. DRAPER, of New York. I ask for the roll call. I challenge the vote, and demand that the New York delegation be polled.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman challenge the vote as announced?

Mr. DRAPER. I do, sir.

The roll of New York was then called, with the following result:

FOR ARTHUR—Dutcher, Beard, Day, Rhinehart, Bennett, O'Brien, Brady, Lawson, Taintor, McCord, Collins, Starr (alternate), Hilliard, Cregan, Biglin, Lydecker, Perley (alternate), Doud, Raymond, Eagleston, Carpenter, Fish, Townsend, Burlingame, Campbell ($\frac{1}{2}$) Draper ($\frac{1}{2}$), Hammond, Chahoon, Warren, Jewett, Urban, Sanborn—31.

FOR BLAINE—McCook, Robertson, Husted, Blauvelt, Cornell, Ballentine, Lamb ($\frac{1}{2}$), Houck ($\frac{1}{2}$), West, Kellogg, Russell, Bagley, Scripture, Richardson (alternate), Krum, Sheard, C. E. Smith, Frazee (alternate), Platt, DeLano, Osborne, Yeomans, Dwight, W. L. Smith, Cornwell, Hayt, Pitts, Allen and F. S. Smith—28.

FOR EDMUNDS—Roosevelt, White, Gilbert, Packard, Curtis, King (alternate), Hobbs, Baird, Pease, Odell, Burritt and Wadsworth—12.

FOR LINCOLN—Warner—1.

When the District of Columbia was called,

Mr. CONGER said: *Mr. President:* My colleague declines to announce his vote to the Chairman of the delegation. The District of Columbia casts one vote for Arthur.

Mr. PERRY H. CARSON. Mr. Carson votes for Blaine.

The Secretary announced the result of the ballot as follows:

SECOND BALLOT.

Whole number of delegates	820
Necessary to a choice	411
Whole number of votes cast	819
James G. Blaine	349
Chester A. Arthur	276
George F. Edmunds	85
John A. Logan	61
John Sherman	28
J. R. Hawley	13
R. T. Lincoln	4
W. T. Sherman	3

The vote by States and Territories was as follows :

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF VOTES.	ARTHUR.	BLAINE.	EDMUNDS.	LOGAN.	J. SHERMAN.	HAWLEY.	LINCOLN.	W. T. SHERMAN.
Alabama	20	17	2		1				
Arkansas	14	3	11						
California	16		16						
Colorado	6		6						
Connecticut	12						12		
Delaware	6	1	5						
Florida	8	7	1						
Georgia	24	24							
Illinois	44	1	3		40				
Indiana	30	9	18	1		2			
Iowa	26		26						
Kansas	18	2	13		2		1		
Kentucky	26	17	5		2	1		1	
Louisiana	16	9	4		2				
Maine	12		12						
Maryland	16	4	12						
Massachusetts	28	3	1	24					
Michigan	26	4	15	5					3
Minnesota	14	1	7	6					
Mississippi	18	17	1						
Missouri	32	10	7	5	8	1			1
Nebraska	10	2	8						
Nevada	6		6						
New Hampshire	8	5		3					
New Jersey	18		9	6		1		2	
New York	72	31	28	12				1	
North Carolina	22	18	3		1				
Ohio	46		23			23			
Oregon	6		6						
Pennsylvania	60	11	47	1	1				
Rhode Island	8			8					
South Carolina	18	17	1						
Tennessee	24	16	7		1				
Texas	26	11	13		2				
Vermont	8			8					
Virginia	24	21	2		1				
West Virginia	12		12						
Wisconsin	22	6	11	5					
Arizona	2		2						
Dakota	2		2						
District of Columbia	2	1	1						
Idaho	2	2							
Montana	2		1	1					
New Mexico	2	2							
Utah	2	2							
Washington	2		2						
Wyoming	2	2							
Totals	820	276	349	85	61	28	13	4	3

ROLL CALL FOR THE THIRD BALLOT.

The PRESIDENT. No candidate having received a majority of all the votes cast, the Secretary will proceed to call the roll for the third ballot.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll.

When the vote of Massachusetts was announced,

A DELEGATE said: *Mr. President:* I challenge the vote.

The PRESIDENT. [Mr. John D. Long, of Massachusetts, in the chair.] The gentleman from Massachusetts challenges the vote. The roll will be called.

The DELEGATE. I will withdraw the challenge.

The PRESIDENT. The challenge is withdrawn.

When the vote of Pennsylvania was announced,

A DELEGATE said: I challenge the vote of Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDENT. The roll will be called for the State of Pennsylvania.

The Secretary called the roll, with the following result :

FOR BLAINE—James McManes, Hamilton Disston, P. L. Kimberly, J. W. Lee, Lewis Emery Jr., W. H. Jessup, William R. Leeds, Samuel B. Gilpin, Alexander Crowe Jr., W. Elwood Rowan, B. F. Fisher, Richard Young, Robert M. Yardley, J. P. Hale Jenkins, Samuel R. Deppen, F. S. Livengood, Edwin Reimbold, Lewis S. Hartman, Samuel Thomas, William S. Kilpatrick, James Cruikshank, James C. Brown, Hubbard B. Payne, Henry M. Boies, Horace Brock, Jacob H. Wagner, F. F. Lyon, G. A. Grow, E. G. Schieffelin, C. W. Hill, Daniel J. Morrell, Edward Scull, John Stewart, B. F. Wagonseiler (alternate), William H. Lanius, Jacob A. Kitzmiller, E. A. Irvin, Dr. Thomas C. Thornton, J. K. Ewing, James E. Sayers, Thomas M. Bayne, E. M. Byers, E. F. Acheson, John W. Wallace, J. B. Henderson, H. C. Howard, T. C. Cochran, W. H. H. Riddle, E. W. Echols, Joseph Johnson—50.

FOR ARTHUR—H. H. Bingham, W. J. Pollock, David H. Lane, Harry Hunter, John T. Thompson, John Ruhl, C. L. Magee, William Flynn—8.

FOR LOGAN—J. A. M. Passmore—1.

FOR EDMUNDS—J. Y. Sollenberger—1.

When Texas was called, Mr. Binkley, from that State, announced the vote, as follows :

Arthur, eleven; Blaine, fourteen; Logan, one.

Mr. Webster Flannagan challenged the vote as given by the Chairman of the delegation. The Chair directed that the roll of the State delegation be called, which was accordingly done by the Secretary.

When the Secretary called the name of Henry Green, it was ascertained that Mr. Green was not present.

A DELEGATE from Texas. Mr. Green has just stepped out, and will return in a moment.

Mr. BINKLEY. When I announced the vote, I supposed he was present.

The Secretary passed the name of Henry Green for the present, and continued the call of the roll.

Upon the completion of the call,

Mr. BINKLEY said: Will the Secretary call Mr. Green again?

The PRESIDENT. The name of Mr. Green will now be called.

The Secretary called the name of Mr. Green, and the gentleman recorded his vote.

The roll call resulted as follows :

FOR ARTHUR—C. C. Binkley, R. Allen, J. B. Farris, G. W. Burkitt, Webster Flannagan, A. G. Malloy, Frank L. Cleve, B. B. Rentfro, Nathan Patton, J. C. DeGress, H. H. McConnell—11.

FOR BLAINE—N. W. Cuney, Robert Zapp, R. J. Evans, J. D. Davis, J. R. Carter, O. T. Lyon, J. S. Witner, J. C. Akers, A. J. Rosenthal, W. H. Blont, Robert Hanschke, R. F. Campbell, Henry Green, H. C. Ferguson—14.

FOR LOGAN—Alexander Burge—1.

When the vote of Wisconsin had been announced by the Chairman of the delegation,

Mr. COOPER, of Wisconsin, said: I challenge the vote of Wisconsin, and call for the roll.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman except to the correctness of the announcement?

Mr. COOPER. I do. One moment.

The PRESIDENT. Is the challenge withdrawn?

Mr. COOPER. I withdraw it.

Upon the completion of the roll call, the Secretary announced the result, as follows :

THIRD BALLOT.

Whole number of delegates.....	820
Necessary to a choice.....	411
Whole number of votes.....	819
James G. Blaine.....	375
Chester A. Arthur.....	274
George F. Edmunds.....	69
John A. Logan.....	53
John Sherman.....	25
J. R. Hawley.....	13
R. T. Lincoln.....	8
W. T. Sherman.....	2

The vote by States and Territories was as follows :

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF VOTES.	ARTHUR.	BLAINE.	EDMUNDS.	LOGAN.	J. SHERMAN.	HAWLEY.	LINCOLN.	W. T. SHERMAN.
Alabama	20	17	2		1				
Arkansas	14	3	11						
California	16		16						
Colorado	6		6						
Connecticut	12						12		
Delaware	6	1	5						
Florida	8	7	1						
Georgia	24	24							
Illinois	44	1	3		40				
Indiana	30	10	18			2			
Iowa	26			26					
Kansas	18		15		2		1		
Kentucky	26	16	6		2	1		1	
Louisiana	16	9	4		2				
Maine	12		12						
Maryland	16	4	12						
Massachusetts	28	3	1	24					
Michigan	26	4	18	3					1
Minnesota	14	2	7	5					
Mississippi	18	16	1					1	
Missouri	32	11	12	4	4	1			
Nebraska	10		10						
Nevada	6		6						
New Hampshire	8	5		3					
New Jersey	18	1	11					6	
New York	72	32	28	12					
North Carolina	22	18	4						
Ohio	46		25			21			
Oregon	6		6						
Pennsylvania	60	8	50	1	1				
Rhode Island	8	1		8					
South Carolina	18	16	2						
Tennessee	24	17	7						
Texas	26	11	14		1				
Vermont	8			8					
Virginia	24	20	4						
West Virginia	12		12						
Wisconsin	22	10	11						1
Arizona	2		2						
Dakota	2		2						
District of Columbia	2	1	1						
Idaho	2	1	1						
Montana	2		1	1					
New Mexico	2	2							
Utah	2	2							
Washington	2		2						
Wyoming	2	2							
Totals	820	274	375	69	53	25	13	8	2

MOTION TO TAKE A RECESS.

Mr. FORAKER, of Ohio. I move you, sir, that this Convention do now take a recess until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Mr. DUTCHER, of New York. I second the motion.

Mr. STEWART, of Pennsylvania. The opposing forces in this Convention have already passed the skirmish line, and there is one phalanx present, assured, confident, steadfast, certain of victory—

Mr. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, of New York [interrupting]. I rise to a point of order. The point of order that I make is that the motion to adjourn is not debatable nor amendable.

Mr. STEWART. We want to see this through.

Mr. FORAKER. I amend my motion by making it that we adjourn till half-past seven o'clock this evening.

Mr. WINSTON, of North Carolina. I rise to support Mr. Roosevelt's point of order. The motion is not debatable nor amendable.

Mr. W. W. PHELPS, of New Jersey. We do not wish to debate it, but to vote it down.

Mr. STEWART, of Pennsylvania. We are ready for the shock of battle.

The motion to adjourn was declared lost.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I demand a roll call of the States upon the motion.

Mr. Burrows, of Michigan, seconded the motion.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. We demand a roll call on the question of adjournment, and we have a right to have it.

A DELEGATE from North Carolina. What is the question before the house?

Several DELEGATES. Adjournment.

Mr. DUTCHER, of New York. I demand a call of the roll upon that question.

The PRESIDENT. Call the roll.

The Secretary called the State of Alabama.

The PRESIDENT. What State called for the vote to be recorded?

Mr. ROOSEVELT. The State of New York.

Mr. SHEARD, of New York. I rise to a point of order. The roll call having been begun, there is no other business in order.

A DELEGATE. It has not been begun.

Another DELEGATE. It has.

The PRESIDENT. Did the gentleman from New York call for the vote to be recorded?

Mr. DUTCHER. The gentleman from New York did call for the vote to be recorded.

The PRESIDENT. What States?

Mr. DUTCHER. New York and North Carolina.

Mr. HARRIS, of North Carolina. I second the motion for a call of States.

Mr. SHEARD, of New York. I rise to another point of order—that the State of New York has not been polled upon the demand for the roll call; and therefore no gentleman has a right to demand it in her name.

Mr. WINSTON, of North Carolina. North Carolina seconds the motion for a call of States.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. North Carolina seconds it. New York, North Carolina and Mississippi.

The Clerk again called Alabama.

Mr. CLARK E. CARR, of Illinois. I rise to a point of order. Pending the roll call no person can be recognized by the Chair, except a person from the State which has been called. Alabama has been called. I ask that no person be recognized or permitted to make a motion until Alabama shall have expressed herself upon the call.

Mr. SPOONER, of New York. A member can always be recognized on a point of order. I rise to a point of order. My point of order is that the roll call was called on the motion to adjourn by the request of a number of States, and that the call of the roll should be ordered by the Chair.

Mr. HUSTED, of New York [to the President]. Fair play here, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The house will come to order.

Mr. HUSTED, of New York. I rise to a point of order. My point of order is, sir, that the demand for votes was not made until after the Chair had decided the motion lost a few moments ago.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I made the motion.

Mr. MCKINLEY, of Ohio. *Gentlemen of the Convention*: I hope no friend of James G. Blaine will object to having the roll call of the States made. Let us raise no technical objection; I care not when the question was raised. The gentlemen representing the different States here have a right to the voice of this Convention upon this subject, and, as a friend of James G. Blaine, I insist that all his friends shall unite in having the roll of States called, and then vote that proposition down.

The PRESIDENT. The roll will be called on the question of adjournment.

The roll was then called.

When the State of Illinois was reached,

Mr. S. M. CULLOM said: It is difficult for any delegate in this part of the hall to ascertain what the question before the Convention is.

The PRESIDENT. The question is, Will the Convention take a recess until half-past 7 o'clock this evening?

Mr. CULLOM, of Illinois. I ask the Convention to allow the Illinois delegation a very few moments to ascertain our desires and vote.

Mr. WINSTON. That is all right.

Mr. CULLOM. Illinois casts twenty-nine votes in favor of adjournment, and fifteen against.

Mr. B. C. Cook, of Illinois. I challenge the count, and demand a call of the roll.

The PRESIDENT. The roll will be called.

The roll of Illinois was then called, with the following result:

Ayes—J. M. Hamilton, B. C. Cook, Clark E. Carr, J. L. Woodward, Abner Taylor, W. H. Ruger, S. B. Raymond, C. E. Fuller, Norman Lewis, O. C. Towne, H. T. Noble, R. W. Willett, A. J. Bell, S. T. Rogers, W. W. Wright, C. V. Chandler, C. A. Ballard, W. W. Berry, D. C. Smith, G. K. Ingham, C. G. Eckhart, L. S. Wilcox, Chas. Churchill, H. Black, J. I. Rinaker, J. M. Truitt, R. A. Halbert, H. Reuter, T. S. Ridgeway, T. M. Simpson, W. McAdams—31.

Noes—S. M. Cullom, C. E. Piper, G. R. Davis, J. R. Wheeler, L. C. Collins, Jr., L. M. Kelly, I. G. Baldwin, T. Vennum, R. H. Whiting, A. C. Matthews, Wm. Jayne, J. W. Fifer and C. T. Stratton—13.

When the State of New York was called,

Mr. CURTIS said: New York casts—

Mr. JOHN D. LAWSON. I challenge the vote, and ask that the roll be called.

The PRESIDENT. No announcement has yet been made; and, therefore, no roll can be called.

Mr. CURTIS. *Mr. President*: New York casts twenty votes for adjournment, twenty-eight against adjournment, and the rest of the delegation do not vote.

Mr. SPOONER. I challenge the count, and demand a call of the roll of the delegation.

The PRESIDENT. The roll will be called.

The call of the roll resulted as follows:

Ayes—Theodore Roosevelt, Andrew D. White, John I. Gilbert, Edwin Packard, G. W. Curtis, J. A. King (alternate), E. H. Hobbs, S. B. Dutcher, G. L. Pease, Wm. H. Beard, M. N. Day, C. D. Rhinehart, G. C. Bennett, J. J. O'Brien, J. H. Brady, J. D. Lawson, C. N. Taintor, R. G. McCord, John Collins, Geo. Starr (alternate), Geo. Hilliard, M. Cregan, B. Biglin, J. R. Lydecker, J. L. Perley (alternate), Wm. Doud, F. Raymond, J. A. Eagleston, B. B. Odell, B. P. Carpenter, H. Fish, Jr., Wm. E. Kisselburgh (alternate), H. G. Burleigh, G. Campbell ($\frac{1}{2}$), H. Griggs ($\frac{1}{2}$), J. Hammond, Geo. Chahoon, L. Burritt, H. H. Warner, J. W. Wadsworth, J. D. Warren, J. Jewett, Geo. Urban, Jr., Lee R. Sanborn—42.

Noes—A. D. Baird, A. G. McCook, W. H. Robertson, J. W. Husted, D. J. Blauvelt, T. Cornell, D. Ballentine, J. Lamb ($\frac{1}{2}$), J. A. Houck ($\frac{1}{2}$), George West, J. Kellogg, L. W. Russell, G. A. Bagley, W. E. Scripture, R. J. Richardson (alternate), Hobart Krum, Titus Sheard, C. E. Smith, H. L. Duguid, T. C. Platt, M. DeLano, D. D. Osborne, T. G. Yeomans, J. W. Dwight, W. L. Smith, G. R. Cornwell, S. T. Hayt, E. L. Pitts, N. M. Allen, F. S. Smith—29.

The vote of North Carolina was announced as sixteen yeas and six nays. A delegate asked to have the vote polled, which was done, with the following result :

Ayes—J. J. Mott, J. E. O'Hara, J. B. Hill, Isaac J. Young, C. D. Upchurch, T. B. Keogh, P. H. Winston, Jr., W. W. Jenkins (alternate), E. J. Penny-packer, H. C. Cowles, A. S. Richardson, L. L. Green, J. B. Eaves, H. D. Hunt (alternate)—13.

Noes—W. S. Docker, J. H. Harris, E. A. White, J. C. Dancy, J. S. Leary, J. H. Williamson—6.

The vote of Pennsylvania was announced as yeas nine, nays fifty-one.

Mr. DAVID H. LANE, of Pennsylvania. I challenge the correctness of the announcement, and ask that the roll of Pennsylvania be called.

The PRESIDENT. Call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll for Pennsylvania, with the following result :

Ayes—J. McManes, H. H. Bingham, W. J. Pollock, D. H. Lane, H. Hunter, J. T. Thompson, John Ruhl, J. A. M. Passmore, J. Y. Sollenberger, C. L. Magee, Wm. Flynn—11.

Noes—J. L. Hill (alternate), P. L. Kimberly, J. W. Lee, L. Emery, Jr., W. H. Jessup, W. H. Leeds, A. Crowe, Jr., W. E. Rowan, B. F. Fisher, Richard Young, R. M. Yardley, J. P. H. Jenkins, S. R. Deppen, F. S. Liven-good, E. Reimhold, L. S. Hartman, S. Thomas, W. S. Kirkpatrick, James Cruikshank, J. C. Brown, H. B. Payne, H. M. Boies, H. Brock, J. H. Wagner, F. F. Lyon, G. A. Grow, E. G. Schieffelin, C. W. Hill, D. J. Morrell, E. Scull, J. Stewart, B. F. Wagonseller (alternate), W. H. Lanius, J. A. Kitzmiller, E. A. Irwin, T. C. Thornton, J. K. Ewing, J. E. Sayers, T. M. Bayne, E. M. Byers, E. F. Acheson, J. W. Wallace, J. B. Henderson, H. C. Howard, T. C. Cochran, W. H. H. Riddle, E. W. Echols, J. Johnson—48.

When Tennessee was called,

Mr. HOUCK, the Chairman of the delegation, said : Ayes, twenty-four.

Mr. J. H. SMITH, of Tennessee. I demand a call of Tennessee. I object to that count.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary did so, and the result was as follows :

Ayes—J. C. Napier, T. F. Cassells, W. C. Chandler, W. C. Chumlea, H. F. Griscom, B. W. Buford, John Pruitt, H. L. W. Cheatham, B. J. Hadley, R. Harris, C. Harris, J. H. Smith—12.

Noes—W. P. Brownlow, L. C. Houck, A. H. Pettibone, J. W. Brown,

F. V. Brown, W. Y. Elliott, W. M. Ekin, A. M. Hughes, Jr., S. W. Hawkins, J. C. Watson, M. E. Bell, S. A. McElwee—12.

Upon the completion of the roll call, the Secretary announced the vote as follows :

BALLOT ON MOTION FOR RECESS.

Total number of votes.....	814
Ayes.....	364
Noes.....	450

Majority against.....	84
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States and Territories.	Ayes.	Noes.	States and Territories.	Ayes.	Noes.
Alabama.....	17	3	New York.....	42	29
Arkansas.....	3	11	North Carolina.....	14	6
California.....	16	16	Ohio.....	17	28
Colorado.....	6	6	Oregon.....	6	6
Connecticut.....	12	12	Pennsylvania.....	11	48
Delaware.....	1	5	Rhode Island.....	7	1
Florida.....	5	3	South Carolina.....	16	2
Georgia.....	24	24	Tennessee.....	12	12
Illinois.....	31	13	Texas.....	10	16
Indiana.....	8	22	Vermont.....	8	8
Iowa.....	2	24	Virginia.....	20	4
Kansas.....	18	18	West Virginia.....	12	12
Kentucky.....	18	8	Wisconsin.....	10	12
Louisiana.....	7	8	Arizona.....	2	2
Maine.....	12	12	Dakota.....	2	2
Maryland.....	4	12	District of Columbia.....	1	1
Massachusetts.....	23	5	Idaho.....	2	2
Michigan.....	8	18	Montana.....	1	1
Minnesota.....	14	14	New Mexico.....	2	2
Mississippi.....	17	1	Utah.....	2	2
Missouri.....	10	22	Washington.....	2	2
Nebraska.....	10	10	Wyoming.....	2	2
Nevada.....	6	6			
New Hampshire.....	8	8	Totals.....	364	450
New Jersey.....	5	13			

The PRESIDENT. The motion to adjourn is lost.

Upon the announcement being made, there was great applause and confusion.

Mr. WINSTON, of North Carolina. I move that we proceed to another roll call.

MOTION TO NOMINATE BLAINE BY ACCLAMATION.

Judge FORAKER, of Ohio. I move, sir, that the rules of the Convention be suspended, and that James G. Blaine be nominated by acclamation. [Loud cheers, and cries of "No, no."]

Mr. WINSTON. I move that we proceed with the order of business. I demand a call of the roll.

Mr. MASSEY, of Delaware. I demand the regular order.

Mr. ROOSEVELT, of New York. Call the roll.

Mr. KEYES, of Wisconsin. I call for order.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. I desire to inquire how Mr. Cassells voted.

Mr. FORAKER. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio has the floor.

Mr. FORAKER. *Mr. President*: Have you got my motion?

The PRESIDENT. Please state your motion.

Mr. FORAKER. My motion is, Mr. President, that the rules of this Convention be suspended, and that James G. Blaine be nominated by acclamation.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I ask that the roll be called.

Mr. BURROWS, of Michigan. *Mr. President*: I demand the regular order, and a call of the roll.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. On behalf of New York, I demand a call of the roll.

Mr. BURROWS. I demand a call of the roll. I hope my friend from Ohio will withdraw his motion to declare the nomination by acclamation, and proceed to a ballot. [Cries of "Withdraw, withdraw."]

Mr. FORAKER. In order that the time of this Convention may be saved, and at the request of several members, I withdraw the motion I made.

CALLING THE ROLL FOR THE FOURTH BALLOT.

The PRESIDENT. The business now before the Convention is the fourth ballot for a candidate for President. The Secretary will proceed to call the roll.

The Secretary called Alabama.

Mr. TURNER, of Alabama. I ask, Mr. President, that the roll call may be suspended one moment, in order that the delegation may be polled. There has been so much confusion that I have been unable to poll the delegation.

The PRESIDENT. The Chairman of the delegation must first announce the vote before he can call the roll under the rule.

Mr. TURNER. I can not make the announcement until I see the delegation and know how they want to vote.

The SECRETARY. Alabama. Make some kind of an announcement, and then object to it.

Mr. TURNER. Alabama gives twelve votes for Chester A. Arthur, and eight votes for James G. Blaine.

Mr. BURROWS, of Michigan. It is utterly impossible, Mr. President, to hear a word; and unless order can be restored, I shall move that this Convention adjourn to a hall by itself, where it can complete its labors.

When the vote of Florida had been announced by the Chairman of the delegation,

Mr. LONG, of that State, said: I challenge the vote of Florida.

The PRESIDENT. The roll will be called.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

When the name of JOSEPH E. LEE was called, he arose and said: The old guard dies, but never surrenders!—Chester A. Arthur.

The call resulted as follows :

FOR ARTHUR—Dennis Eagan, Joseph E. Lee, Jesse D. Cole, Wm. G. Stewart and A. C. Lightborne—5.

FOR BLAINE—James N. Combs, John G. Long and H. W. Chandler—3.

When Georgia was called,

Mr. BUCK, the Chairman of that delegation, said: By instructions of my delegation before coming into this Convention, we agreed to act as a unit. A majority of the delegation are still for Chester A. Arthur, and unless a vote is called, I shall so announce. Twenty-four votes for Arthur.

The PRESIDENT. Is there any contest in Georgia?

SEVERAL DELEGATES. No, no.

When Illinois was reached,

Mr. S. M. CULLOM said: *Mr. President*: I ask leave of this Convention to read a dispatch which I received a few moments ago from Gen. John A. Logan, addressed to the Illinois delegation. [Cries of "Object;" "Regular order;" "Call the roll."]

Mr. CULLOM. I ask permission to read this telegram:—"To the Republicans"—[Cries of "No," "Regular order."]

Mr. CULLOM—I am instructed by Gen. Logan to withdraw his name from this Convention, and shall send the dispatch to the Secretary's desk to be read. [Great confusion, and cries of "No, no, no."]

The PRESIDENT—The dispatch can not be read except with the unanimous consent of the Convention.

Mr. BURROWS, of Michigan. *Mr. President*, I make this point of order, that the reading of the dispatch is not in order, and nothing is except the calling of the roll.

The PRESIDENT. The point of order is well taken.

Mr. CULLOM. The Illinois delegation then withdraws the name of Gen. Logan, and gives for Blaine thirty-four votes, for Logan seven, for Arthur three. [Loud cheering and great confusion.]

Mr. PIPER. For fear there may be some mistake, I shall challenge the vote, and ask for a call of the roll. There is so much confusion here it is impossible to tell what is being done. I challenge the vote, and demand a roll call.

The roll of Illinois was then called, with the following result :

FOR BLAINE—S. M. Cullom, B. C. Cook, C. E. Carr, J. L. Woodward, W. H. Ruger, C. E. Piper, G. R. Davis, J. R. Wheeler, L. C. Collins, Jr., L. M.

Kelly, C. E. Fuller, Norman Lewis, O. C. Towne, I. G. Baldwin, H. T. Noble, R. W. Willett, A. J. Bell, S. T. Rogers, Thomas Vennum, W. W. Wright, C. V. Chandler, C. A. Ballard, A. C. Matthews, William Jayne, D. C. Smith, J. W. Fifer, C. G. Eckhart, L. S. Wilcox, C. Churchill, J. M. Truitt, H. Reuter, T. S. Ridgeway, C. T. Stratton, T. M. Simpson—34.

FOR LOGAN—W. W. Berry, G. K. Ingham, H. Black, J. I. Rinaker, R. A. Halbert, W. McAdam—6.

FOR ARTHUR—J. M. Hamilton, Abner Taylor, S. B. Raymond—3.

When Kentucky was reached, the Chairman announced the vote, as follows : Lincoln, one ; Logan, one; Blaine, nine; Arthur, fifteen.

MR. SCARLETT, of Kentucky. I challenge the vote of Kentucky, and ask for a call of the roll.

MR. TRIMBLE. I challenge the vote, and demand a call of the roll.

The roll was called, with the following result :

FOR ARTHUR—Walter Evans, W. O. Bradley, W. W. Culbertson, J. W. Lewis, Edwin Farley, P. C. Bragg, J. Z. Moore, James J. Landes, G. P. Jolly, E. Hilpp, S. F. Miller ($\frac{1}{2}$), J. M. Brown ($\frac{1}{2}$), J. A. Scarlett, R. P. Stoll, G. M. Thomas, A. J. Auxier—15.

FOR BLAINE—W. L. Hazslip, A. Allensworth, A. E. Wilson ($\frac{1}{2}$), M. Minton ($\frac{1}{2}$), L. R. Hawthorne (alternate), W. C. Goodloe, Geo. Denny, Jr., T. S. Bradford, R. A. Buekner, Jr., H. G. Trimble—9.

FOR LOGAN—Robert Boyd—1.

FOR LINCOLN—J. C. Eversole—1.

When Louisiana was reached, the Chairman of that delegation announced the vote as six for Arthur and nine for Blaine.

MR. PINCHBACK, of Louisiana. I desire to have this vote polled.

The vote was accordingly polled, with the following result :

FOR BLAINE—W. P. Kellogg, R. F. Guichard, P. F. Herwig, Geo. Drury, Wm. Harper, Frank Morey, E. W. Wall, L. J. Souer, C. Morgan—9.

FOR ARTHUR—A. J. Dumont, P. B. S. Pinchback, A. S. Badger, W. B. Merchant, H. Demas, L. A. Martinet, A. J. Smith (alternate)—7.

MR. KELLOGG. I desire to state to the Convention, in justice to myself, that I polled the delegation, and that Mr. Demas voted for Blaine, but changed his vote to Arthur; and another member, rather than to have it on record in that manner, took his place and voted for Blaine.

THE PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. Kellogg, is out of order.

When Maine was called,

The CHAIRMAN said : Maine has twelve votes for her idol, James G. Blaine.

When Massachusetts was called, the Chairman of that delegation stated the vote to be seventeen for Edmunds, eight for Arthur and three for Blaine.

Mr. STONE, of Massachusetts. I challenge the vote of Massachusetts, and ask for a poll.

The delegation was then polled, and the result was as follows :

FOR EDMUNDS—G. F. Hoar, W. W. Crapo, J. D. Long, H. C. Lodge, F. M. Ames, E. L. Ripley, H. P. Kidder, E. L. Pierce, E. Stearns, J. F. Andrew, A. F. Breed, C. D. Wright, E. H. Haskell, Geo. W. Cate, F. T. Greenhalze, J. G. Ray, R. R. Bishop, W. W. Rice—18.

FOR ARTHUR—J. Bourne, F. S. Stevens, A. C. Stone, C. C. Conant, Rodney Wallace, H. S. Hyde, E. S. Wilkinson (alternate)—7.

FOR BLAINE—J. M. Gove, John Taylor (alternate), C. D. Paige (alternate)—3.

When New York was called,

Mr. CURTIS said: New York casts 1 vote for Robert T. Lincoln, 2 votes for Joseph R. Hawley, 9 votes for George F. Edmunds, 29 votes for James G. Blaine, 31 votes for Chester A. Arthur.

Mr. JOHN D. LAWSON, of New York. *Mr. President:* I question that vote, and ask for a call of the roll.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Stick to it, Lawson!

Mr. LAWSON. I challenge the vote, and ask for a call.

The Secretary then called the roll of New York, with the following result :

FOR ARTHUR—S. B. Dutcher, W. H. Beard, M. N. Day, C. D. Rhinchart, G. C. Bennett, J. J. O'Brien, J. H. Brady, J. D. Lawson, C. N. Taintor, R. G. McCord, John Collins, Geo. Starr (alternate), Geo. Hilliard, M. Cregan, B. Biglin, J. R. Lydecker, Chas. Whittock (alternate), J. L. Perley (alternate), F. Raymond, J. A. Eagleston, B. P. Carpenter, H. Fish, Jr., W. E. Kisselburgh (alternate), H. G. Burleigh, Geo. Campbell ($\frac{1}{2}$), A. S. Draper (alternate) ($\frac{1}{2}$), Geo. Chahoon, J. D. Warren, J. Jewett, Geo. Urban, Jr., Lee R. Sanborn—30.

FOR BLAINE—A. G. McCook, W. H. Robertson, J. W. Husted, D. J. Blauvelt, T. Cornell, D. Ballentine, J. Lamb ($\frac{1}{2}$), J. A. Houck ($\frac{1}{2}$), Geo. West, J. Kellogg, L. W. Russell, G. A. Bagley, W. E. Scripture, R. J. Richardson (alternate), H. Krum, Titus Sheard, C. E. Smith, James Frazel (alternate), T. C. Platt, M. De Lano, D. D. Osborne, T. G. Yeomans, J. W. Dwight, W. L. Smith, G. R. Cornwell, S. T. Hayt, L. Burritt, E. L. Pitts, N. M. Allen, F. S. Smith—29.

FOR EDMUNDS—T. Roosevelt, A. D. White, J. I. Gilbert, E. Packard, G. W. Curtis, J. M. Crane, G. L. Pease, B. B. Odell, J. W. Wadsworth—9.

FOR HAWLEY—E. H. Hobbs—1.

FOR LINCOLN—H. H. Warner—1.

When North Carolina was called, the Chairman announced her vote as one for Hawley, seven for Blaine, and fourteen for Arthur.

MR. WILLIAMSON. *Mr. Chairman*: I request that the North Carolina delegation be polled.

THE PRESIDENT. The Chair announces that that is not sufficient ground to entitle the gentleman to the call. Does he say that the count is incorrect?

MR. WILLIAMSON. Yes, sir: I challenge the vote, and demand that the delegation be polled.

THE PRESIDENT. Call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, with the following result:

FOR ARTHUR—J. J. Matt, J. E. O'Hara, J. B. Hill, Isaac J. Young, L. W. Humphrey, T. B. Keogh, P. H. Winston, Jr., W. W. Jenkins (alternate), E. J. Pennypacker, H. C. Cowles, W. E. Henderson, L. L. Green—12.

FOR BLAINE—W. S. Dockey, J. H. Harris, E. A. White, J. C. Dancy, J. S. Leary, J. H. Williamson, J. B. Eaves, T. J. Candler—8.

FOR HAWLEY—C. D. Upchurch—1.

When the Secretary called the State of Ohio, Mr. Foraker said:

Mr. Chairman: For what I supposed to be for the best interests of the party, I presented to this Convention the name of John Sherman. Also, supposing it to be for the best interests of the party, we have until now faithfully and most cordially supported him. Now, also, in the interest of the party, we withdraw him, and cast for James G. Blaine forty-six votes.

When South Carolina was called, the Chairman announced the vote as two for Blaine and sixteen for Arthur.

MR. LEE. I dispute the correctness of the vote, and ask a poll vote of the delegation.

The Secretary then called the roll, and the vote was recorded as follows:

FOR ARTHUR—R. Smalls, W. N. Taft, E. M. Brayton, Samuel Lee, J. M. Freeman, E. H. Webster, Paris Simpkins, S. E. Smith, E. F. Blodgett, R. W. Boone, C. M. Wilder, E. H. Dibble, E. H. Deas, T. B. Johnston, W. H. Thompson—15.

FOR BLAINE—Wilson Cook, C. C. Macoy—2.

FOR EDMUNDS—D. T. Corbin—1.

When Tennessee was called, Mr. Houck announced the vote as, Arthur, thirteen; Blaine, ten; Logan, one.

MR. W. P. BROWNLOW. I challenge the correctness of the count of Tennessee.

MR. CASSELLS. I challenge the count, and ask for a call of the roll.

The roll was called, and the result was as follows :

FOR ARTHUR—L. C. Houck, J. C. Napier, T. F. Cassells, W. C. Chandler, H. F. Griscom, B. W. Burford, J. S. Smith (alternate), H. L. W. Cheatham, A. M. Hughes, Jr., Richard Harris, Carter Harris, J. H. Smith—12.

FOR BLAINE—W. P. Brownlow, A. H. Pettibone, J. W. Brown, W. C. Chumlea, F. V. Brown, J. C. McAdams (alternate), W. M. Ekin, S. W. Hawkins, J. C. Watson, M. E. Bell, S. A. McElwec—11.

When Texas was called, the Chairman of the delegation, Mr. Binkley, announced the vote as, Arthur, eleven ; Blaine, fourteen ; Logan, one.

Mr. J. S. WITNER, of Texas. I challenge the correctness of the vote, and ask that the roll be called.

The PRESIDENT. The roll of the State will be called.

The Secretary then called the roll for Texas.

Mr. BINKLEY. I would like to have the name of Mr. Cleve called.

The SECRETARY. Frank L. Cleve.

Mr. BINKLEY. I was authorized to cast his vote for James G. Blaine.

The SECRETARY. You can't do it.

The result was as follows :

FOR BLAINE—C. C. Binkley, N. W. Cuney, Robert Zapp, R. J. Evans, J. D. Davis, J. R. Carter, O. T. Lyon, J. S. Witner, J. C. Akins, H. C. Ferguson, A. J. Rosenthal, Henry Green, W. H. Blont, R. Hanschke, R. F. Campbell—15.

FOR ARTHUR—R. Allen, J. B. Farris, G. W. Burkitt, W. Flannagan, A. G. Malloy, B. B. Rentfro, J. C. De Gress, H. H. McConnell—8.

When the District of Columbia was called,

Mr. CARSON said: The District of Columbia casts two votes for James G. Blaine.

Mr. CONGER. I challenge that vote.

Several DELEGATES. Call the roll.

The PRESIDENT. Call the roll.

The Secretary did so, and the result was :

FOR ARTHUR—Frank Conger.

FOR BLAINE—Perry H. Carson.

The Secretary then completed the roll call.

Mr. STROBACH, of Alabama. I move that the record be read, so that we may know how our votes are recorded. Is there any objection to it ? We would like to put our names on record how we voted.

The PRESIDENT. It is too late; it can not be done now.

The Secretary announced the result of the fourth ballot, as follows :

Whole number of delegates	820
Necessary to a choice	411
Whole number of votes cast	813
Robert T. Lincoln	2
John A. Logan	7
Joseph R. Hawley	15
George F. Edmunds	41
Chester A. Arthur	207
James G. Blaine	541

The vote by States and Territories was as follows :

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF VOTES.	ARTHUR.	BLAINE.	EDMUNDS.	LOGAN.	HAWLEY.	LINCOLN.
Alabama	20	12	8				
Arkansas	14	3	11				
California	16		16				
Colorado	6		6				
Connecticut	12					12	
Delaware	6	1	5				
Florida	8	5	3				
Georgia	24	24					
Illinois	44	3	34		6		
Indiana	30		30				
Iowa	26	2	24				
Kansas	18		18				
Kentucky	26	15	9		1		1
Louisiana	16	7	9				
Maine	12		12				
Maryland	16	1	15				
Massachusetts	28	7	3	18			
Michigan	26		26				
Minnesota	14		14				
Mississippi	18	16	2				
Missouri	32		32				
Nebraska	10		10				
Nevada	6		6				
New Hampshire	8	2	3	3			
New Jersey	18		17	1			
New York	72	30	29	9		2	1
North Carolina	22	12	8			1	
Ohio	46		46				
Oregon	6		6				
Pennsylvania	60	8	51	1			
Rhode Island	8	1	7				
South Carolina	18	15	2	1			
Tennessee	24	12	11				
Texas	26	8	15				

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of VOTES.	ARTHUR.	BLAINE.	EDMONDS.	LOGAN.	HAWLEY.	LINCOLN.
Vermont.....	2			8			
Virginia.....	24	20	4				
West Virginia.....	12		12				
Wisconsin.....	22		22				
Arizona.....	2		2				
Dakota.....	2		2				
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1				
Idaho.....	2		2				
Montana.....	2		2				
New Mexico.....	2	2					
Utah.....	2		2				
Washington.....	2		2				
Wyoming.....	2		2				
Totals.....	820	207	541	41	7	15	2

The announcement of the vote provoked a scene of the wildest confusion, the cheering and applause continuing for several minutes.

The PRESIDENT. James G. Blaine, of Maine, having received the votes of a majority of all the delegates elected to this Convention, the question now before the Convention is, Shall the nomination of Mr. Blaine be made unanimous? On that motion the Chair recognizes Mr. Burleigh, of New York.

Mr. BURLEIGH, of New York. *Mr. President:* In behalf of the President of the United States, and at his request, I move to make the nomination of James G. Blaine unanimous; and I promise for the friends of President Arthur, who are always loyal at the polls, and for Northern New York, 20,000 Republican majority. And I promise you that we will do all we can for the ticket and the nominee; and we will show you in November next that New York is a Republican State. It elected James A. Garfield, and it will elect James G. Blaine, of Maine.

Mr. DWIGHT M. SABIN, of Minnesota. Four years ago, in this very hall, and as a delegate to the National Republican Convention, I was opposed to Chester A. Arthur and to the elements with which he then associated. Since then, he has been called, under the most trying circumstances, to fill the first place in the gift of the people of this country. So well, so nobly, has he filled that trust; so happily has he disappointed not only those who were his opponents, but his friends; so fully has he filled the position of the gentleman that he is—of a scholar and of a gentleman possessed of that great, good common sense which has made his administration a great and pronounced success—that he has grown upon me, until to-day I honor and revere Chester A. Arthur.

As a friend of his I no less honor and revere that prince of gentlemen, that scholar, that gifted statesman, James G. Blaine. And it affords me the greatest pleasure to second the motion to make his nomination unanimous, and with the prediction that his name, before this country in November, will pro-

duce the same spontaneous enthusiasm which will make him President of the United States the 4th of March next.

Mr. P. B. PLUMB, of Kansas. This Convention has discharged one of its most important trusts, and is now, notwithstanding the length of time it has been in session and the exciting scenes through which it has passed, in thorough good humor, and I believe ready to go on and conclude the business which brought us here.

Mr. WINSTON. I move that this Convention do now take a recess to eight o'clock this evening.

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon making the nomination unanimous.

A DELEGATE. I call for the regular order.

Mr. PLUMB. Mr. President, before proceeding to this I desire also, in connection with the Senator from Minnesota, and responding to the sentiment which pervades this entire Convention, to second the motion that this nomination be made unanimous, and I hope there will not be a dissenting voice in all this vast assemblage.

The SECRETARY. I have been requested to read to the Convention the following telegraphic dispatch:

“The President has sent the following dispatch to Mr. Blaine :

“‘To the Hon. James G. Blaine, Augusta, Me. As the candidate of the Republican party you will have my earnest and cordial support.

“‘CHESTER A. ARTHUR’”

The announcement was received with applause.

The PRESIDENT. The motion is, Shall the nomination of Mr. Blaine be made unanimous ?

The motion was carried amidst great cheering.

Mr. HUSTED, of New York. I move that this Convention take a recess until 8 o'clock this evening.

The motion was carried, and the Convention accordingly took a recess until 8 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

JUNE 6, 1884.

The Convention was called to order at 8.15 by the President.

The PRESIDENT. The evening session of the Convention will be opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. O'Reilly, of Detroit.

PRAYER BY REV. DR. O'REILLY.

Let us pray. O Almighty and merciful God, who in Thy wisdom knoweth all hearts, and in Thy goodness guideth the councils of men, lend, we beseech

Thee, to this assembly, the light of Thy countenance, and direct its deliberations to the preserving of good conscience, and to the prosperity of this favored land. Bless, we beseech Thee, the beneficent institutions of this great Republic. Grant to its children the furtherance of that liberty which was a heritage from pious ancestors. Give them, O God, the grace of fraternal charity and the wisdom of the fear of Thee. O element God! mercifully regard not our ignorances; be unmindful of our offenses; mindful only of Thy mercy. Deliver us from all evil through the merits of Thy Divine Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Mr. ABNER TAYLOR, of Illinois. *Mr. President*—

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will suspend for one moment. There is a matter of unfinished business. The States and Territories which have not yet sent up their members for the National Executive Committee will now send them up.

The SECRETARY. Florida.

Mr. JOSEPH E. LEE, of Florida. Jesse D. Cole.

The SECRETARY. Nebraska.

Mr. THURSTON, of Nebraska. What is the call for?

The PRESIDENT. For the member of the National Committee.

Mr. THURSTON. Nebraska sent in on the first call the name of Church Howe.

The SECRETARY. Kansas.

Mr. P. B. PLUMB. Mr. John A. Martin, who was first selected by the delegation, having resigned, we desire to present the name of Cyrus Leland, Jr. as a member of the National Committee.

The SECRETARY. Colorado.

Mr. ALEX. GULLETT, of Colorado. Pass Colorado for the time being. The Chairman is not here, and the delegation has not yet agreed upon a committeeman. [The name of Jerome B. Chaffee was subsequently presented.]

Mr. HORACE DAVIS, of California. I desire to offer a resolution respecting the filling of vacancies of the Republican National Committee—a matter omitted in the rules.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will send it forward.

Mr. PERRY H. CARSON. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. I can not entertain any motion now. There is a matter before the Convention.

Mr. CARSON. This is not a motion. This is to fill the National Committee.

The PRESIDENT. Call the District of Columbia.

The SECRETARY. The District of Columbia.

Mr. ARTHUR SMITH, of the District of Columbia. The District of Columbia desires to name Col. Perry H. Carson.

The Secretary read the following, offered by Mr. Davis, of California:

Resolved, That in case of a vacancy occurring in the Republican National Committee, such vacancy may be filled by the State Central Committee of the State, Territory or district thus left unrepresented.

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. TAYLOR, of Illinois. I desire to offer a resolution, which I will read.

Mr. F. B. CONGER, of the District of Columbia. *Mr. President*: I have been trying to get recognized for some time.

A DELEGATE. I call for the regular order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Taylor] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. CONGER. I am from the District of Columbia; and I understand that Mr. Carson's name has been put on the National Committee; and I object to it.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order.

Mr. CONGER. *Mr. President*—

Mr. ABNER TAYLOR, of Illinois. I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That the time be limited to ten minutes in presenting names for Vice-President; and may be occupied by one or more persons.

I offer that resolution.

The PRESIDENT. Send forward the resolution.

Mr. CONGER. I have protested against this name of Mr. Carson—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order.

Mr. CONGER. I am not out of order.

The PRESIDENT. There is a gentleman on the floor now.

Mr. TAYLOR. I move the suspension of the rules for a vote on that resolution.

Mr. CONGER. I desire to enter my protest against his name going on the committee.

The PRESIDENT. Well, you will enter it.

Mr. CONGER. I want to know whether one delegate of the District has got the right to put his name on the committee.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order.

Mr. CONGER. I am not out of order. I appeal from the decision of the Chair. I have not agreed to that name. And I don't intend to agree to it, either.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolution offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Taylor].

The Secretary repeated the resolution as read by Mr. Taylor.

Mr. TAYLOR. I move its adoption.

Mr. HERR, of Michigan. We could not hear one word of it. We would like to know what it is.

Mr. CONGER. I want to know if you are going to stifle the voice of the District of Columbia in this Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair would be exceedingly gratified if he could.

Mr. SPOONER, of New York. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. There is a matter now before the Convention.

Mr. CONGER. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. Read the resolution again.

The SECRETARY [reading]. "Resolved, that the time shall be limited to ten minutes in presenting names"—

Mr. CONGER. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order.

Mr. CONGER. I think I have a right to make my point before you decide me out of order.

The PRESIDENT. There is a matter now before the Convention.

Mr. CONGER. I rose before that was proposed.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will please take his seat.

Mr. CONGER. I take my seat in deference to the Chair, and for no other reason. [Laughter.]

The Secretary read Mr. Taylor's resolution again.

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. LAWSON, of New York. We haven't heard what the resolution is, there is so much confusion. I ask that the resolution may be reported again, so that we shall know what it is we are to vote upon.

The PRESIDENT. I shall have to send a Sergeant-at-arms to read it to each member of the Convention unless you will keep silence.

Mr. LAWSON. I would suspend the business until the Convention came to order, if I was in the chair. [Laughter.]

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. We can't hear a word.

Mr. BUTTRICK, of West Virginia. I suggest we suspend business for fifteen minutes, to allow delegates to talk. We have wanted to hear, but they talk, and take up time talking, so that we do not hear a word.

Mr. LLEWELLYN, of New Mexico. The gentleman named for the member of the National Committee from New Mexico having resigned, the delegation desires to have the name of the Hon. Stephen B. Elkins placed upon the National Executive Committee from New Mexico.

The PRESIDENT. It will be so done.

Mr. CONGER. I desire to know whether the name of Perry H. Carson is to be placed upon the roll of the National Committee against my protest. I wish the ruling of the Chair.

The PRESIDENT. The name has been placed on the roll.

Mr. CONGER. On what ground?

The PRESIDENT. Because it was announced by the gentleman who rose.

Mr. CONGER. I am the Chairman of the District of Columbia delegation. That gentleman is not. He has jumped up here repeatedly to-day and ignored the Chairman of that delegation. I say I never have consented to his going on the roll. His alternate is not here. I say he never had any authority for his name to be placed there.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman was absent from his seat, and his alternate made the announcement.

Mr. CONGER. No; I was right over there. I think I have rights here. Do you decide that one member of the delegation can name the member of the National Committee?

Mr. SPOONER, of New York. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. You are in order.

Mr. CONGER. Can one member of a delegation name the member of the National Committee?

Mr. SPOONER. My point of order is, that no delegate to this Convention can be regarded as not in his place when he is upon the floor of this Convention; and that the Chair can not disregard his protest; but that the result announced by the delegate, Mr. Carson, from the District of Columbia, being challenged by a member of that delegation, the Chair must call the roll of that delegation.

Mr. CARSON, of the District of Columbia. I and my alternate agreed to appoint me as a member of the National Committee, in the absence of Mr. Conger.

Mr. SPOONER. My first point of order is, that Mr. Conger, being on the floor of this Convention, can not be declared not entitled to his voice. He need not be in one particular chair.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair announces that the District of Columbia was called, and a name was presented and placed on the roll; and no protest was made until that was done.

Mr. CONGER. I protested at the time. I demanded that the Chair should hear me. I came down that aisle and demanded it, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. I rise to a point of order. We want some order here. If we can not get it in any other way, give us the Sergeant-at-arms. The closing scenes of this Convention certainly ought to have more order about them.

The PRESIDENT. The question now before the Convention is the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President. The Secretary will call the roll.

Mr. TAYLOR, of Illinois. You have not disposed of my resolution yet. It is before this Convention, and must be acted upon.

The resolution was again read by the Secretary.

Mr. TAYLOR. I have moved its adoption.

The resolution was then adopted, unanimously.

NOMINATION FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

The roll of the States was called for the nomination of candidates for Vice-President.

When Illinois was called, Mr P. B. Plumb, of Kansas, came forward and spoke as follows:

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention: This Convention has already discharged two of the most serious obligations which rested upon it: the adoption of a platform, and the nomination of a candidate for the Presidency. The platform is one upon which all good Republicans and all good

citizens can safely stand, for it voices their sentiments and best interests. The candidate for the Presidency needs no eulogium from me; and I can only say for him that he can beat any man in the Democratic party, whether that man be dead or whether he be alive! Upon that statement it might seem a matter of comparative indifference as to who should fill the second place; but, Mr. President and gentlemen, there is such a thing as proportion. Having nominated a statesman of approved reputation, a man of whom we are all proud, we owe it to him, as we owe it to the party, to nominate the best and most available man we have for the second place.

Mr. President, this is the first time in the history of the Republican party since the war, when the man who is to fill the first place is not a soldier. There are a million men yet living who served their country in the late war. And now, Mr. President, after the lapse of twenty years since the close of that war, they are bound together by ties as strong as they ever were while serving under arms; and the great brotherhood of the soldiery of the United States is one of the most important factors in the social and political life of the American Republic. It is due, not as a matter of availability, but as a matter of just recognition to that great body of soldiers who made the Republican party possible, that a fit representative of theirs should have the second place upon the ticket; a man who combines within himself not only the qualities of a soldier, but also the qualities of a statesman, because the American people are becoming considerate as to who shall be Vice-President; and it is a matter of grave concern that the man to be chosen shall be fit to step into the shoes of the man in the first place.

Mr. President, as I said, if it were only a question of electing a ticket, we might nominate anybody. But it is more than that. It is not only a question of electing a President and a Vice-President, but it is a question of the election of a majority of the House of Representatives in Congress. It is a question of rehabilitating States where legislatures have been lost, and consequently members of the Senate have been equally lost. We want, therefore, to strengthen the ticket, if that can be done, by adding to it a man who has his representatives in all portions of this broad land, in every county, in every township, in every school district, in every representative district, in order that the ticket may be carried to the farthest confines of the Republic, and its remotest places, with that good will and recognition which will make sure of a full vote.

We are now at the period when, more than at any other since the close of the war, the kindly feeling growing out of mutual service and sacrifice has come up. Out of that kindly feeling has grown the organization of the Grand Army of the Republic, which has now in its communion more than three-quarters of a million of the men who lately wore the blue. They are mainly Republicans, because the Republican party is true to them, to their interests, and to all those things for which they fought and sacrificed; and it is only just and proper that, in making tickets as in making platforms, we should recognize that great body of honorable and self-sacrificing men.

Mr. President and gentlemen, in presenting to you a candidate, I shall present one to you who, I believe, fills all the qualifications necessary for even the

first place on this ticket ; a man whose military record is of exceptional merit, and whose civil record will not be obscured by even so brilliant a one as that of the head of the ticket. And that is the kind of a man that we want ; a man tried in war and a man tried in peace ; a man who has worn in every capacity in which he has been tried, until to-day his name and his fame are a part of the proud heritage of the American people.

By the terms of your resolution you have abridged that which I would say, but it is enough for me to say that the man whom I present for your consideration, believing that he will add strength to the ticket, and believing that he will justify the expectations of the men of whom I have spoken is Gen. John A. Logan, of Illinois.

I do not present him on behalf of Illinois ; nor do I present him on behalf of Kansas, nor of any single State, but on behalf of all the States. His reputation is no more the property of Illinois than it is of Kansas ; but there are 75,000 ex-soldiers of the late War upon the prairies of Kansas, who, with one accord, when they hear of the nomination of John A. Logan, will rise up and indorse it and ratify it.

I know Illinois begrudges him to the country. Like Hosea Bigelow's wife, they "want him for home consumption." But, Mr. President, it is a command which we have a right to lay upon them, and I know that in laying that command upon them, they will do as Gen. Logan would do himself. He obeys the duty and obligation of party, the command of the party and the country ; and, in fact, he never disobeyed but one order, and that was in order to fight a battle.

Therefore, in behalf of the ex-soldiers of the Union, in behalf of the State of Kansas, by whom I am commissioned for this purpose, and in behalf, generally, of the great body of the Republican party of the Union who admire and esteem this man, I present his name for your consideration, and hope that he may receive the nomination at your hands.

Mr. J. C. Horck, of Tennessee. Thus far, while I have not received my first choice, this Convention has done well. Under the leadership, at the head of the ticket, of the Plumed Knight of Maine, we expect in November, all other conditions being equal, to march to glorious and final victory over the Democratic party in the United States. Now that the first part of our duties has been discharged ; now that we have a candidate at the head of the ticket whom every genuine Republican in these United States, whether for or against him in this contest, can cheerfully and heartily support ; now that we have started thus well, let us complete our work by adding as the candidate for Vice-President of the United States, one who, as we all know, may have to enter the Executive Mansion and discharge the duties of the first office of the Nation. I say, let us now see if we can not come to a common understanding and agreement, and unite upon one who will do equal honor in that position as the distinguished leader who is at the head of our ticket.

In looking through the halls of Congress, going back over the reminiscences of the war, analyzing the character of the man, whether upon the field or in the halls of legislation, wherever he has been called to duty, John A. Logan has never been found wanting. And it has been well said by the gentleman

who has preceded me, that, having nominated a civilian for the first time since the war, it is now all-important to give to the soldiers of the country, who fought the battles of the Union and preserved the liberties of the people, a representative upon that ticket. That being so, in whom can we find all the elements necessary to make up the statesmanship which is necessary to discharge the duties of this high office, but in Gen. John A. Logan? I can do it the more cheerfully—it is perfectly natural to me; it becomes a part of my nature and goes into my sympathies, into the very sympathies of my heart, to advocate his nomination—coming as I do (perhaps I will give you something that some of you never thought of)—coming as I do, as a representative from that part of the country where two Congressional Districts, the First and Second of Tennessee, gave more soldiers to fight under the flag than any two districts in the United States of America. That being so, representing these elements, I know that when the wires shall have transmitted the news of the nomination of John A. Logan for the Vice-Presidency of the United States to the soldier boys of East Tennessee, they will rejoice there, as they will rejoice everywhere the news is transmitted. It is an inviting theme; but I am admonished that under the rules I should desist, after a few more words.

Now, gentlemen, let us join hands. The truth is, there ought not to be any other nomination than John A. Logan. John A. Logan ought to be nominated by acclamation. Our delegation, as you have seen, has been somewhat divided on everything else, but when you come to John A. Logan we are united, twenty-four strong. Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Convention, for the considerations which I have mentioned, I now place John A. Logan's destinies in your hands, with the full conviction that when the roll is called you will make him the candidate of the party, and in November victory will perch upon our banners.

Mr. THURSTON, of Nebraska. In seconding this magnificent nomination on behalf of a great veteran constituency, limited by the order of this Convention, I have only this to say: Let us write upon the banner of the Republican party for this glorious campaign this invincible legend: "Blaine and Logan, Peace and War." The great gratitude of the American people will crown these victors of them both with their grand and glorious approbation.

Mr. J. W. LEE, of Pennsylvania. You have inaugurated here to-day a glorious victory for November, by nominating for President a native of Pennsylvania, but whose fame was too great for his own State. It is of the whole country. You will complete the work which you have so well begun. The people believed, with a belief which amounted to conviction, that you would recognize their sovereign will in the nomination which you would here make, and you have not disappointed them.

Pennsylvania unites with the great Commonwealth of Kansas in seconding the nomination of a man for Vice-President who was fit to be President of the United States. I second, on behalf of the great Middle States of Pennsylvania and Ohio, the nomination of John A. Logan.

Mr. ROSWELL G. HARR, of Michigan. *Mr. President* [Calls were made to Mr. Harr to take the stand; but he declined, and continued as follows]: I will be through before I can get to the stand. I simply rise, Mr. Presi-

dent in behalf of the large army of us men who staid at home during the war, and at the request of the State of Michigan, to second the nomination of John A. Logan, of Illinois; and I only wish to say that in doing that we will light the camp-fires among the soldiers of the country from one end of this Nation to the other.

Mr. JOHN C. DANCY, of North Carolina. I am here the humble representative of twelve hundred thousand colored voters in this country; and I believe, gentlemen of the Convention, that with the nomination already made of the Hon. James G. Blaine, of Maine, if to that you will add the name of John A. Logan, you will strengthen the confidence and courage of these twelve hundred thousand colored voters; and each and every one of them on the day of the election will be found at the polls casting their votes for those two candidates.

Gentlemen, we know John A. Logan in the South; we have learned to love him and to honor him. He has stood by us under any and all circumstances. We will be certain to stand by him. Great in war, he has been likewise great in peace; and, keeping the even tenor of his way, he has won the confidence and respect, not only of the Republican party, but of the Democratic party as well; and I believe that he can command as many votes in the South as any man who could be named; and as we have a State that was Democratic by only 300 two years ago, we know that with this ticket we can carry it by at least 5,000 majority in this election. And so speaking for North Carolina, I say for it, as I say also for some others of the Southern States, we are for John A. Logan, first, last, and all the time.

Mr. P. H. WINSTON, Jr., of North Carolina. I move that we nominate Logan by acclamation.

Mr. ARNOLD, of Georgia. As the representative of twenty-four as true and noble men as ever trod the American soil, and who stood by Chester A. Arthur until his flag went down, I rise in my place to second the nomination of John A. Logan. And while we, sir, in Georgia, are not able to give you an electoral vote, we pledge to you our aid, sympathy, active support, and all that there is within us. [Applause]

Mr. DAWES, of Missouri. *Mr. President:* I move you that the nomination of John A. Logan be made by acclamation.

Mr. CURREN HOWE, of Nebraska. I move that the rules be suspended, and that John A. Logan be declared the nominee of this Convention.

The President put the question on the motion, and, on the vote being had, said:

It requires two-thirds to suspend the rules; and, the Chair being in doubt, the roll will be called.

The Secretary called the State of Alabama.

Mr. WINSTON, of North Carolina. Are the nominations closed?

Mr. CARR, of Illinois. *Mr. President:* There have several gentlemen expressed a desire to speak, and so far every one that has spoken has spoken words that

are grateful and precious to every Illinois heart. There are others who still desire to speak, and I hope that the roll will not be called. I hope that this action will be suspended until gentlemen from other States who desire to speak shall have had an opportunity to be heard from.

Mr. W. O. Bradley, of Kentucky, had been standing on his chair attempting to get the attention of the President, and loud calls were made for him.

Mr. DAWES, of Missouri. *Mr. President:* I feel assured that it is only a question of time that the nomination of John A. Logan will be made unanimous, and I withdraw my motion to make it by acclamation.

Mr. HOWE. I withdraw my motion to suspend the rules also.

Considerable confusion was caused by delegates in all parts of the hall attempting to gain the eye of the President.

Mr. S. Lee, of South Carolina, was recognized by the President: but the calls for Bradley were renewed, and Mr. Lee was unable to proceed.

A DELEGATE from Mississippi. I would suggest that the gentleman from Kentucky go ahead on the east side of the hall, and the gentleman from South Carolina on the west.

Mr. LEE. I most cheerfully yield to the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky, provided I shall be accorded the privilege of speaking for the Republicans of my State when he shall have finished.

Mr. BRADLEY, of Kentucky. *Mr. President:* I am warned by the condition of my voice not to undertake to speak against the tumult of this multitude. I simply arise as one of those fifteen faithful Kentuckians, who, through sunshine and through storm, followed the fate of our gallant leader, Chester A. Arthur, to second the nomination of the great volunteer soldier of Illinois.

A statesman wise in council, a soldier upon whose sword there is no stain of dishonor, a friend of the oppressed—no more gallant knight ever drew lance upon the bloody fields of Palestine or fell beneath the gleaming scimitar of Saladin. I arise for the purpose of seconding the nomination of General Logan, in behalf of the hundred thousand—*yes, the hundred thousand*—brave soldiers who have marched under the flag and kept step to the music of the Union from the State of Kentucky.

You have given us a great statesman from Maine; and I for one bow my humble acquiescence, and am willing, with all the Republicans of this Union, to follow wherever his white plume shines. With Blaine as our candidate for President, with Logan as our candidate for Vice-President, we shall sweep the country, and wipe from the political map the name of Democracy, so that the places that know it now, shall know it no more forever.

I would like to say more upon this fruitful theme, but the condition of my voice, as well as the state of your patience, reminds me that I have said enough. And now, in conclusion, fellow-citizens of the whole Republic, who are assembled

here, and delegates in this Convention, down in the State of Kentucky, where the black cloud of Democracy still bends above us, let me say to you that, while we can not give you our electoral votes, we will in November poll for Blaine and Logan the votes of 120,000 brave men and true. I have said enough, and I thank you again and again for your kindness in asking me to second this nomination.

Mr. LEE, of South Carolina. I come from a State that gave the United States Government the first colored soldier that the United States Government ever enlisted in its army. In 1862, in the town of Beaufort, South Carolina, Col. Higginson, of Massachusetts, organized the first colored troops. I am here to-night, and I am glad that it is my privilege, upon this occasion, to say to the American people assembled here in a Republican National Convention, that those people in South Carolina never can forget the memorable march, through that State, of Sherman's army. In that army was the gallant and brave John A. Logan. They know him, and they love him, and their anxious hearts have been waiting, hoping to hear from this Convention, that if their first choice, Chester A. Arthur, should not be made the nominee of this Convention, their hearts would be gladdened by the news being wired to them that John A. Logan was the fortunate choice of this Convention. And, Mr. President —

Mr. PETTIBONE, of Tennessee. *Mr. President:* In the name of three-quarters of a million of the old soldiers of the Republic, who did not stay at home, but went to the front, and in the name of 30,000 ex-Confederate soldiers of Tennessee, we all of us rejoice in the name of Black Jack Logan.

Mr. LEE, of South Carolina [who had been interrupted by Mr. Pettibone]. Tennessee is so nearly allied to us that she feels at liberty to take any privilege she sees a chance to take with us. We accord it freely to her. Mr. President, I shall not move to strike out the gentleman's remarks, for he and I, away from the close relations that our States bear to each other, are closely allied as individuals, until I am always proud to be connected with him in any way.

And I wish to say also, briefly, that South Carolina gave the first volunteer to the United States navy, in the person of the hero, Robert Smalls, who carried the Planter out of the harbor of Charleston, and brought her over and delivered her up to the Federal navy. The people in South Carolina will go to the polls if John A. Logan is upon the ticket with the brilliant genius, James G. Blaine, and will go there at any risk, as they have done before; and no name connected with James G. Blaine will create such enthusiasm in South Carolina as the name of John A. Logan.

Mr. FRANK MOREY, of Louisiana. At the request of the solid delegation of more than one Southern State besides the State of Louisiana, I rise to second the nomination of Gen. John A. Logan. Mr. President, in 1861, when I left my prairie home in Illinois to assist in fighting the battles of the Union, it was my good fortune to be under the command of Gen. John A. Logan in our march from the Ohio river on our way to the gulf. At the conclusion of the war and after peace had settled upon the country, and when a fighting constituency had sent me from my new home in Louisiana to the halls of Congress,

my first committee work was done on the Committee of Military Affairs, of which Gen. John A. Logan was the Chairman.

Mr. President, I know him well, and I love him with my whole heart. I have watched his career as a statesman, and on all public questions he has been almost invariably right; and upon all questions touching the protection of the lives and the liberties, particularly the political and civil rights of Republicans, both white and black, in the South, he has been always right.

And, sir, the Republicans of the South will feel, in the election of Gen. John A. Logan as Vice-President, that they will always have a true friend and a tried counselor, having the confidence of the chief Executive of the Nation. It will give renewed courage to the saddened hearts of Southern Republicans now fighting the unequal battle of Republicanism in the South. Gen. Logan is the grand development of the brave, generous and courageous sentiment of the Mississippi valley. He combines, by his glorious manhood, the bravery of the true and gallant soldier and the ability of the eminent statesman. Every element of his character is that of a true American; and his nomination as Vice-President, with James G. Blaine, will electrify the patriotic sentiment of the loyal people of this country, and will be the cap-stone to the magnificent work begun and achieved by this Convention.

Mr. HILL, of Mississippi. I suggest that we proceed to nominate Gen. Logan by acclamation, and let us go to bed, and have the other speeches printed, and we can read them in the morning.

Mr. BLAIR, of Virginia. By request of Gen. Mahone, the Chairman of the Virginia delegation itself, and inasmuch as Senator Mahone is not able to be here to-night, by reason of physical disability, I am here to represent in this Convention, not those Union soldiers that followed Gen. John A. Logan in the last contest, but I am here as a member of the Republican Virginia delegation, that represents in Virginia 30,000 ex-Confederate soldiers, that have come to the rescue of the Republic. I was a Confederate soldier myself for four years, as were many of the delegation with whom I am now associated, and I serve notice upon these Northern Republicans that they must look well to their laurels, because in old Virginia we have erected the standard of Republicanism, and in the vocabulary of Virginia liberalism "there's no such word as fail." And that, with the handful of ex-Confederate soldiers and Virginians who have raised the revolt against Democratic outrage, we have grown with their growth and strengthened with their strength, until to-day we have 127,000 that will vote for James G. Blaine and John A. Logan as President and Vice-President of the United States. I, therefore, in behalf of the Virginia delegation, rise to second the nomination of John A. Logan, and move that the nomination be made unanimous.

Mr. PACKARD, of New York. I rise to move, as a substitute, that the roll be called, and each State name its choice in the regular order of business.

Mr. HOWE, of Nebraska. I now renew my motion that the rules be suspended, and Gen. John A. Logan be declared the nominee of this Convention for Vice-President.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

Gen. J. S. ROBINSON, of Ohio. *Mr. President:* In behalf of the Repub-

licans of Ohio, I desire to second this nomination. I followed Gen. Logan on many a hard-fought field, and he never in any instance failed to respond to the sound of the enemy's musketry. I therefore move to suspend the rules, and nominate Gen. Logan by acclamation. [Great confusion, many delegates asking for the floor. Cries of "Second the nomination."]

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved and seconded that the rules be suspended.

Mr. ROBINSON. *Mr. President:* I insist upon my motion, which has been seconded by several delegations, to suspend the rules, and nominate Gen. Logan by acclamation.

The PRESIDENT. Well, if you will be still. I am putting your motion.

Mr. ROBINSON. That we nominate Gen. Logan by acclamation.

The PRESIDENT. It is moved that the rules be suspended, and that Gen. Logan be nominated by acclamation.

The motion was carried almost unanimously.

Mr. LAMPSON, of Ohio. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* The Nineteenth District of Ohio, the banner district of the Union, which was so long and so ably represented in the National Congress by that grand statesman and civilian whom the last Republican National Convention delighted to honor with the highest position in the gift of the Republican party, promises 20,000 Republican majority for the bosom friend of our martyred Garfield, James G. Blaine, of Maine, and the grand old soldier, John A. Logan, of Illinois.

Mr. SPOONER, of New York. I have a resolution which I desire to offer.

Mr. MCKINLEY, of Ohio. Following the usual order of National Conventions, I move you that a committee be appointed to advise the nominees of this Convention of its action.

Mr. ROOTS, of Arkansas. I second the motion.

Mr. MCKINLEY. Of which the President of this Convention shall be Chairman.

The motion was adopted.

The SECRETARY. I desire to announce that the National Committee will meet on the stage immediately after the adjournment of the Convention to-night.

Mr. DAVIS, of Illinois. *Mr. President:* on behalf of the State of Illinois I insist that the roll shall be called at the request of our delegates, on the nomination of Vice-President.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll.

When the State of Massachusetts was reached, Mr. Crapo announced the votes as nine for Logan, and three for Fairchild, of Wisconsin.

After the next State had been called,

Mr. CRAPO arose and said: I desire to announce again the vote of Massachusetts. I desire to have Massachusetts called again. We vote twelve for Logan, being the entire vote that is present.

When New York was called,

Mr. CURTIS said: I desire that New York be allowed a little time to complete her tally. New York is not quite ready to report her vote. I ask a little time be given her to complete the count.

Mr. HUSTED, of New York. *Mr. President:* I ask that the rule may be suspended so that the other States may be called, and New York called afterward. I ask unanimous consent.

The PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered without objection.

When the District of Columbia was reached,

Mr. CONGER said: *Mr. President:* I have asked my colleague to name his vote, and he has refused to do so. I cast my vote for John A. Logan.

Mr. CARSON. *Mr. President:* This is the first time the gentleman has agreed with me. I cast my vote for John A. Logan.

At the end of the roll call, New York was again called upon, and announced her vote.

THE BALLOT FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

Whole number of delegates	820
Necessary to a choice	411
Whole number of votes cast	780
John A. Logan	773
W. Q. Gresham	6
J. B. Foraker	1

The vote by States and Territories was as follows :

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF VOTES.	LOGAN.	GRESHAM.	FORAKER.
Alabama	20	20	-----	-----
Arkansas	14	14	-----	-----
California	16	16	-----	-----
Colorado	6	6	-----	-----
Connecticut	12	5	-----	-----
Delaware	6	6	-----	-----
Florida	8	8	-----	-----
Georgia	24	24	-----	-----
Illinois	44	44	-----	-----
Indiana	30	30	-----	-----
Iowa	26	26	-----	-----
Kansas	18	18	-----	-----
Kentucky	26	26	-----	-----

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF VOTES.	LOGAN.	GRESHAM.	FORAKER.
Louisiana.....	16	16	.....	.....
Maine.....	12	12	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	16	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	28	12	.....	.....
Michigan.....	26	26	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	14	14	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	18	18	.....	.....
Missouri.....	32	30	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	10	10	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	6	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	8	8	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	18	.....	.....
New York.....	72	60	6	1
North Carolina.....	22	22	.....	.....
Ohio.....	46	46	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	6	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	60	59	.....	.....
Rhode Island.....	8	8	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	18	18	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	24	.....	.....
Texas.....	26	26	.....	.....
Vermont.....	8	8	.....	.....
Virginia.....	24	24	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	12	12	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	22	19	.....	.....
Arizona.....	2	2	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	2	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	2	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	2	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	2	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	2	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	2	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	2	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	2	.....	.....
Totals.....	820	773	6	1

The PRESIDENT. The question now is, Shall the nomination be made unanimous?

The motion was carried unanimously.

MR. HUSTED, of New York. *Mr. President*: I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be and they are hereby tendered to the late National Republican Committee for the excellent provision made for the Convention; to the citizens of Chicago for the cordial hospitality extended to our members; to the Hon. John B. Henderson, President, for his uniform and unfailing courtesy and efficiency in presiding over our deliberations; and to the attendants on the Convention for their fidelity to their respective trusts.

The resolution was adopted.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair announces to the Convention that it will select the members of the committee to announce the nominations to the respective gentlemen nominated to-night, and will publish the names to-morrow morning.

Mr. HAMILTON, of Illinois. *Mr. President:* I have offered a resolution which I have sent to the desk.

The PRESIDENT. There is no resolution here.

Mr. HAMILTON. I will then state it verbally. I move that the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the Sergeant-at-arms, Colonel Sexton, and the members of the Union Veteran Club of Chicago, for their valuable assistance during this Convention.

The motion was carried.

Mr. TAYLOR, of Illinois. I desire to ask for information. Has the resolution been passed appointing a committee to notify the candidates of their nomination?

The PRESIDENT. It has been done.

Mr. SPOONER, of New York. *Mr. President:* I ask that my resolution in the hands of the Secretary be read.

Amid the great confusion prevailing, a motion to adjourn *sine die* was made and carried, and the Convention, at 9:45 p. m., June 6th, was declared adjourned *sine die*.

COMMITTEE OF NOTIFICATION.

The President of the Convention, in conformity with the resolution adopted at the last session of the Convention, appointed the following-named gentlemen as the committee charged with the duty of notifying Mr. Blaine and Gen. Logan of their respective nominations:

JOHN B. HENDERSON, Missouri, *Chairman*.

Alabama	George Turner.
Arkansas	Logan H. Roots.
California.....	Charles F. Crocker.
Colorado.....	S. H. Elbert.
Connecticut	Samuel Fessenden.
Delaware	Washington Hastings.
Florida	W. G. Stewart.
Georgia	C. D. Forsyth.
Illinois	George R. Davis.
Indiana	John H. Baker.
Iowa	N. M. Hubbard.

Kansas	Henry E. Insley.
Kentucky	W. C. Goodloe.
Louisiana	W. B. Merchant.
Maine	J. Manchester Haynes.
Maryland	J. McPherson Scott.
Massachusetts	Jesse M. Gove.
Michigan	Julius C. Burrows.
Minnesota	Cushman K. Davis.
Mississippi	John R. Lynch.
Missouri	Chauncey I. Filley.
Nebraska	Church Howe.
Nevada	M. D. Foley.
New Hampshire	Edward H. Rollins.
New Jersey	William Walter Phelps.
New York	Andrew D. White.
North Carolina	Patrick H. Winston, Jr.
Ohio	John B. Foraker.
Oregon	O. N. Denny.
Pennsylvania	Galusha A. Grow.
Rhode Island	Daniel G. Littlefield.
South Carolina	Samuel Lee.
Tennessee	J. C. Napier.
Texas	N. W. Cuney.
Vermont	Frederick Billings.
Virginia	Samuel M. Yost.
West Virginia	Arnold C. Sherr.
Wisconsin	E. W. Keyes.
Arizona	A. H. Stebbins.
Dakota	J. L. Jolly.
District of Columbia	P. H. Carson.
Idaho	W. N. Shilling.
Montana	Lee Mantle.
New Mexico	W. H. H. Llewellyn.
Utah	Nathan Kimball.
Washington	George D. Hill.
Wyoming	J. W. Meldrum.

CHAS. W. CLISBEE, Michigan, *Secretary*.

THE NOTIFICATION TO MR. BLAINE.

The committee appointed by the National Republican Convention, to notify Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE of the action of the Convention, performed that duty on Saturday, June 21st, 1884, at Augusta, Maine, the shady lawn in front of the Blaine homestead being chosen as the scene of the ceremonial. When all the preliminaries had been arranged, General HENDERSON, of Missouri, stepped forward and presented the address of the committee, as follows :

Mr. Blaine: Your nomination for the office of President of the United States, by the National Republican Convention recently assembled in Chicago, is already known to you. The gentlemen before you, constituting a committee composed of one member from each State and Territory of the country, and one from the District of Columbia, now come as the accredited organ of that Convention, to give you formal notice of the nomination and to request your acceptance thereof.

It is, of course, known to you, that besides your own, several names, among the most honored in the councils of the Republican party, were presented by their friends as candidates for this office. Between your friends and the friends of gentlemen so justly entitled to the respect and confidence of their political associates, the contest was one of generous rivalry, free from any taint of bitterness, and equally free from the reproach of injustice. At an early stage of the proceedings of the Convention, it became manifest that the Republican States, whose aid must be invoked at last to insure success to the ticket, earnestly desired your nomination. It was equally manifest that this desire, so earnestly expressed by the delegates from these States, was but the truthful reflection of an irresistible popular demand. It was not thought, nor pretended, that this demand had its origin in any ambitious desires of your own, or in the organized work of your friends, but it was recognized to be what it truthfully is—the spontaneous expression by a free people of their love and admiration of a chosen leader.

No nomination would have given satisfaction to all the members of the party. This was not to be expected in a country so extended in area and so varied in interests. The nomination of Mr. Lincoln, in 1860, disappointed so many fond hopes and overthrew so many cherished ambitions, that for a short time the disaffection threatened to ripen into open revolt. In 1872, the discontent was so pronounced as to impel large masses of the party into organized opposition to its nominees. For many weeks after the nomination of Gen. Garfield, in 1880, defeat seemed almost inevitable. Fortunately, in each case the shock of disappointment was followed by the sober second thought. Individual preferences gradually yielded to convictions of public duty. The promptings of patriotism finally rose superior to the irritations and animosities of the hour. Indeed, the party in every trial has grown stronger in the face of threatened danger.

In tendering you this nomination, it gives us pleasure to remember that those great measures which furnished causes for party congratulation by the late Convention at Chicago, and which are now crystallized into the legislation of the country—measures which have strengthened and dignified the Nation, while they have elevated and advanced the people—have, at all times and on all proper occasions, received your earnest and valuable support. It was your good fortune to aid in protecting the Nation against the assaults of armed treason; you were present and helped to unloose the shackles of the slave; you assisted in placing the new guarantees of freedom in the Federal Constitution; your voice was potent in preserving the National faith; when false theories of finance would have blasted National and individual prosperity, we kindly remember you as the fast friend of honest money and commercial integ-

city. In all that pertains to the security and repose of capital, the dignity of labor, the manhood, elevation and freedom of the people, the right of the oppressed to demand, and the duty of the government to afford, protection, your public acts have received the unqualified indorsement of popular approval.

But we are not unmindful of the fact that parties, like individuals, can not live entirely on the past, however splendid the record. The present is ever charged with its immediate cares, and the future presses on with its new duties and its perplexing responsibilities. Parties, like individuals, however, that are free from the stain of violated faith in the past, are fairly entitled to presumptions of sincerity in their promises for the future.

Among the promises made by the party in its late Convention at Chicago, are: Purity and economy of administration; protection of the citizen, native and naturalized, at home and abroad; the prompt restoration of our navy; a wise reduction of the surplus revenues, relieving the tax-payer without injuring the laborer; the preservation of the public lands for actual settlers; import duties, when necessary at all, to be levied not for revenue only, but for the double purpose of revenue *and* protection; regulation of internal commerce by the National Congress; settlement of international differences by peaceful arbitration, but coupled with the reassertion and maintenance of the Monroe doctrine as interpreted by the fathers of the Republic; perseverance in the good work of civil service reform, "to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided:" honest currency based on coin of intrinsic value, adding strength to the public credit, and giving renewed vitality to every branch of American industry.

Mr. Blaine: During the last twenty-three years the Republican party has boulded a new Republic—a Republic far more splendid than that originally designed by our fathers. Its proportions, already grand, may yet be enlarged; its foundations may yet be strengthened, and its columns adorned with a beauty more resplendent still. To you, as its architect-in-chief, will soon be assigned this grateful work.

To which Mr. Blaine replied as follows:

"MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE: I receive, not without deep sensibility, your official notice of the action of the National Convention, already brought to my knowledge through the public press. I appreciate, more profoundly than I can express, the honor which is implied in the nomination for the Presidency by the Republican party of the Nation, speaking through the authoritative voice of its duly accredited delegates. To be selected as a candidate by such an assemblage, from the list of eminent statesmen whose names were presented, fills me with embarrassment. I can only express my gratitude for so signal an honor, and my desire to prove worthy of the great trust reposed in me.

"In accepting the nomination, as I now do, I am impressed, I might almost say oppressed, with a sense of the labor and responsibility which attach to my position. The burden is lightened, however, by the host of earnest men

who support my candidacy, many of whom add, as does your honorable committee, the cheer of personal friendship to the pledge of political fealty. A more formal acceptance will naturally be expected, and will in due season be communicated. It may, however, not be inappropriate at this time to say that I have already made a careful study of the principles announced by the National Convention, and in whole and in detail they have my heartiest sympathy and meet my unqualified approval.

"Apart from your official errand, gentlemen, I am extremely happy to welcome you all to my home. With many of you I have already shared the duties of the public service, and have enjoyed the most cordial friendship. I trust your journey from all parts of the great Republic has been agreeable, and that during your stay in Maine you will feel that you are not among strangers, but among friends. Invoking the blessing of God upon the great cause which we jointly represent, let us turn to the future without fear, and with manly hearts."

At the conclusion of Mr. Blaine's reply, the members of the committee were introduced to him individually, and an hour was spent in social and informal converse. The members of the committee were then entertained at lunch. At 1 o'clock they left for Portland.

THE NOTIFICATION TO JOHN A. LOGAN.

WASHINGTON, June 24, 1884.

Chairman J. B. Henderson, and the members of the committee charged by the Republican National Convention with the duty of formally informing the candidates for President and Vice-President of their nomination, met at Washington, D. C., June 24th, 1884, to present the formal address to General Logan. General Henderson then addressed General Logan as follows :

Senator Logan : The gentlemen present constitute a committee of the Republican Convention recently assembled at Chicago, charged with the duty of communicating to you the formal notice of your nomination by that Convention as a candidate for Vice-President of the United States. You are not unaware of the fact that your name was presented to the Convention and urged by a large number of the delegates as a candidate for President. So soon, however, as it became apparent that Mr. Blaine, your colleague on the ticket, was the choice of the party for that high office, your friends, with those of other competitors, promptly yielded their preferences to this manifest wish of the majority.

In tendering you this nomination, we are able to assure you it was made without opposition, and with an enthusiasm seldom witnessed in the history of nominating conventions. We are gratified to know, that in a career of great usefulness and distinction you have most efficiently aided in the enactment of those measures of legislation and of constitutional reform in which the Convention found special cause for party congratulation. The principles enunciated in the platform adopted will be recognized by you as the same which have

so long governed and controlled your political conduct. The pledges made by the party find guarantee of performance in the fidelity with which you have heretofore discharged every trust confided to your keeping.

In your election, the people of this country will furnish new proof of the excellence of our institutions. Without wealth, without help from others, without *any* resources except those of heart, conscience, intellect, energy, and courage, you have won a high place in the world's history, and secured the confidence and affections of your countrymen. Being one of the people, your sympathies are with the people. In civil life your chief care has been to better their condition, to secure their rights, and perpetuate their liberties. When the Government was threatened by armed treason, you entered its service as a private, became a commander of armies, and are now the idol of the citizen soldiers of the Republic. Such, in the judgment of your party, is the candidate it has selected, and, in behalf of that party, we ask you to accept its nomination.

To which Gen. Logan replied :

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Committee: I receive your visit with pleasure, and accept with gratitude the sentiments you have so generously expressed in discharge of the duty with which you have been intrusted by the National Republican Convention. Intending to address you a formal communication shortly, in accordance with recognized usage, it would be out of place to detain you at this time with remarks which properly belong to the official utterances of a letter of acceptance. I may be permitted to say, however, that, though I did not seek the nomination of Vice-President, I accept it as a trust reposed in me by the Republican party, to the advancement of whose broad policy upon all questions connected with the progress of our Government and of our people I have dedicated my best energies, and with this acceptance I may properly signify my approval of the platform of principles adopted by the Convention. I am deeply sensible of the honor conferred upon me by my friends in so unanimously tendering this nomination, and I sincerely thank them for this tribute. I am not unmindful of the great responsibility attaching to the office, and if elected I shall enter upon the performance of its duties with the firm conviction that he who has such unanimous support of his party friends, as the circumstances connected with the nomination and your own words, Mr. Chairman, indicate, and consequently such wealth of counsel to draw upon, can not fail in a proper discharge of the duties committed to him. I tender to you my thanks, Mr. Chairman, for the kind expressions you have made, and I offer you and your fellow-committeemen my most cordial greetings.

MR. BLAINE'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

AUGUSTA, ME., July 15, 1884.

The Hon. John B. Henderson and others of the Committee, etc., etc.

GENTLEMEN: In accepting the nomination for the Presidency tendered me by the Republican National Convention, I beg to express a deep sense of the honor which is conferred and of the duty which is imposed. I venture to accompany the acceptance with some observations upon the questions involved in the contest—questions whose settlement may affect the future of the Nation favorably or unfavorably for a long series of years.

In enumerating the issues upon which the Republican party appeals for popular support the Convention has been singularly explicit and felicitous. It has properly given the leading position to the industrial interests of the country as affected by the tariff on imports. On that question the two political parties are radically in conflict. Almost the first act of the Republicans, when they came into power in 1861, was the establishment of the principle of protection to American labor and to American capital. This principle the Republican party has ever since steadily maintained, while on the other hand the Democratic party in Congress has for fifty years persistently warred upon it. Twice within that period our opponents have destroyed tariffs arranged for protection, and since the close of the Civil War, whenever they have controlled the House of Representatives, hostile legislation has been attempted—never more conspicuously than in their principal measure at the late session of Congress.

Revenue laws are in their very nature subject to frequent revision in order that they may be adapted to changes and modifications of trade. The Republican party is not contending for the permanency of any particular statute. The issue between the two parties does not have reference to a specific law. It is far broader and far deeper. It involves a principle of wide application and beneficent influence, against a theory which we believe to be unsound in conception and inevitably hurtful in practice. In the many tariff revisions which have been necessary for the past twenty-three years, or which may hereafter become necessary, the Republican party has maintained and will maintain the policy of protection to American industry, while our opponents insist upon a revision which practically destroys that policy. The issue is thus distinct, well defined, and unavoidable. The pending election may determine the fate of protection for a generation. The overthrow of the policy means a large and permanent reduction in the wages of the American laborer, besides involving the loss of vast amounts of American capital invested in manufacturing enterprises. The value of the present revenue system to the people of the United States is not a matter of theory, and I shall submit no argument to sustain it. I only invite attention to certain facts of official record which seem to constitute a demonstration.

In the census of 1850 an effort was made for the first time in our history to obtain a valuation of all the property in the United States. The attempt was in large degree unsuccessful. Partly from lack of time, partly from prejudice among many who thought the inquiries foreshadowed a new scheme

of taxation, the returns were incomplete and unsatisfactory. Little more was done than to consolidate the local valuation used in the States for purposes of assessment, and that, as every one knows, differs widely from a complete exhibit of all the property.

In the census of 1860, however, the work was done with great thoroughness—the distinction between “assessed” value and “true” value being carefully observed. The grand result was that the “true value” of all the property in the States and Territories (excluding slaves) amounted to fourteen thousand millions of dollars (\$14,000,000,000). This aggregate was the net result of the labor and the savings of all the people within the area of the United States from the time the first British colonist landed in 1607 down to the year 1860. It represented the fruit of the toil of 250 years.

After 1860 the business of the country was encouraged and developed by a protective tariff. At the end of twenty years the total property of the United States, as returned by the census of 1880, amounted to the enormous aggregate of forty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$44,000,000,000). This great result was attained, notwithstanding the fact that countless millions had in the interval been wasted in the progress of a bloody war. It thus appears, that while our population between 1860 and 1880 increased 60 per cent., the aggregate property of the country increased 214 per cent., showing a vastly enhanced wealth *per capita* among the people. Thirty thousand millions of dollars (\$30,000,000,000) had been added during these twenty years to the permanent wealth of the Nation.

These results are regarded by the older nations of the world as phenomenal. That our country should surmount the peril and the cost of a gigantic war, and for an entire period of twenty years make an average gain to its wealth of \$125,000,000 per month, surpasses the experience of all other nations, ancient or modern. Even the opponents of the present revenue system do not pretend that in the whole history of civilization any parallel can be found to the material progress of the United States since the accession of the Republican party to power.

The period between 1860 and to-day has not been one of material prosperity only. At no time in the history of the United States has there been such progress in the moral and philanthropic field. Religious and charitable institutions, schools, seminaries, and colleges, have been founded and endowed far more generously than at any previous time in our history. Greater and more varied relief has been extended to human suffering, and the entire progress of the country in wealth has been accompanied and dignified by a broadening and elevation of our National character as a people.

Our opponents find fault that our revenue system produces a surplus. But they should not forget that the law has given a specific purpose to which all of the surplus is profitably and honorably applied—the reduction of the public debt and the consequent relief of the burden of taxation. No dollar has been wasted, and the only extravagance with which the party stands charged, is the generous pensioning of soldiers, sailors, and their families—an extravagance which embodies the highest form of justice in the recognition and payment of a sacred debt. When reduction of taxation is to be made, the Republican party

can be trusted to accomplish it in such form as will most effectively aid the industries of the Nation.

A frequent accusation by our opponents is that the foreign commerce of the country has steadily decayed under the influence of the protective tariff. In this way they seek to array the importing interests against the Republican party. It is a common and yet radical error to confound the commerce of the country with its carrying trade—an error often committed innocently and sometimes designedly—but an error so gross that it does not distinguish between the ship and the cargo. Foreign commerce represents the exports and imports of a country, regardless of the nationality of the vessel that may carry the commodities of exchange. Our carrying trade has from obvious causes suffered many discouragements since 1860, but our foreign commerce has in the same period steadily and prodigiously increased—increased, indeed, at a rate and to an amount which absolutely dwarf all previous developments of our trade beyond the sea. From 1860 to the present time the foreign commerce of the United States (divided with approximate equality between exports and imports) reached the astounding aggregate of twenty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$24,000,000,000). The balance in this vast commerce inclined in our favor, but it would have been much larger if our trade with the countries of America—elsewhere referred to—had been more wisely adjusted.

It is difficult even to appreciate the magnitude of our export trade since 1860, and we can gain a correct conception of it only by comparison with preceding results in the same field. The total exports from the United States from the Declaration of Independence in 1776 down to the day of Lincoln's election in 1860, added to all that had previously been exported from the American Colonies from their original settlement, amounted to less than nine thousand millions of dollars (\$9,000,000,000). On the other hand, our exports from 1860 to the close of the last fiscal year exceeded twelve thousand millions of dollars \$12,000,000,000—the whole of it being the product of American labor. Evidently a protective tariff has not injured our export trade, when, under its influence, we exported in twenty-four years 40 per cent. more than the total amount that had been exported in the entire previous history of American commerce. All the details, when analyzed, correspond with this gigantic result. The commercial cities of the Union never had such growth as they have enjoyed since 1860. Our chief emporium, the City of New York, with its dependencies, has within that period doubled her population and increased her wealth fivefold. During the same period the imports and exports which have entered and left her harbor are more than double in bulk and value the whole amount imported and exported by her between the settlement of the first Dutch colony on the Island of Manhattan and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1860.

The agricultural interest is by far the largest in the Nation, and is entitled in every adjustment of revenue laws to the first consideration. Any policy hostile to the fullest development of agriculture in the United States must be abandoned. Realizing this fact, the opponents of the present system of revenue have labored very earnestly to persuade the farmers of the United States that they are robbed by a protective tariff, and the effort is thus made to consolidate

their vast influence in favor of free trade. But, happily, the farmers of America are intelligent, and can not be misled by sophistry when conclusive facts are before them. They see plainly that, during the past twenty-four years, wealth has not been acquired in one section or by one interest at the expense of another section or another interest. They see that the agricultural States have made even more rapid progress than the manufacturing States.

The farmers see that in 1860 Massachusetts and Illinois had about the same wealth—between \$800,000,000 and \$900,000,000 each—and that in 1880 Massachusetts had advanced to \$2,600,000,000, while Illinois had advanced to \$3,200,000,000. They see that New Jersey and Iowa were just equal in population in 1860, and that in twenty years the wealth of New Jersey was increased by the sum of \$850,000,000, while the wealth of Iowa was increased by the sum of \$1,500,000,000. They see that the nine leading agricultural States of the West had grown so rapidly in prosperity that the aggregate addition to their wealth since 1860 is almost as great as the wealth of the entire country in that year. They see that the South, which is almost exclusively agricultural, has shared in the general prosperity, and that, having recovered from the loss and devastation of war, it has gained so rapidly that its total wealth is at least the double of that which it possessed in 1860, exclusive of slaves.

In these extraordinary developments the farmers see the helpful impulse of a home market, and they see that the financial and revenue system, enacted since the Republican party came into power, has established and constantly expanded the home market. They see that even in the case of wheat, which is our chief cereal export, they have sold, in the average of the years since the close of the war, three bushels at home to one they have sold abroad, and that in the case of corn, the only other cereal which we export to any extent, 100 bushels have been used at home to three and a half bushels exported. In some years the disparity has been so great that for every peck of corn exported 100 bushels have been consumed in the home market. The farmers see that, in the increasing competition from the grain-fields of Russia and from the distant plains of India, the growth of the home market becomes daily of greater concern to them, and that its impairment would depreciate the value of every acre of tillable land in the Union.

Such facts as these, touching the growth and consumption of cereals at home, give us some slight conception of the vastness of the internal commerce of the United States. They suggest also, that, in addition to the advantages which the American people enjoy from protection against foreign competition, they enjoy the advantages of absolute free trade over a larger area and with a greater population than any other nation. The internal commerce of our thirty-eight States and nine Territories is carried on without let or hindrance, without tax, detention, or governmental interference of any kind whatever. It spreads freely over an area of three and a half million square miles—almost equal in extent to the whole continent of Europe. Its profits are enjoyed to-day by 56,000,000 of American freemen, and from this enjoyment no monopoly is created. According to Alexander Hamilton, when he discussed the same subject in 1790, "the internal competition which takes place does away with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the prices of articles to the minimum of

a reasonable profit on the capital employed." It is impossible to point to a single monopoly in the United States that has been created or fostered by the industrial system which is upheld by the Republican party.

Compared with our foreign commerce, these domestic exchanges are inconceivably great in amount—requiring merely as one instrumentality as large a mileage of railway as exists to-day in all the other nations of the world combined. These internal exchanges are estimated by the Statistical Bureau of the Treasury Department to be annually twenty times as great in amount as our foreign commerce. It is into this vast field of home trade—at once the creation and the heritage of the American people—that foreign nations are striving by every device to enter. It is into this field that the opponents of our present revenue system would freely admit the countries of Europe—countries into whose internal trade we could not reciprocally enter; countries to which we should be surrendering every advantage of trade; from which we should be gaining nothing in return.

A policy of this kind would be disastrous to the mechanics and workingmen of the United States. Wages are unjustly reduced when an industrious man is not able by his earnings to live in comfort, educate his children, and lay by a sufficient amount for the necessities of age. The reduction of wages inevitably consequent upon throwing our home market open to the world would deprive them of the power to do this. It would prove a great calamity to our country. It would produce a conflict between the poor and the rich, and in the sorrowful degradation of labor would plant the seeds of public danger.

The Republican party has steadily aimed to maintain just relations between labor and capital, guarding with care the rights of each. A conflict between the two has always led in the past and will always lead in the future to the injury of both. Labor is indispensable to the creation and profitable use of capital, and capital increases the efficiency and value of labor. Whoever arrays the one against the other is an enemy of both. That policy is wisest and best which harmonizes the two on the basis of absolute justice. The Republican party has protected the free labor of America so that its compensation is larger than is realized in any other country. It has guarded our people against the unfair competition of contract labor from China, and may be called upon to prohibit the growth of a similar evil from Europe. It is obviously unfair to permit capitalists to make contracts for cheap labor in foreign countries to the hurt and disparagement of the labor of American citizens. Such a policy (like that which would leave the time and other conditions of home labor exclusively in the control of the employer) is injurious to all parties—not the least so to the unhappy persons who are made the subjects of the contract. The institutions of the United States rest upon the intelligence and virtue of all the people. Suffrage is made universal as a just weapon of self-protection to every citizen. It is not the interest of the Republic that any economic system should be adopted which involves the reduction of wages to the hard standard prevailing elsewhere. The Republican party aims to elevate and dignify labor—not to degrade it.

As a substitute for the industrial system which, under Republican Administrations, has developed such extraordinary prosperity, our opponents offer a

policy which is but a series of experiments upon our system of revenue—a policy whose end must be harm to our manufactures and greater harm to our labor. Experiment in the industrial and financial system is the country's greatest dread, as stability is its greatest boon. Even the uncertainty resulting from the recent tariff agitation in Congress has hurtfully affected the business of the entire country. Who can measure the harm to our shops and our homes, to our farms and our commerce, if the uncertainty of perpetual tariff agitation is to be inflicted upon the country? We are in the midst of an abundant harvest; we are on the eve of a revival of general prosperity. Nothing stands in our way but the dread of a change in the industrial system which has wrought such wonders in the last twenty years, and which, with the power of increased capital, will work still greater marvels of prosperity in the twenty years to come.

Our foreign relations favor our domestic development. We are at peace with the world—at peace upon a sound basis, with no unsettled questions of sufficient magnitude to embarrass or distract us. Happily removed by our geographical position from participation or interest in those questions of dynasty or boundary which so frequently disturb the peace of Europe, we are left to cultivate friendly relations with all, and are free from possible entanglements in the quarrels of any. The United States has no cause and no desire to engage in conflict with any Power on earth, and we may rest in assured confidence that no Power desires to attack the United States.

With the nations of the Western Hemisphere we should cultivate closer relations, and for our common prosperity and advancement we should invite them all to join with us in an agreement, that, for the future, all international troubles in North or South America shall be adjusted by impartial arbitration, and not by arms. This project was part of the fixed policy of President Garfield's administration, and it should, in my judgment, be renewed. Its accomplishment on this continent would favorably affect the nations beyond the sea, and thus powerfully contribute at no distant day to the universal acceptance of the philanthropic and Christian principle of arbitration. The effect even of suggesting it for the Spanish-American States has been most happy, and has increased the confidence of those people in our friendly disposition. It fell to my lot as Secretary of State, in June, 1881, to quiet apprehension in the Republic of Mexico by giving the assurance, in an official dispatch, that "there is not the faintest desire in the United States for territorial extension south of the Rio Grande. The boundaries of the two Republics have been established in conformity with the best jurisdictional interests of both. The line of demarkation is not merely conventional. It is more. It separates a Spanish-American people from a Saxon-American people. It divides one great Nation from another with distinct and natural finality."

We seek the conquests of peace. We desire to extend our commerce, and in an especial degree with our friends and neighbors on this continent. We have not improved our relations with Spanish America as wisely and as persistently as we might have done. For more than a generation the sympathy of those countries has been allowed to drift away from us. We should now make every effort to gain their friendship. Our trade with them is already

large. During the last year our exchanges in the Western Hemisphere amounted to \$350,000,000—nearly one-fourth of our entire foreign commerce. To those who may be disposed to underrate the value of our trade with the countries of North and South America it may be well to state that their population is nearly or quite 50,000,000, and that, in proportion to aggregate numbers, we import, nearly double as much from them as we do from Europe. But the result of the whole American trade is in a high degree unsatisfactory. The imports during the past year exceeded \$225,000,000, while the exports were less than \$125,000,000—showing a balance against us of more than \$100,000,000. But the money does not go to Spanish America. We send large sums to Europe in coin or its equivalent to pay European manufacturers for the goods which they send to Spanish America. We are but paymasters for this enormous amount annually to European factors—an amount which is a serious draft, in every financial depression, upon our resources of specie.

Can not this condition of trade in great part be changed? Can not the market for our products be greatly enlarged? We have made a beginning in our effort to improve our trade relations with Mexico, and we should not be content until similar and mutually advantageous arrangements have been successively made with every nation of North and South America. While the great Powers of Europe are steadily enlarging their colonial domination in Asia and Africa, it is the especial province of this country to improve and expand its trade with the nations of America. No field promises so much. No field has been cultivated so little. Our foreign policy should be an American policy in its broadest and most comprehensive sense—a policy of peace, of friendship, of commercial enlargement.

The name of *American*, which belongs to us in our National capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism. Citizenship of the Republic must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it. The American citizen, rich or poor, native or naturalized, white or colored, must everywhere walk secure in his personal and civil rights. The Republic should never accept a lesser duty, it can never assume a nobler one, than the protection of the humblest man who owes it loyalty—protection at home, and protection which shall follow him abroad into whatever land he may go upon a lawful errand.

I recognize, not without regret, the necessity for speaking of two sections of our common country. But the regret diminishes when I see that the elements which separated them are fast disappearing. Prejudices have yielded and are yielding, while a growing cordiality warms the Southern and the Northern heart alike. Can any one doubt that between the sections confidence and esteem are to-day more marked than at any period in the sixty years preceding the election of President Lincoln? This is the result in part of time and in part of Republican principles applied under the favorable conditions of uniformity. It would be a great calamity to change these influences under which Southern Commonwealths are learning to vindicate civil rights, and adapting themselves to the conditions of political tranquillity and industrial progress. If there be occasional and violent outbreaks in the South against this peaceful progress, the public opinion of the country regards them as exceptional, and hopefully trusts that each will prove the last.

The South needs capital and occupation, not controversy. As much as any part of the North the South needs the full protection of the revenue laws which the Republican party offers. Some of the Southern States have already entered upon a career of industrial development and prosperity. These at least should not lend their electoral votes to destroy their own future.

Any effort to unite the Southern States upon issues that grow out of the memories of the war will summon the Northern States to combine in the assertion of that Nationality which was their inspiration in the civil struggle. And thus great energies which should be united in a common industrial development will be wasted in hurtful strife. The Democratic party shows itself a foe to Southern prosperity by always invoking and urging Southern political consolidation. Such a policy quenches the rising instinct of patriotism in the heart of the Southern youth; it revives and stimulates prejudice; it substitutes the spirit of barbaric vengeance for the love of peace, progress and harmony.

The general character of the Civil Service of the United States under all administrations has been honorable. In the one supreme test—the collection and disbursement of revenue—the record of fidelity has never been surpassed in any Nation. With the almost fabulous sums which were received and paid during the late war, scrupulous integrity was the prevailing rule. Indeed, throughout that trying period it can be said, to the honor of the American name, that unfaithfulness and dishonesty among civil officers were as rare as misconduct and cowardice on the field of battle.

The growth of the country has continually and necessarily enlarged the Civil Service, until now it includes a vast body of officers. Rules and methods of appointment which prevailed when the number was smaller, have been found insufficient and impracticable, and earnest efforts have been made to separate the great mass of ministerial officers from partisan influence and personal control. Impartiality in the mode of appointment to be based on qualification, and security of tenure to be based on faithful discharge of duty, are the two ends to be accomplished. The public business will be aided by separating the legislative branch of the government from all control of appointments, and the Executive Department will be relieved by subjecting appointments to fixed rules, and thus removing them from the caprice of favoritism. But there should be rigid observance of the law which gives, in all cases of equal competency, the preference to the soldiers who risked their lives in defense of the Union.

I entered Congress in 1863, and in a somewhat prolonged service I never found it expedient to request or recommend the removal of a civil officer, except in four instances, and then for non-political reasons which were instantly conclusive with the appointing power. The officers in the district, appointed by Mr. Lincoln in 1861 upon the recommendation of my predecessor, served, as a rule, until death or resignation. I adopted at the beginning of my service the test of competitive examination for appointments to West Point, and maintained it so long as I had the right by law to nominate a cadet. In the case of many officers I found that the present law, which arbitrarily limits the term of the commission, offered a constant temptation to changes for mere political reasons. I have publicly expressed the belief that the essential modification of that law would be in many respects advantageous.

My observation in the Department of State confirmed the conclusion of my legislative experience, and impressed me with the conviction that the rule of impartial appointment might with advantage be carried beyond any existing provision of the civil service law. It should be applied to appointments in the consular service. Consuls should be commercial sentinels—encircling the globe with watchfulness for their country's interests. Their intelligence and competency become, therefore, matters of great public concern. No man should be appointed to an American consulate who is not well instructed in the history and resources of his own country, and in the requirements and language of commerce in the country to which he is sent. The same rule should be applied even more rigidly to secretaries of legation in our diplomatic service. The people have the right to the most efficient agents in the discharge of public business, and the appointing power should regard this as the prior and ulterior consideration.

Religious liberty is the right of every citizen of the Republic. Congress is forbidden by the Constitution to make any law "respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." For a century, under this guarantee, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, have worshiped God according to the dictates of conscience. But religious liberty must not be perverted to the justification of offenses against the law. A religious sect, strongly intrenched in one of the Territories of the Union, and spreading rapidly into four other Territories, claims the right to destroy the great safeguard and muniment of social order, and to practice as a religious privilege that which is a crime punished with severe penalty in every State of the Union. The sacredness and unity of the family must be preserved as the foundation of all civil government, as the source of orderly administration, as the surest guarantee of moral purity.

The claim of the Mormons that they are divinely authorized to practice polygamy should no more be admitted than the claim of certain heathen tribes, if they should come among us, to continue the right of human sacrifice. The law does not interfere with what a man believes; it takes cognizance only of what he does. As citizens, the Mormons are entitled to the same civil rights as others, and to these they must be confined. Polygamy can never receive National sanction or toleration by admitting the community that upholds it as a State in the Union. Like others, the Mormons must learn that the liberty of the individual ceases where the rights of society begin.

The people of the United States, though often urged and tempted, have never seriously contemplated the recognition of any other money than gold and silver—and currency directly convertible into them. They have not done so, they will not do so, under any necessity less pressing than that of desperate war. The one special requisite for the completion of our monetary system is the fixing of the relative values of silver and gold. The large use of silver as the money of account among Asiatic nations, taken in connection with the increasing commerce of the world, gives the weightiest reasons for an international agreement in the premises. Our Government should not cease to urge this measure until a common standard of value shall be reached and established—a standard that shall enable the United States to use the silver from its mines as an auxiliary to gold in settling the balances of commercial exchange.

The strength of the Republic is increased by the multiplication of land-holders. Our laws should look to the judicious encouragement of actual settlers on the public domain, which should henceforth be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of those seeking homes. The tendency to consolidate large tracts of land in the ownership of individuals or corporations should, with proper regard to vested rights, be discouraged. One hundred thousand acres of land in the hands of one man is far less profitable to the Nation in every way than when its ownership is divided among one thousand men. The evil of permitting large tracts of the National domain to be consolidated and controlled by the few against the many, is enhanced when the persons controlling it are aliens. It is but fair that the public land should be disposed of only to actual settlers, and to those who are citizens of the Republic, or willing to become so.

Among our National interests, one languishes—the foreign carrying trade. It was very seriously crippled in our Civil War, and another blow was given to it in the general substitution of steam for sail in ocean traffic. With a frontage on the two great oceans, with a freightage larger than that of any other nation, we have every inducement to restore our navigation. Yet the Government has hitherto refused its help. A small share of the encouragement given by the Government to railways and to manufactures, and a small share of the capital and the zeal given by our citizens to those enterprises, would have carried our ships to every sea and to every port. A law just enacted removes some of the burdens upon our navigation, and inspires hope that this great interest may at last receive its due share of attention. All efforts in this direction should receive encouragement.

This survey of our condition as a Nation reminds us that material prosperity is but a mockery if it does not tend to preserve the liberty of the people. A free ballot is the safeguard of republican institutions, without which no national welfare is assured. A popular election, honestly conducted, embodies the very majesty of true government. Ten millions of voters desire to take part in the pending contest. The safety of the Republic rests upon the integrity of the ballot, upon the security of suffrage to the citizen. To deposit a fraudulent vote is no worse a crime against constitutional liberty than to obstruct the deposit of an honest vote. He who corrupts suffrage strikes at the very root of free government. He is the arch-enemy of the Republic. He forgets that in trampling upon the rights of others he fatally imperils his own rights. "It is a good land which the Lord our God doth give us," but we can maintain our heritage only by guarding with vigilance the source of popular power.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

GEN. LOGAN'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 21, 1884.

Dear Sir: Having received from you the 24th of June official notification of my nomination by the National Republican Convention as the Republican candidate for Vice-President of the United States, and considering it to be the duty of every man devoting himself to the public service to assume any position to which he may be called by the voice of his countrymen, I accept the nomination with a grateful heart and a deep sense of its responsibilities; and if elected shall endeavor to discharge the duties of the office to the best of my ability. This honor, as is well understood, was wholly unsought by me. That it was tendered by the representatives of the party in a manner so flattering will serve to lighten whatever labors I may be called upon to perform. Although the variety of subjects covered in the very excellent and vigorous declaration of principles adopted by the late Convention prohibits, upon an occasion calling for brevity of expression, that full elaboration of which they are susceptible, I avail myself of party usage to signify my approval of the various resolutions of the platform and to discuss them briefly.

The resolutions of the platform declaring for the levy of such duties "as to afford security to our diversified industries, and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just award, and the laboring man his full share in the National prosperity," meet my hearty approval. If there be a nation on the face of the earth which might, if it were a desirable thing, build a wall upon its every boundary line, deny communion to all the world, and proceed to live upon its own resources and productions, that nation is the United States. There is hardly a legitimate necessity of civilized communities which can not be reproduced from the extraordinary resources of our several States and Territories, with their manufactories, mines, farms, timber lands and waterways. This circumstance, taken in connection with the fact that our form of government is entirely unique among the nations of the world, makes it utterly absurd to institute comparisons between our own economic system and those of other governments, and especially to attempt to borrow systems from them. We stand alone in our circumstances, our forces, our possibilities, and our aspirations. In all successful governments it is a prime requisite that capital and labor should be upon the best terms, and that both should enjoy the highest attainable prosperity. If there be a disturbance of the just balance between them, one or the other suffers, and dissatisfaction follows, which is harmful to both.

The lessons furnished by the comparatively short history of our own National life have been too much overlooked by our people. The fundamental article in the old Democratic creed proclaimed almost absolute free trade, and this, too, no more than a quarter of a century ago. The low condition of our National credit, the financial and business uncertainties, and general lack of prosperity under that system, can be remembered by every man now in middle life. Although in the great number of reforms instituted by the Republican

party, sufficient credit has not been publicly awarded to that of tariff reform, its benefits have nevertheless been felt throughout the land. The principle underlying this measure has been in process of gradual development by the Republican party during the comparatively brief period of its power, and to-day a portion of its antiquated Democratic opponents make an unwilling concession to the correctness of the principle of an equitably adjusted protective tariff by following slowly in its footsteps, though a very long way in the rear. The principle involved is one of no great obscurity, and can be readily comprehended by any intelligent person calmly reflecting upon it. The political and social systems of some of our trade-competing nations have created working classes miserable in the extreme. They receive the merest stipend for their daily toil, and by the great expense of the necessities of life are deprived of those comforts of clothing, housing, and health-producing food, which, with wholesome mental and social recreation, can alone make existence happy and desirable. Now, if the products of those countries are to be placed in our markets alongside of American products, either the American capitalist must suffer in his legitimate profits, or he must make the American laborer suffer, in an attempt to compete with the species of labor above referred to. In case of a substantial reduction in pay, there can be no compensating advantages for the American laborer, because the articles of daily consumption which he uses, with the exception of articles not produced in the United States and specially provided for, such as coffee and tea, are grown in our own country, and would not be affected in price by the lowering of duties. Therefore, while he would receive less for his labor, his cost of living would not be decreased. Being practically placed upon the pay of a European laborer, our own would be deprived of facilities for educating and sustaining his family respectably; he would be shorn of proper opportunities of self-improvement, and his value as a citizen charged with a portion of the obligations of the government would be lessened. The moral tone of the laboring class would suffer, and, in turn, the interests of capital and the well-being of orderly citizens in general would be menaced, while one evil would react upon another until there would be a general disturbance of the whole community. The true problem of good and stable government is how to infuse prosperity among all classes of people, the manufacturer, farmer, mechanic and laborer alike. Such prosperity is a preventive of crime, a security to capital, and the very best guaranty of peace and happiness. The obvious policy of our government is to protect both capital and labor by the proper imposition of duties. This protection should extend to every article of American production which goes to build up the general prosperity of our people. The National Convention, in view of special dangers menacing the wool interests of the United States, deemed it wise to adopt separate resolutions on the subject of its proper protection. This industry is a very large and important one. The necessary legislation to sustain this industry upon a prosperous basis should be extended. No one realizes more fully than myself the great delicacy and difficulty of adjusting the tariff so nicely and equitably as to protect every home industry, sustain every class of American labor, promote to the highest point our great agricultural interests, and at the same time to give to one and all the advantages pertaining to foreign productions not in com-

petition with our own, thus not only building up our foreign commerce, but taking measures to carry it in our own bottoms. Difficult as this work appears and really is, it is susceptible of accomplishment by patient and intelligent labor, and to no hands can it be committed with as great assurance of success as to those of the Republican party.

The Republican party is the indisputable author of a financial and monetary system, which, it is safe to say, has never before been equaled by that of any other nation. Under the operation of our system of finance, the country was safely carried through an extended and expensive war, with a National credit which has risen higher and higher with each succeeding year, until now the credit of the United States is surpassed by that of no other nation, while its securities, at a constantly increasing premium, are eagerly sought after by investors in all parts of the world. Our system of currency is most admirable in construction. While all the conveniences of bill circulation attach to it, every dollar of paper represents a dollar of the world's money standard, and as long as the just and wise policy of the Republican party is continued, there can be no impairment of the National credit. Therefore, under the present laws relating thereto, it will be impossible for any man to lose a penny in bonds or bills of the United States or in bills of the National banks. The advantage of having a bank note in the house which will be as good in the morning as it was the night before should be appreciated by all. The convertibility of the currency should be maintained intact, and the establishment of an international standard among all commercial nations, fixing the relative values of gold and silver coinage, would be a measure of peculiar advantage.

The subjects embraced in the resolutions, respectively, looking to the promotion of our inter-State and foreign commerce, and to the matter of our foreign relations, are fraught with great importance to our people. In respect to inter-State commerce, there is much to be desired in the way of equitable rates and the facilities of transportation, that commerce may flow freely to the States themselves, to the diversity of industries and employments to be promoted in all sections of our country; and that the great granaries and manufacturing establishments of the interior may be enabled to send their products to the seaboard for shipment to foreign countries, relieved of vexatious restrictions and discriminations, in relation to which it may emphatically be said, "Time is money," and also of unjust charges upon articles destined to meet close competition from the products of other parts of the world.

As to our foreign commerce, the enormous growth of our industries and our surprising production of cereals and other necessities of life imperatively require that immediate and effective means shall be taken, through peaceful, orderly, and conservative methods, to open markets which have been and are now monopolized largely by other nations. This more particularly relates to our sister Republics, Spanish America, as also to our friends, the people of the Brazilian Empire. The republics of Spanish America are allied to us by the very closest and warmest feelings, based upon a similarity of institutions and government, common aspirations and mutual hopes. The "Great Republic," as they proudly term the United States, is looked upon by their people with affectionate admiration and as a model for them to build upon, and we should

cultivate between them and ourselves closer commercial relations, which will bind all together by ties of friendly intercourse and mutual advantage. Further than this, being small commonwealths in the military and naval sense of European Powers, they look to us as at least a moral defender against a system of territorial and other encroachments which, aggressive in the past, has not been abandoned at this day. Diplomacy and intrigue have done much more to wrest the commerce of Spanish America from the United States than has legitimate commercial competition. Politically, we should be bound to the republics of our continent by the closest ties, and communication by ships and railroads should be encouraged to the fullest possible extent consistent with a wise and conservative public policy. Above all, we should be upon such terms of friendship as to preclude the possibility of national misunderstandings between ourselves and any member of the American republican family. The best method to promote uninterrupted peace between one and all would be in a meeting of a general conference or congress, whereby an agreement to submit all international differences to the peaceful decision of friendly arbitration might be reached. An agreement of this kind would give to our sister republics confidence in each other and in us, closer communication would at once ensue, and reciprocally advantageous commercial treaties might be made whereby much of the commerce which now floats across the Atlantic would seek its legitimate channels and inure to the greater prosperity of all American commonwealths. The full advantages of a policy of this nature could not be stated in a brief discussion like the present.

The United States has grown to be a government representing more than 50,000,000 people, and in every sense, excepting that of mere naval power, is one of the first nations of the world. As such its citizenship should be valuable, entitling its possessor to protection in every quarter of the globe. I do not consider it necessary that our government should construct enormous fleets of improved ironclads, and maintain a commensurate body of seamen, in order to place ourselves on a war footing with the military and naval Powers of Europe. Such a course would not be compatible with the peaceful policy of our country, though it seems absurd that we have not effective means to repel the wanton invasion of our coast and give protection to our coast towns and cities against any power. The great moral force of our country is so universally recognized as to render an appeal to arms by us, either in protection of our citizens abroad or in recognition of any just international right, quite improbable. What we most need in this direction is a firm and vigorous assertion of every right and privilege belonging to our government or its citizens, as well as an equally firm assertion of the rights and privileges belonging to the general family of American republics situated upon this continent, when opposed, if ever they should be, by different systems of government upon another continent. An appeal to right by such a government as ours could not be disregarded by any civilized nation. In the treaty of Washington we led the world to a means of escape from the horrors of war, and it is to be hoped that an era when all international differences shall be decided by peaceful arbitration is not far off.

The central idea of the republican form of government is the rule of the

whole people, as opposed to other forms which rest upon the privileged class. Our forefathers, in the attempt to erect a new government which might represent the advanced thought of the world at that period upon the subject of governmental reform, adopted the idea of the people's sovereignty, and thus laid the basis of our present Republic. While technically a government of the people, it was in strictness only the government of a portion of the people, excluding from all participation a certain other portion, held in a condition of absolute, despotic and hopeless servitude, the parallel to which, fortunately, does not now exist in any modern Christian nation. With the culmination, however, of another cycle of advanced thought, the American Republic suddenly assumed the full character of the government of the whole people, and 4,000,000 human creatures emerged from the condition of bondmen to the full status of freemen, theoretically invested with the same civil and political rights possessed by their former masters. The subsequent legislation, which guaranteed by every legal title the citizenship and full equality before the law in all respects of this previously disfranchised people, amply covers the requirements, and secures to them, so far as legislation can, the privileges of American citizenship. But a disagreeable fact of the case is, that while, theoretically, we are in the enjoyment of a government of the whole people, practically we are almost as far from it as we were in the ante-bellum days of the Republic. There are but a few leading and indisputable facts which cover the whole statement of the case. In many Southern States the colored population is in large excess of the white. The colored people are Republicans, as are also a considerable portion of the white people. The remaining portion of the latter are Democrats. In the face of this incontestable truth, these States invariably return Democratic majorities. In other States of the South, the colored people, although not a majority, form a very considerable body of the population, and, with the white Republicans, are numerically in excess of the Democrats; yet precisely the same political result obtains, the Democratic party invariably carrying the elections. It is not even thought advisable to allow an occasional or unimportant election to be carried by the Republicans as a "blind," or as a stroke of finesse. Careful and impartial investigation has shown these results to follow the systematic exercise of physical intimidation and violence, conjoined with the most shameful devices ever practiced in the name of free elections. So confirmed has this result become, that we are brought face to face with the extraordinary political fact that the Democratic party of the South relies almost entirely upon the methods stated for success in the National elections.

This unlawful perversion of the popular franchise, which I desire to state dispassionately and in a manner comporting with the proper dignity of the occasion, is one of deep gravity to the American people, in a double sense:

First. It is in violation—open, direct and flagrant—of the primary principle upon which our government is supposed to rest, viz.: That the control of the government is participated in by all legally qualified citizens, in accordance with the plan of popular government, that majorities must rule in the decision of all questions.

Second. It is in violation of the rights and interests of the States wherein

are particularly centred the great wealth and industries of the Nation, and which pay an overwhelming portion of the National taxes. The immense aggregation of interests embraced within, and the enormously greater population of, these other States of the Union, are subjected every four years to dangers of a wholly fraudulent show of numerical strength. Under this system the minorities actually attempt to direct the course of National affairs, and, up to this time, success has not attended their efforts to elect a President, yet success has been so perilously imminent as to encourage a repetition of the effort at each quadrennial election, and the subject interests an overwhelming majority of our people North and South.

The stereotyped argument in refutation of these plain truths is, that if the Republican element was really in the majority they could not be deprived of their rights and privileges by the minority; but neither statistics of population nor the unavoidable logic of the situation can be overridden. The colored people of the South have recently emerged from the bondage of their present political oppressors; they have had but few advantages of education which might enable them to compete with the whites. As I have heretofore maintained, in order to achieve the ideal perfection of popular government, it is absolutely necessary that the masses should be educated. This proposition applies itself with full force to the colored people of the South. They must have better educational advantages, and thus be enabled to become the intellectual peers of their white brethren, as many of them undoubtedly already are. A liberal school system should be provided for the rising generation of the South, and the colored people be made as capable of exercising the duties of electors as the white people. In the meantime it is the duty of the National Government to go beyond the resolutions and declarations on the subject, and to take such action as may lie in its power to secure the absolute freedom of National elections everywhere, to the end that our Congress may cease to contain members representing fictitious majorities of their people, thus misdirecting the popular will concerning the National legislation, and especially to the end that in Presidential contests the great business and other interests of the country may not be placed in fear and trembling lest an unscrupulous minority should succeed in stifling the wishes of the majority. In accordance with the spirit of the last resolution of the Chicago platform, measures should be taken at once to remedy this great evil.

Under our liberal institutions the subjects and citizens of every nation have been welcomed to a home in our midst, and, in compliance with our laws, to coöperation with our government. While it is the policy of the Republican party to encourage the oppressed of other nations, and offer them facilities for becoming useful and intelligent citizens, in the legal definition of the term, the party has never contemplated the admission of a class of servile people who are not only unable to comprehend our institutions, but indisposed to become a part of our National family, or embrace any higher civilization than their own. To admit such immigrants would be only to throw a retarding element into the very path of our progress. Our legislation should be amply protective against this danger, and if not sufficiently so now should be made so to the full extent allowed by our treaties with friendly Powers.

The subject of civil service administration is a problem that has occupied the earnest thought of statesmen for a number of years past, and the record will show that toward its solution many results of a valuable and comprehensive character have been attained by the Republican party since its accession to power. In the partisan warfare made upon the latter with a view of weakening it in the public confidence, a great deal has been alleged in connection with the abuse of the civil service, the party making the indiscriminate charges seeming to have entirely forgotten that it was under the full sway of the Democratic organization that the motto, "To the victors belong the spoils," became a cardinal article in the Democratic creed. With a determination to elevate our governmental administration to a standard of justice, excellence and public morality, the Republican party has sedulously endeavored to lay the foundation of a system which shall reach the highest perfection under the plastic hand of time and accumulating experience. The problem is one of far greater intricacy than appears upon its superficial consideration, and embraces sub-questions of how to avoid abuses possible to the lodgment of an immense number of appointments in the hands of the Executive; of how to give encouragement to and provoke emulation in various government employes, in order that they may strive for proficiency and rest their hopes of advancement upon the attributes of official merit, good conduct, and exemplary honesty; and how best to avoid the evils of creating a privileged class in the government service, who, in imitation of European prototypes, may gradually lose all proficiency and value, in the belief that they possess a life calling, only to be taken away in case of some flagrant abuse.

The thinking, earnest men of the Republican party have made no wordy demonstration upon this, but they have endeavored quietly to perform that which their opponents are constantly promising without performing. Under Republican rule the result has been, that, without engrafting any of the objectionable features of European systems upon our own, there has been a steady and even rapid elevation of the civil service in all its departments, until it can now be stated, without fear of successful contradiction, that the service is more just, more efficient, and purer in all its features, than ever before since the establishment of our government; and if defects still exist in our system, the country can safely rely upon the Republican party as the most efficient instrument for their removal. I am in favor of the highest standard of excellence in the administration of civil service, and will lend my best efforts to accomplish the point of greatest attainable perfection in this branch of our service.

The Republican party came into existence in a crusade against the Democratic institutions of slavery and polygamy. The first has been buried beneath the embers of civil war. The party should continue its efforts until the remaining iniquity shall disappear from our civilization under the force of faithfully executed laws.

There are subjects of importance which I would gladly touch upon did space permit. I limit myself to saying, that, while there should be the most rigid economy in governmental administration, there should be no self-defeating parsimony either in our domestic or foreign service. Official dishonesty should be promptly and relentlessly punished. Our obligations to the

defenders of our country should never be forgotten, and a liberal system of pensions provided by the Republican party should not be imperiled by adverse legislation. The law establishing a Labor Bureau, through which the interests of labor can be placed in an organized condition, I regard as a salutary measure. The eight-hour law should be enforced as rigidly as any other. We should increase our navy to a degree enabling us to amply protect our coast lines, our commerce, and to give us a force in foreign waters which shall be a respectable and proper representative of a country like our own.

The public lands belong to the people, and should not be alienated from them, but reserved for free homes for all desiring to possess them; and, finally, our present Indian policy should be continued and improved upon as our experience in its administration shall from time to time suggest.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN A. LOGAN.

To the Hon. John B. Henderson, Chairman of the committee.

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OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Republican National Convention

HELD AT

Chicago, June 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 25,

1888.

*Reprinted by authority of the Republican National Convention, of 1900,
at Philadelphia, as follows:*

"Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention be requested to republish the Official Proceedings of preceding Republican National Conventions now out of print, under the direction of the National Committee."

CHARLES W. JOHNSON, PUBLISHER,
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
1903.

I hereby certify that the herewith published record of the proceedings of the Republican National Convention, held at Chicago in June, 1888, is a full, complete and true record of said proceedings, and the only official publication of the same.

EUGENE CARY,

Chairman Committee on Official Reporting and Publication.

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1888.

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1903.

The 4th of December, 1887, the Hon. John A. Roche, the Hon. George R. Davis, George B. Swift, Wm. Penn Nixon, Wm. K. Sullivan, A. M. Jones, Ferd W. Peck, Richard Michaelis, Daniel Shepard, Warren Leland and George H. Williams left for Washington, D. C., to attend the session of the Republican National Committee, and urge the holding of the National Convention of 1888 in Chicago.

The National Committee met the 8th of December, and the advantages of the city were presented by Mayor Roche and Senator Cullom. The local committee, aided by Senators Cullom and Farwell, labored effectively, as was shown by the result of a vote for a place, Chicago being selected.

In recognition of their services, the LaSalle Club gave them a reception when they returned home.

The National Committee voted that the duty of taking charge of the preparations for the Convention should be intrusted to a sub-committee composed of nine members, of which the Chairman and Secretary of the National Committee should be ex-officio members, and that the Chairman of the National Committee should appoint the other members from the members of the National Committee. The Chairman of the National Committee, Hon. B. F. Jones, made these appointments, and the Committee was organized as follows: J. S. Clarkson, Iowa; Cyrus Leland, Jr., Kansas; A. L. Conger, Ohio; N. W. Cuney, Texas; Powell Clayton, Arkansas; Church Howe, Nebraska; Garret A. Hobart, New Jersey; and ex-officio, B. F. Jones, Pennsylvania, and Samuel Fessenden, Connecticut.

This committee met on the 9th of December, in Washington, D. C., and selected Hon. J. S. Clarkson Chairman and Gen. William L. Alexander, of Iowa, Secretary. It met again February 9, 1888, at the Grand Pacific Hotel, in Chicago, and appointed the following committees of citizens to take charge of arrangements and look after details, locally, and continued its meetings in carrying out the work given it in charge by the National Committee until the close of the Convention.

EXECUTIVE AND FINANCE.

JOHN A. ROCHE, *Chairman.*

SAMUEL B. RAYMOND, *Secretary.*

JOHN L. WOODWARD, *Treasurer.*

E. G. KEITH,	Chairman	Committee on Hotels.
GEORGE R. DAVIS,	"	" Printing.
ROBT. W. PATTERSON,	"	" Press.
WM. B. KEEP,	"	" Transportation.
GEORGE B. SWIFT,	"	" Employes.
JOS. H. WOOD,	"	" Music.
GEORGE SCHNEIDER,	"	" Decorations.
LEGRAND W. PERCE,	"	" State Headquarters.
FERD W. PECK,	"	" Hall.
ROBERT C. CLOWRY,	"	" Telegraph.
JOHN M. SMYTH,	"	" Auditing.
EUGENE CARY,	"	" Official Reporting and Publication.

HOTELS.

E. G. KEITH, C. M. HENDERSON, O. W. POTTER, ABNER TAYLOR,
GEORGE F. BISSELL.

PRINTING.

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ROBERT W. PATTERSON, JR., WM. K. SULLIVAN, JAMES W. SCOTT, THOS. C.
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M. E. STONE, C. A. SNOWDEN, WALTER NEFF, JOHN ANDERSON.

TRANSPORTATION.

WM. B. KEEP, JOSEPH STOCKTON, ARTHUR DIXON.

EMPLOYES.

GEORGE B. SWIFT, PLINY B. SMITH, FRED L. WILK.

MUSIC.

JOS. H. WOOD, C. C. KOHLSAAT, H. A. WHEELER, J. W. E. THOMAS.

DECORATIONS.

GEORGE SCHNEIDER, LOUIS WAMPOLD, C. R. MATSON, H. N. HIGINBOTHAM.

STATE HEADQUARTERS.

LEGRAND W. PERCE, A. C. BARTLETT, JAMES A. SEXTON.

HALL.

FERD W. PECK, WM. G. BEALE, J. S. RUNNELLS, O. C. TOWNE,
CHAS. W. DREW.

TELEGRAPH.

ROBERT C. CLOWRY, GEORGE M. BOGUE, CHAS. H. CASE, A. C. THOMAS,
ALBERT L. SUESMAN.

AUDITING.

JOHN M. SMYTH, H. E. WEAVER, GEORGE H. WILLIAMS.

OFFICIAL REPORTING AND PUBLICATION.

EUGENE CARY, FRANK M. BLAIR, GEORGE T. BURROUGHS.

The sub-committee, on the recommendation of the Executive and Finance Committee, appointed Gen. Charles FitzSimons Sergeant-at-Arms.

The various committees performed the work assigned to them, the necessary money for expenses being raised within three weeks, and Thursday, June 14, five days before the time of meeting, the Auditorium Building, with a seating capacity of 8,550, was turned over to the sub-committee. The hall was conceded by every one to be the best in every respect ever provided for a National Convention.

The sub-committee adopted the following:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Republican National Committee and the Republican party are hereby tendered to the people of Chicago for the generous provisions made for the comfort of the National Convention and its members, and that thanks are especially due to the Chicago Auditorium Association for the magnificent hall, with its unequalled accommodations, capacity and equipments, provided for the use of the Convention, and for the liberality and enterprise that the people of Chicago and of the Association constantly

displayed, both toward the Sub-Committee and the Convention in the preparation of the hall, and for the convenience of the Convention, its members and guests.

The National Committee passed these resolutions:

Resolved, That this Committee tenders its thanks to the Chairman and members of the Sub-Committee of the Republican National Committee for the able manner in which they have discharged the duty intrusted to them by this Committee.

Resolved, That this Committee tenders its thanks to the citizens of Chicago and especially to the Committees on Arrangements charged with the duty of providing a suitable convention hall, and making all necessary arrangements for the meeting of the Republican National Convention of 1888 for the perfect accommodations furnished by them to the Convention, and to this Committee.

The Convention was in session six days, and nominated Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, for President, and Levi P. Morton, of New York, for Vice-President.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

1888.

PROCEEDINGS.

FIRST DAY.

CHICAGO, TUESDAY, June 19, 1888.

THE NINTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION assembled in the Auditorium, Chicago, at noon of this day, and was called to order at 12:30 P. M. by the Hon. B. F. Jones, Chairman of the National Committee, who said:

Come to order, Gentlemen: The proceedings of this Convention will be opened with prayer.

PRAYER BY THE REV. FRANK W. GUNSAULUS.

The REV. FRANK W. GUNSAULUS, pastor of Plymouth Church, Chicago, offered prayer as follows:

Let us unite in prayer. Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, we thank Thee for the perfections of the Divine Government. We rejoice in all Thy mercies, and in all Thy love to the children of men. We give Thee our gratitude at this time that Thou hast guided our nation by the powers of the Holy Spirit, and that Thou art giving unto us now such stars of hope in the sky of our thought and purpose. We thank Thee, this morning, O God, for the history which comes massed into this hour, and we rejoice for all that Thou has done by Thy Providence through the great organization whose representatives are here assembled. We thank Thee, our Heavenly Father, for the courage and heroism, for the intelligence and conscience, that have under these banners of the Republican party gone forward to the conquest of new realms, to the enlargement of human life. And we ask Thee to-day, O God, to give us such a vast and true vision of the future that all this great past may be kept forever pure and forever sacred. We thank Thee, O God, for the problems of the present as well as for the glories of the past. We thank Thee, for the majesty of the law. We thank Thee for the inspiration of liberty, and we thank Thee for all the forces of loyalty that are ready to leap to the front at the command of great ideas in our land. And we pray Thee that this convention may be so dominated by lofty purposes and so ruled by great truths that in its large work for days to come it may do much to the glory of God and for the good of man. We ask Thy blessing to-day upon all these delegates. We beseech Thee for Thy holy spirit for them, that they may act according

to the inspirations of God. We pray Thy blessing for all the leaders of this party at home and abroad. We ask Thy blessing for those who stand in high places of Government, that they may be cheered by the inspirations of Heaven and held up by the power of the living God. We pray Thy blessing to-day upon that great soldier, the captain of our armies, who lies so near to death. O Lord, touch him tenderly by Thy hand, comfort him by Thy spirit, and restore him to the Nation that loves him, with all health, and with all hope. We beseech Thee to-day, O God, to receive our gratitude for the cross of Jesus Christ. We thank Thee that the flag—the Stars and Stripes—has been held so near to the cross that there are in our land, and in its atmosphere, the hopes of equal rights for all men. We pray Thee that wherever this cross has not won its perfect victory for equal rights for black and white, and bond and free, the largest triumph may come. We ask Thee for Thy blessing upon this convention, that its work may be done for the glory of this cross, and the triumph of its principle. And we will give Thee all the honor and the glory at last in the city of God, through Christ Jesus, our Lord. Amen.

THE CALL.

MR. JONES. The Secretary will read the call for the Convention.

MR. SAMUEL FESSENDEN, Secretary of the National Committee, read the following call:

To the Republican Electors of the United States: In accordance with usage and obedient to the instructions of the Republican National Convention of 1884 a National Convention of delegated representatives of the Republican party will be held at the City of Chicago, Ill., on Tuesday the 19th day of June, 1888, at 12 o'clock noon, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President to be supported at the next National election, and for the transaction of such other business as may be there presented. Republican electors in the several States, and voters without regard to past political affiliations, differences or action, who believe in the American principle of a protective tariff for the defence and development of home industries, and the elevation of home labor and who would reduce the National taxes and prevent the accumulation of the surplus in the Treasury in harmony with this principle; who are opposed to the attempt now more openly avowed than ever before to establish a policy which would strike down American labor to the level of the underpaid and oppressed workers of foreign lands; who favor a system of naval and coast defences which will enable the United States to conduct its international negotiations with self-respect; who gratefully cherish the defenders of our country; who condemn and resent the continued and unjust exclusion of rapidly growing Territories which have an indisputable title to admission into the Sisterhood of States; who are in favor of free schools and popular education—a free and honest ballot, and a fair count; the protection of every citizen of the United States in his legal rights at home and abroad; a foreign policy that shall extend our trade and commerce to every land and clime, and shall properly support the dignity of the Nation, and the promotion of friendly and harmonious relations and intercourse between all the States, are cordially invited to unite under this call in the formation of a National ticket. Each State will be entitled to four delegates-at-large, and for each Representative-at-large two delegates, and each Congressional district, each Territory, and the District of Columbia to two delegates. The delegates-at-large shall be chosen by popular State conventions called on not less than twenty days' published notice, and not less than thirty days before

the meeting of the National Convention. The Congressional district delegates shall be chosen in the same manner as the nomination of a member of Congress is made in said district. The Territorial delegates shall be chosen in the same manner as the nomination of a Delegate in Congress is made. The delegates from the District of Columbia shall be chosen at a convention constituted of members elected in primary district assemblies held under the call and direction of the Republican Central Committee of said District. An alternate delegate for each delegate in the National Convention, to act in case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same manner and at the same time as the delegate is elected. In addition to their regular delegates each of the Territories of Dakota and Washington are authorized by vote of this committee to choose four contingent delegates, the admission of said contingent delegates to be determined by the action of the next Republican National Convention. All notices of contests must be filed with the National Committee in writing, accompanied by printed statements of the grounds of contest, which shall be made public. Preference in the order of hearing and determining contests will be given by the convention in accordance with the dates of filing of such notices and statements with the National Committee.

B. F. JONES, Chairman.

SAMUEL FESSENDEN, Secretary.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 9, 1887.

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

MR. JONES. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* The Republican party may well be congratulated, through its representatives here assembled, upon the auspicious prospect that lies before it. Wise and courageous action by this convention will surely lead to victory in the campaign upon which we are about to enter. There can be no doubt as to which side the great majority of votes will fall, if each party be tried by its record; if the general achievements of the Republican party be appreciated, and the utter failure of the Democratic party be understood. The two parties are diametrically opposed to each other. One favors progression, the other retrogression. One lifts up; the other casts down. Thanks to Mr. Cleveland and his Southern allies, the Democratic party has thrown off the disguise in which it has heretofore fought its battles in the Northern States, and has boldly declared for British free trade, and against American protection. This avowal has caused much adulation in certain sections of this country, and in all of England, which has, from the beginning, been hostile to the industrial progress of the United States; but it has fallen heavily upon the ears of the patriotic portion of the Democratic party. However, we must not expect that this is the end of dishonest pretences. Deceit, fallacies and sophistry will again be resorted to and practiced. Therefore we should have a platform based upon true Republican principles, free from equivocation or ambiguity, and should nominate candidates who are the embodiment of these principles. The founders of this Government saw that it was absolutely essential for self-preservation that the original thirteen States should become united for the purpose of protection and defence against alien acts and influences, as well as for economical and effective government. One of the first acts of the Federal Government was to provide for revenue, and for the protection of the industrial interests of the country. All our early Presidents from Washington to Jackson, inclusive, advocated a tariff for revenue and for protection. All of the great and patriotic statesmen of those days coincided in this policy. No man of note, who was a lover of his country, down to Jackson's first term, entertained or expressed doubts as to the constitutionality or policy of protecting the industries of the United States against foreign competition. The tariff question was not considered as one embracing solely or chiefly the manufacturer's interests, but one which broadly embraced the

social condition of the laboring classes, the mutual interest of all home producers in the home market, and of the country's real independence. The British, who now shout free trade, protected themselves against all competition until they were masters of the commercial world, and until they realized that the United States, with its great natural advantages and by a moderate use of the same means, was becoming a formidable rival. It was only when Great Britain perceived something of the future of her American rival that she attempted to regain that control over this country by artifice which she was unable to hold or reclaim by force of arms. About this time certain gentlemen of the South began to realize that they had a peculiar institution, and to imagine that they were a peculiar people; that they possessed peculiar advantages over all others, and that their interests were not in common with those of other sections of the country. They were not satisfied with the Democratic notions which then prevailed, but desired an aristocracy, and therefore resolved themselves into cotton lords, and allied themselves with the English manufacturing magnates. Then they commenced to deny the binding force of the laws of the United States, and to nullify them. Fortunately, President Jackson had the honesty, the patriotism, and the courage to put down the nullifiers, and to vindicate the laws. These conspirators were able and determined men. They were foiled in their attempts to defy the laws and to destroy the Government, but were none the less resolved to become independent of the laws of the country, or to dominate them and control the nation. How far they succeeded the history of the administrations of Van Buren, Polk, Pierce and Buchanan testifies. By interesting the contiguous States in furnishing the supply of cheap labor for the raising of cotton, labor so inexpensive in their judgment as to defy all competition, and by enlisting the merchant princes of the seaboard cities, they formed an oligarchy, which not only ruled the Democratic party, but practically controlled the government until the evil consequences brought forth the following wail of anguish from poor Mr. Buchanan, who seemed to be ignorant of the causes that produced the condition complained of. He said, "Panic and distress of a fearful character prevail throughout the land. Our laboring population are without employment, and consequently deprived of the means of earning their bread. Indeed, all hope seems to have deserted the minds of men." Even this is but a faint picture of the actual condition brought upon the country by the fallacious doctrines and the vicious government of the Democratic party, which culminated in that most momentous war of modern times. The Republican party vanquished the Democratic party; passed the homestead law, destroyed slavery, elevated the "mud sills;" restored credit, redeemed the country, and started it anew on the lines contemplated by the fathers. To-day we occupy a much higher plane than any other people on the face of the globe. The Republican party believes that it is not necessary or right that we should be reduced to a common level with other nations; but that we should have the full benefit of all our natural advantages and the full enjoyment of our glorious heritage. The logical consequences of the theories of the Democratic party would have left this country with but a fringe of population on the water ways. Many of the leading Bourbon Democrats of to-day look upon the magnificent developments and the grand improvements of the nation, which are simply labor, genius, and management crystallized, as a rank, unnatural and unwholesome growth, and believe that we ought to go back to the days of ignorance, sloth and small things as quickly as possible. Through the criminal folly of certain professed Republicans, and by fraud and duplicity on the part of the Democratic party, our honored and gallant standard bearers in 1884 were defeated. Fortunately for the country, we still have the benefit of the wise laws passed by the Republican party, and still have a majority in the Senate of the United States, which majority has prevented unwise legislation. We are again confronted with this same Demo-

cratic party, the mother of all the evils from which this country has suffered, asking for the power to control and direct its future course, and we find that the same element which first led it astray by its malign influence, and dominated it down to the grievous days of the Rebellion, is again in full control of its affairs. If a majority of the American voters favor the giving away of the home market, incomparably the best in the world, and the forcing of our people, now the most prosperous and happy on the face of the earth, into competition with and down to a level with the cheapest, poorest, and most miserable of our foreign rivals, the Democratic reactionary doctrines will prevail. If not, the Republican party will resume its authority, and successfully lead this great country, with its beneficent institutions, toward that sublime goal which all patriots believe to be its heaven-ordained destiny. I have no doubt of the result. [Applause.]

At the request of the Republican National Committee I propose to you, as temporary chairman of this convention, the Hon. John M. Thurston of Nebraska.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

Mr. THURSTON stepped forward and took the gavel.

Mr. THOMAS A. OSBORN of Kansas. Do I understand the Temporary Chairman has been elected?

Sergeant-at-Arms FITZ-SIMONS. The Temporary Chairman is Mr. John M. Thurston.

Mr. OSBORN. In behalf of the Kansas delegation, I desire to say that they decline to be responsible for the action in any manner of the National Committee in this matter. They regard it as a very great mistake. And they desire me to state that they wish to record the vote of their State—that they wish the roll to be called, and if the roll is called they will vote for the Hon. William Warner of Missouri.

ADDRESS OF THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

Mr. THURSTON then spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I am deeply sensible of the distinguished honor conferred upon me as the presiding officer of your temporary organization. I am also mindful of the grave responsibilities of the position, and if they are successfully met it will be due to the continuance of your generous favor and the bestowal of your loyal assistance. I have no words in which to fittingly express my heartfelt appreciation of your confidence. I thank you, gentlemen, not for myself alone, but on behalf of that great and growing West, which never disappoints the expectations of the Republican party. I come from a State whose broad domain has been largely appropriated by the surviving veterans of the Army of the Republic under the beneficent provisions of the homestead and pre-emption laws enacted by a Republican Congress, and, true to the heroic recollections of the past, the homesteaders of the West still march on under the banner of Republicanism. In victory and defeat, in sunshine and in storm, in prosperity and adversity, this mighty West retains the courage of its convictions and holds that devotion to a just cause, though it brings defeat, is better than victory achieved at the expense of broken vows and political dishonor. We are met in National Convention for deliberation and conference. The Republican party of the United States relies upon the wisdom of its assembled delegates for such action as will insure success. If we are prepared to honestly and fairly meet the supreme

issues of the hour with a clear, fearless, and ringing declaration of our principles, and to nominate a ticket that will commend itself to the loyalty and intelligence of the country, we can grandly win. We enter upon the proceedings of this convention prepared to submit individual judgment to the wisdom of the majority, and to lay down personal preferences on the altar of party success. When our candidates are nominated we will all join, heart and soul, in the grand chorus of rejoicing; and the rainbow of our harmony will give certain promise of a victorious morning in November. When the Democratic party, at the close of the last Presidential election, robbed us of a victory honestly and fairly won, we patiently waited for the certain coming of the justice of the years. We hoped and believed that 1888 would right the great political wrong of 1884. Right it, not only for the Republican party, but for the grand and glorious candidates whose names were the inspiration of that wonderful campaign. The wisdom of an all-wise Providence has otherwise decreed. One of them—that citizen soldier, that warrior statesman, the Black Eagle of Illinois, has been summoned by the Silent Messenger to report to his old commander beyond the river—But John A. Logan—dead in the body—lives in the illuminated pages of his country's most splendid history—lives in the grateful love of a free people, whose union he so gallantly fought to preserve—lives in the blessings of a downtrodden race, whose freedom he so manfully struggled to achieve—lives in the future song and story of a hero-worshiping world; and along the highway of the nation's glory, side by side with old John Brown, Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant, his soul goes marching on. The other—that gallant leader, that chevalier of American politics, the glory of Republicanism and the nightmare of Democracy, our Henry of Navarre—is seeking in foreign travel needed relaxation and rest from the cares and responsibilities of long public life and service. With the infinite magnanimity of his incomparable greatness he has denied us the privilege of supporting him in this convention. Holding above all other things party harmony and success, he has stepped from the certain ladder of his laudable ambition that some other man may climb to power. As his true friends we must not, dare not, commit the political crime of disobedience to his expressed will. We cannot place him at the head of the ticket, but we can make him commander-in-chief of the forces in the field, where he will be invincible. And though James G. Blaine may not be our President, yet he remains our uncrowned king, wielding the baton of acknowledged leadership, supreme in the allegiance of his devoted followers, honored and respected by all honest and loyal men—that greatest living American, and the worthy object of our undying love. But the Republican party is not left without great men to place upon its ticket. We have that honest, able and experienced financier, statesman and Senator from Ohio, and his no less distinguished colleague from Iowa. Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin present to use the names of distinguished soldiers, while New York, New Jersey, Kansas, Connecticut and other States have favorite and worthy sons. From this splendid galaxy of political stars we cannot choose amiss. The Republican party points with pride to the mighty achievements of its past, and offers as an earnest of its future faithfulness an unbroken record of great deeds done for freedom, union, and National prosperity. It is pre-eminently the party of protection. It was born of the irresistible desire to protect the slave from the lash of the master, and to save our civilization from the blighting curse of its crime against humanity. It performed its sacred mission of protecting the Republic from secession and disunion; and, in the later time, it succeeded in protecting both the credit and currency of the Nation from repudiation and inflation. Its platform epitomized, stands for the protection of popular government upon the American continent; stands for the protection of all governmental and international rights from restriction or invasion; stands for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of the individual;

stands for the protection of every privilege and immunity of American citizenship; stands for the protection of the ballot box from the crimes of intimidation, robbery and substitution; stands for the protection of American commerce, American manufacture and American agriculture from disastrous foreign competition; stands for the protection of home invention, home skill and home labor from the free trade heresies which would degrade and pauperize them all; stands for the protection of the people from all unlawful combination and unjust exaction of aggregated capital and corporate power; stands also for the protection of both capital and corporation from confiscation and mob violence; and above all, stands for the protection of the sanctity and happiness of the American home. It welcomes to our shores the down-trodden and oppressed of every land, but it demands that the inestimable blessing of American citizenship, purchased with the priceless blood of heroes and martyrs, shall be conferred only upon those who are in full sympathy and accord with the fundamental principles of our Government, and who will loyally support the sacred provisions of the Constitution of the United States. And it holds that Congress has the power to protect our civilization and morality from the leprosy of Asiatic paganism, contamination and degradation. It maintains that the benefits of free government should be extended to all true lovers of liberty, but it insists that the law of the land shall be a shield only to those who obey it, and that for the Anarchist, the Communist, and the criminal American, justice has nothing to offer but its sword. The reconstructed Democracy has now been in power nearly four years. Its administration has been most satisfactory to those who hold office under it. Its loyalty has been so pronounced as to receive the approval of every enemy of the Government. The courage of its foreign policy has amused the great Powers and pleased every coward. Its civil service has been so thoroughly reformed as to delight Mr. Higgins. Its justice to the disabled soldiers has won golden opinions from those who gave them their wounds. Its financial management has been safe because of its inability to destroy the resulting prosperity of Republican legislation. And its unparalleled straddle of the tariff question has been a source of wonderment to "gods and men." It is strong in the imbecility of "innocuous desuetude," and deserves to live as a reminiscence of promises forgotten, and pledges unfulfilled. There are those in the land who say that the mission of the Republican party is at an end—that the Emancipation Proclamation, Appomattox, and the constitutional amendments are at once the monuments of its glory and the gravestones of its demise. But the work of the Republican party will never be done until every American citizen enters into his unquestioned inheritance of liberty, equal rights and justice; until representation in Congress is based upon votes freely cast, and fairly counted; until adequate provision has been made for the helplessness and old age of our surviving veterans and the widows and orphans of their dead comrades; until those policies of government which insure National and individual prosperity are firmly established, and until patriotism and loyalty are the only qualifications, except fitness, for official position in the service of the Republic. There are those who insist that the Republican party keeps alive the old sectional feeling, and refuses to let "the dead past bury its dead." The Republican party longs and prays for the speedy coming of the millennium of its hope, when Mason and Dixon's line in spirit as in fact, is obliterated forever, when fraternal ties and common interests unite us all, when the whole people are found rejoicing together that the inherited institution of human slavery was destroyed by the justice of God; glad together that the holy bonds of union could not be severed; hopeful together for a magnificent National destiny; loyal together to a common country and its unconquered flag. But when that glad time comes, black and white must march side by side in the broad sunshine of safety and lie down to peaceful slumber in the untroubled shadows of protected homes. The Republican

party turns to the new South with wide-open arms. It offers loyal assistance in the development of its agriculture, the opening of its mines and the up-building of its manufactories. It proposes to break down the barrier of unpleasant memories with the hope of a new prosperity. The distinctive issue of the present campaign is that of the tariff. To the support of a protective tariff there will rise up an overwhelming army of intelligent, thoughtful and practical men; and the East and West, the North and South, will join hands together in one final effort to forever exterminate in this Republic the pernicious doctrine of free trade. As we gather here we remember that other grand convention held in this city in 1860. We remember how it was given wisdom and courage to select that great man of the people—that Moses who led us through the parted waters of the sea, past the wilderness of battle, over the Jordan of safety into the Promised Land. In 1884 we were driven back into the wilderness again. God give us the wisdom to find another Moses who can limit our wanderings to four years instead of forty. The mighty past is with us here to-day. It fills us with that same spirit of freedom, patriotism and devotion which breathed into the common dust of ordinary humanity the sublime inspiration of heroic deeds. Let us read its lessons rightly, and hold its precepts dear. When Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, lay upon his dying bed he requested that his heart should be taken from his inanimate body and borne by knightly hands to the Saviour's sepulchre. After his death, James, Earl of Douglas, undertook the sacred mission, and, with the heart encased in a golden casket, set out upon his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. On the way thither himself and comrades were set upon by a great host of Moorish warriors. Though they fought with all the valor of mortal men, they were borne backward by sheer force of numbers, and their overthrow seemed certain, when Douglas, drawing from his bosom the priceless casket, cast it far out into the midst of the oncoming host, and cried out: "Lead on, heart of Bruce, we follow thee." And the knights of Scotland, never defeated while following a Bruce, pressed forward, and won the day. Let this convention choose a Douglas for our Bruce. He will take the soul of our great martyr into the golden casket of his love, and with it lead us on to certain and splendid victory. [Applause.]

Gentlemen of the Convention: The National Committee has requested the announcement of the further officers for your temporary organization. The names will be read.

OTHER TEMPORARY OFFICERS.

Mr. HENRY BALLARD of Michigan, read the list, which was as follows:

Temporary Secretaries.—Charles W. Clisbee, Michigan; Michael Griffin, Wisconsin; Wm. Rule, Tennessee.

Temporary Assistant Secretaries.—Thomas J. Brogan, Tennessee; Tams Bixby, Minnesota; Henry M. Cooper, Arkansas; William Nelson, New Jersey; A. W. Monroe, Maryland; J. E. Wiley, Texas; John L. Minor, Louisiana; C. M. Shinn, West Virginia.

Temporary Reading Clerks.—Henry Ballard, Vermont; Carson Lake, New York; David Lanning, Ohio; James H. Stone, Michigan; George M. Brinkerhoff, Illinois.

Official Stenographer.—Gustavus P. English, Chicago.

Sergeant-at-Arms.—Gen. Charles Fitz-Simons, Chicago.

PRESENTATION OF A GAVEL.

Mr. R. G. HERR of Michigan. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Herr.

Mr. HERR. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am requested by the delegation from my State to present to the Temporary Chairman of this convention for his use a gavel made from the wood of the oak under which the Republican party was organized on the 6th day of July, 1854, in the village or city of Jackson, in the State of Michigan. This gavel has upon it copper, wool, iron, salt and wood—the five industries that the party now in power would ruin and abolish from the face of this country. We thought it was meet that this convention should commence early to pound the daylights out of that party, consequently we beg the permission of the convention to present this for the use of our Temporary Chairman. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chairman will say that, in returning the thanks of the convention, he accepts the gavel, and proceeds to pound the life out of the Democratic party with it. [Laughter.]

THE TEMPORARY ORGANIZATION.

Mr. LOGAN H. ROOTS of Arkansas. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. ROOTS. I move that this convention do now elect as the officers of its temporary organization the various persons respectively recommended for those positions by the National Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair understands, the Chairman of the National Committee having recognized no objection on the floor of the convention, that the temporary organization has been accepted by the convention.

Mr. OSBORN of Kansas. *Mr. Chairman:* I cannot consent, and the Kansas delegation cannot consent, that that declaration should pass without an objection. The Kansas delegation would desire to be recorded as voting for some other person, and had the roll been called its vote would have been cast for the Hon. William Warner of Missouri.

Mr. ROOTS. I supposed, in making the motion, that the President of the convention had been fully recognized. It was only the other officers of the convention to whom my motion was intended to refer. I now, however, with the consent of my second, withdraw that motion, considering the other officers recognized as the officers of the convention.

THE DAKOTA DELEGATION.

Mr. G. C. MOODY of Dakota. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes Judge Moody of Dakota.

Mr. MOODY. I rise, sir, for the purpose of making a motion that will change somewhat the record already made by this convention, or by the officers of it. I see that upon the record is borne the name of Dakota with two votes allowed, which she had a generation ago, nearly. Now, I move, sir, that Dakota be allowed to cast in this convention ten votes instead of two, and I

desire very briefly to state what we regard as the prominent facts which should govern this convention upon this proposition. In the first place, it is in accordance with the population of the Territory at the present time. Secondly, it is in accordance with the time-honored usage of the Republican Convention wherever it has assembled, and when the question has been presented. In 1856, when the great Pathfinder and leader who honors us now with his presence was nominated as the leader of the party, the Territory of Kansas was given nine votes in that convention. In 1860, when Abraham Lincoln was nominated in this city, Kansas and Nebraska were each given six votes in that convention. In 1868, at the convention that assembled in this city, when that great man, great general, and great statesman was first nominated, Colorado was allowed at that time six votes in that convention. It was repeated again in 1876. Thus the precedents are all one way, whenever the question has been presented. The Republican party has always dealt liberally with the Territories. The Democratic party has never dealt, either with liberality, or with decent justice, except when those Territories had been corrupted by the institution that was their support. Now, Mr. Chairman, we ask this because the State of Dakota has been formed and has knocked at the door of the Union, and the Republican party has done all in its power to constitute her a State in the Union. The Democratic party has opposed her, has fought her at every step, has driven her back every time she has taken an advance. We ask that the action of the Democratic party in thus excluding that Territory, and refusing to recognize others, shall be rebuked, not only by the declaration of this great body, but also by its action in permitting us, as the precedents have gone, to cast the vote which of right we would be entitled to had justice ruled.

ADOPTION OF RULES.

Mr. H. H. BINGHAM of Pennsylvania. *Mr. Chairman—*
The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. BINGHAM. I move you, sir, in order that we may proceed to business, that the rules of the last National Republican Convention be adopted until this organization is perfected.

The CHAIRMAN. If the gentleman will wait one moment the Chair will put his motion. I am directed by the National Committee to announce that it has recommended that the Dakota delegation be allowed ten votes during the preliminary organization of this convention; and that Washington Territory by the grace of the Democratic party be given six. The Chair hears a motion on the left. Do I hear a second to the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

A DELEGATE. *Mr. Chairman:* I second the motion.

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* It is moved and seconded that the rules of the last Republican National Convention be adopted for our use until further action by the convention. Are you ready for the question? [Cries of "Question."] So many as favor the motion say aye. Contrary, no. The ayes have it, and it is so ordered.

SYMPATHY FOR GEN. SHERIDAN.

Mr. JAMES R. HALLOWELL of Kansas. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. HALLOWELL. I desire to offer a resolution of sympathy with Gen. Sheridan in his affliction.

The CHAIRMAN. The resolution offered by the gentleman from Kansas will be read for the information of the convention.

Mr. HALLOWELL. I desire to move its adoption, when read, by a standing vote of this convention.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would request that gentlemen, upon being recognized by the Chair, announce their names. It saves some confusion, and it is impossible at the distance to recognize all the gentlemen in the convention.

Reading Clerk STONE read the resolution as follows:

Resolved, That the delegates to the Republican National Convention, representing the surviving comrades of the distinguished soldier and General of the army, Philip H. Sheridan, and representing also the living principles for which he so gallantly fought and triumphed during the great era of the war, send him their sincere congratulations on the prospect of his recovery, and hope that his life may be preserved for many years.

The CHAIRMAN. All those favoring the adoption of the resolution will rise to their feet.

All the delegates arose.

The CHAIRMAN. It is unanimously adopted.

TICKETS FOR VETERANS.

Mr. JOHN W. LEWIS of Kentucky. *Mr. Chairman*—

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. LEWIS. *Mr. Chairman*: At the request of a number of old Union soldiers and veterans I desire to offer for the consideration of the convention a petition handed in by them asking that this convention assign at least a certain number of seats for the use of these old defenders of the government and the Union.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read the petition.

Reading Clerk BALLARD read as follows:

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION—*Gentlemen*: The undersigned committee, appointed by their comrades, would respectfully represent that a large number of ex-Union soldiers are present in the city, but very few of whom have been able to procure tickets of admission to the Convention. They feel the same keen interest in the welfare of their country as they did in other days, when they proved the loyalty of their action. On behalf of these battle-scarred veterans we ask, as a favor at your hands, that 200 tickets of admission be granted to the Grand Army of the Republic for their use, to be distributed among the representatives of that organization by their committee, appointed for that purpose.

E. FARLEY,
H. ESPEY,
H. H. ROOD,
H. H. HYDE,
J. A. WATROUS,
P. C. WICKHAM,

Gen. E. H. HOBSON,
M. MINTON,
OZRO RICHARDSON,
L. E. POND,
S. C. WHEELER.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rules—

Mr. D. B. HENDERSON of Iowa. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. HENDERSON. I would offer an amendment to the motion, adding the words "equally among the States and Territories."

Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky. The amendment proposed by the gentleman is accepted.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will say that, under the rules which we have adopted, this petition will go to the Committee on Resolutions without debate, unless it is desired to suspend the rules.

Mr. HENDERSON. I move that the rules be suspended, and that the petition of these old veterans be granted now.

Mr. W. N. TAFT of South Carolina. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. TAFT. It seems to me that, in view of the position taken by the Democratic party of this country, in view of the many pension bills that have been vetoed for the poor soldiers who marched into the South during the war, a Republican convention, representing the great people of this country—it seems to me that all the soldiers centered here, should immediately vote to suspend the rules, and admit these men to this convention. I was a soldier, and I know that every soldier in this country is loyal to-day to its flag. The country has but one issue, one grand issue, and that is the tariff; but there is another issue that will stare you in the face, and that is to take care of the widows and orphans and of the soldiers who lost their limbs in the service of their country. The Democratic party is upon record as against the soldier. It was against the soldier in 1861. It was against the soldier in 1865, and it is against the soldier to-day. When I look upon Grant, Sherman and Sheridan, and all those men who led us forward to victory, I think that the debt of the Republican party of this country is not so small that it can be paid by simply seating a few veterans in this convention. I see it is in the air all around me, and if I had my way, I would not only pay the debt, but allow them here. The convention at St. Louis, the Democratic Convention, seated 250, and let us be at least as generous as the Democratic party—the opponent and the enemy of the soldiers. I therefore move that the rules be suspended in order to adopt the resolution.

SEVERAL DELEGATES. I second the motion.

Mr. BENJAMIN BUTTERWORTH of Ohio. I only want to suggest the propriety of the reference of this resolution to the National Committee with directions that they distribute the tickets in furtherance or in accordance with the resolution, and ask unanimous consent that that order be made.

A DELEGATE. I second that.

Mr. HERR of Michigan. *Mr. Chairman—*

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. I suggest to the gentleman from Ohio that the amendment offered by me be considered as part of the resolution.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. It was accepted.

Mr. HENDERSON. It was accepted by the mover? Let that be understood.

The CHAIRMAN. After asking that the unanimous consent of the convention be given to the reference of the resolution, together with the amendment thereto, to the National Committee, with the request that its prayer be granted, hearing no objection, the Chair understands that unanimous consent is given, and the resolution with its amendment is so referred.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. GEORGE R. DAVIS of Illinois. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. DAVIS. I move the adoption of the following resolution:

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

Reading Clerk LANNING read as follows:

Resolved, That the roll of States and Territories be called, and the Chairman of each delegation announce the names of the persons selected to serve on the committees as follows: Permanent Organization, Rules, Order of Business, Credentials, and Resolutions.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, is there any objection?

No objection was made.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would suggest to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Davis] that, under the rules, there is but one committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Mr. DAVIS. Modify the resolution please.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, if there is no objection, and as this is following the precedent of former conventions, the resolution will be considered as adopted as modified. The Secretary will call the roll, and each State as called will announce from the floor the name of the member of each one of these committees. The Clerk will call the roll.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Alabama.

Mr. WILLARD WARNER of Alabama. We ask that Alabama be passed temporarily.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Arkansas.

Mr. POWELL CLAYTON of Arkansas. What committees are required?

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee on Permanent Organization.

Mr. FESSENDEN of Connecticut. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. FESSENDEN. *Mr. Chairman.* In order to save time and a great deal of very unnecessary confusion, I move you, sir, that each Chairman of the respective State delegations send a list forward to the Chair containing the names of those gentlemen. [Cries of "Question."]

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, it is moved that the call of the roll be dispensed with, and that each State send up in writing the names of the members selected on the several committees. Are you ready for the question? [Cries of "Question, question."]

The question was put.

The CHAIRMAN. The ayes have it, and it is so ordered.

GEN. JOHN C. FREMONT INTRODUCED.

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* The Chair wishes to make an announcement. There is present in this room, as the guest of the Nebraska delegation, that eminent citizen, the first nominee of the Republican party for the office of President, and the Chair presents to you the request of that delegation that its Chairman be given an opportunity to present Gen.

Fremont to the convention. Is there any objection? [Cries of "No!" "No!"] If not, the Chairman of the delegation from Nebraska will come forward to the platform, and perform that pleasant duty.

Mr. CHARLES GREEN, Chairman of the Nebraska delegation, came to the platform.

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen of the Convention*, Chairman Green of the Nebraska delegation.

Mr. GREEN. *Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention*: More than thirty years ago the pioneers of Republicanism, assembled in Philadelphia, declared their political creed, and named their Presidential candidate. Thus freedom and Fremont became the first battle cry in that tremendous struggle in which the powers of darkness were marshaled against the hosts of light for the mastery of this Republic. Out of the chaos and conflict of that supreme controversy a new civilization has arisen from the ashes of the past, filling all the land with light and hope. Thousands, yea hundreds of thousands of those who mustered at the first roll call sleep in unremembered graves. In war and in peace, wherever duty called them, they bore the banner of the free, and asked no other meed of praise except an emancipated land. There were leaders, too, great men, gifted to be so, who from the humble walks of life by great and glorious deeds achieved immortal fame. The martyred Lincoln, from the righteousness of whose life we coin our highest aspirations; Grant, whose name is the most illustrious ever borne by living man; Logan, glorious in war, magnificent in peace, all sons of Illinois, are passed away. There were a few—a heroic few—. [Cries of "Fremont."]. There were a few—a heroic few—who already known ere the doctrines of 1856 had been proclaimed—John Brown, whose death against Virginia's leaden sky fixed our star of hope and promise. [Cries of "Fremont."] John C. Fremont; he has been steadfast in the faith, and I present him to you now, gentlemen of the convention.

When Gen. Fremont appeared, he was warmly greeted.

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen of the Convention*: I introduce to you the old hero, patriot and statesman, Gen. John C. Fremont.

ADDRESS OF GEN. FREMONT.

Gen. FREMONT spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I am unwilling to delay the business of the convention, and therefore I will occupy only a very few minutes of its time; but if I failed to respond to this splendid greeting I should feel that I carry an insensible clod, and not a warm, sympathetic heart, in my breast. I am sensibly grateful for your welcome. I am happy and proud to receive here in this great National assembly the welcome given by my friends and companions of many years, by my party friends, and by the men and the sons of the men with whom I had the conspicuous honor to be associated in our first opening campaign in 1856. It rejoices me now to see the party moving firmly forward on its natural ground of advanced opinion and action. I am glad to see it looking upon American interests and American industries from an American standpoint. [Applause.] The policy of the party has been a continuous one. Four years ago I was among the men who made the canvass of Michigan with Mr. Blaine. The same policy upon which the party stands to-day was then urged upon the warm-hearted and patriotic people of that State by him. If we had been successful in that election we should have had a distinctly American administration. I trust that this policy, erected as it is to the immediate interests of the people in their daily affairs, will soon bring the party to charge itself with the solution of the questions of labor,

which are now chief in importance to-day. [Applause.] Success now will pave easily the way to important measures, and to a continuance of power. This present election will carry to the successful party the political power of the great Territories which are now awaiting admission. It is not too much to say that the conditions of the country justify the belief that the result of the election will be favorable, conclusively, to the Republican party. [Applause.] Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention, I am glad to receive to-day the evidence of your regard. I am happy to know that it has resisted the tests of time and that it has come down to me with all its old-time cordiality.

THE VETERANS AGAIN.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH of Ohio. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Butterworth.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I desire to call the attention of the Chair to the manner of the reference of the resolution. The resolution adopted a few minutes ago was not referred as amended—was not the resolution as amended. The amendment presented by my friend from Iowa [Mr. Henderson] was accepted by the mover, and hence became a part of the resolution. The Chair will observe that in its reference he used the language, "The resolution with the amendment, will be referred."

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair so announced at the time.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. That the amendment is a part of the resolution.

A DELEGATE. That is all right.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. That was the understanding of the mover as well as of the second—that the amendment was allowed.

ADDRESS BY FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

There were calls for Mr. Douglass, and Mr. Frederick Douglass came to the platform, and was greeted with applause.

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* I have the honor to present to you a man who needs no introduction—our old friend, Fred Douglass.

Mr. DOUGLASS addressed the Convention thus:

Mr. Chairman: I had the misfortune last night to speak to a vast audience in the Armory, a little below here or above here, and broke my voice so that I feel wholly unable to address you, any more than to express my thanks to you for the cordial welcome, the earnest call you have given me to this platform. I have only one word to say, and it is this: That I hope this convention will make such a record in its proceedings as to put it entirely out of the power of the leaders of the Democratic party and the leaders of the mugwump party [Laughter] to say that they see no difference between the Republican party in respect to the class I represent and the Democratic party. I have great respect for a certain quality that I have seen distinguished in the Democratic party. It is the fidelity to its friends [Laughter] its faithfulness to those whom it has acknowledged as its masters for the last forty years. [Laughter and applause.] They were faithful—I mean the Democrats were faithful—to the slave-holding class during the existence of slavery. They were faithful before the war. They were faithful during the war. They gave them all the encouragement they possibly could without drawing their own necks into the halter. [Laughter and applause.] They were faithful during the period of

reconstruction; they have been faithful ever since. They are faithful to-day to the Solid South. I believe that the Republican party will prove itself equally faithful to its friends, and those friends during the war were men with black faces. They were legs to your maimed; they were eyes to your blind; they were shelter to your shelterless sons when they escaped from the lines of the rebels; they are faithful to-day; and when this great Republic was at its extremest need; when its fate seemed to tremble in the balance and the crowned heads and the enemies of Republican institutions were saying in Europe: "Alia, alia! This great Republican bubble is about to burst;" when your armies were melting away before the fire and pestilence of rebellion, you called upon your friends, your black friends; when your Star Spangled Banner, now glorious, was trailing in the dust, heavy with patriotic blood, you called upon the negro, Abraham Lincoln called upon the negro [Applause] to reach out his iron arm and clutch with his steeled fingers your faltering banner; and they came—they came 200,000 strong. [Cheers.] Let us remember these black men in the platform that you are about to promulgate, and let us remember these black men now stripped of their constitutional right to vote [Cheers] for the grand standard-bearer whom you will present to the country. Leave these men no longer to wade to the ballot box through blood but extend over them the arm of this Republic, and make their pathway to the ballot box as straight and as smooth and as safe as any other citizen's. [Cheers.] Be not deterred from duty by the cry of "bloody shirt." Let that shirt wave so long as blood shall be found upon it. [Cheers.] A government that can give liberty in its constitution ought to have power to protect liberty in its administration. [Applause.] I will not take up your time. I have got my thought before you. I speak in behalf of the millions who are disfranchised to-day. I thank you. [Applause.]

There were cries for "Ingersoll" and others.

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen of the Convention*, Please come to order.

Temporary Secretary CLISBEE. I desire to announce to the convention that all the States and Territories have reported under the resolution that was adopted a few minutes ago except Florida, Arizona, and the District of Columbia. If those three delegations will report to the Secretary the business of the convention can be expedited.

There were calls for Mr. Ingersoll and Mr. Bradley.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the pleasure of the convention?

There were calls for Gov. Foraker.

Mr. J. B. FORAKER of Ohio. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. FORAKER. *Mr. Chairman:* Many of the delegates about us here have made a request that the organization as returned to the Chair, be announced, in order that all the States may know whether they have been correctly reported and received.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is only waiting for the completion of the returns. [After a pause.] Gentlemen of the Convention, your Secretary will now read the list of the members of committees as forwarded by the several delegations. This reading is for verification and correction if necessary. The Secretary will now read.

Reading Clerk STONE read the Committee on Permanent Organization as reported. When Virginia was reached, he said: "Two are reported by contesting delegations."

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will submit the Virginia question after all the committees have been read, so that you can act on them all at once. Virginia will be passed.

At the conclusion of the reading:

Mr. JACOB H. GALLINGER of New Hampshire. I would like to have the name of the member from New Hampshire read again. I think there is a mistake.

Reading Clerk STONE. W. H. Gilman.

Mr. GALLINGER. It should be Edward H. Gilman.

Mr. A. E. WILLSON of Kentucky. The member of the Committee on Permanent Organization is the Hon. John Bennett. [The name reported was W. W. Jones.] We have placed W. W. Jones on another committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The correction will be made.

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

The following is the Committee:

Alabama	Isaac N. Carter	New Jersey	J. Hart Brewer
Arkansas	D. W. Ellison	New York	George B. Sloan
California	John F. Ellison	North Carolina	John H. Williamson
Colorado	Irving Howbert	Ohio	Charles Foster
Connecticut	Samuel L. Warner	Oregon	F. P. Mays
Delaware	Alvin B. Conner	Pennsylvania	Wm. R. Leeds
Florida	Samuel Petty	Rhode Island	Richard Thornley
Georgia	John Heard	South Carolina	F. A. Saxton
Illinois	Wm. L. Distin	Tennessee	George W. Winstead
Indiana	W. L. Dunlap	Texas	H. C. Ferguson
Iowa	F. M. Drake	Vermont	C. W. Read
Kansas	J. C. Strang	Virginia	John M. Langston
Kentucky	John Bennett	West Virginia	John Frew
Louisiana	C. B. Darrall	Wisconsin	A. W. Sanborn
Maine	George A. Wilson	Arizona	L. H. Goodrich
Maryland	R. J. W. Garey	Dakota	T. O. Bogart
Massachusetts	Wm. A. Gile	District of Columbia	
Michigan	John K. Boies	Idaho	Willis Sweet
Minnesota	G. G. Hartley	Montana	T. C. Power
Mississippi	Wesley Crayton	New Mexico	Thos. B. Catron
Missouri	W. A. Jacobs	Utah	John J. Daly
Nebraska	George W. Heist	Washington	E. B. Hyde
Nevada	M. D. Foley	Wyoming	C. D. Clark
New Hampshire	Edward H. Gilman		

Reading Clerk STONE read the Committee on Credentials as reported. When Massachusetts was reached, the Clerk read Jesse S. Gore.

Mr. GEORGE F. HOAR of Massachusettes. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusettes.

Mr. HOAR. The name of the member of the committee from Massachusettes is Jesse M. Gove.

The CHAIRMAN. The correction will be made.

After the completion of the reading:

Mr. EDWARD G. BRADFORD of Delaware. *Mr. Chairman:* Will the Secretary give the name from Delaware?

Reading Clerk STONE. Henry C. McLear.

Mr. CHAUNCEY I. FILLEY. The name of the member from Missouri is John Albus, Jr. [The Clerk had omitted the Jr.]

The CHAIRMAN. The correction will be made.

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

The following is the Committee:

Alabama	John W. Jones	New Jersey	John Ramsey
Arkansas	C. M. Barnes	New York	John B. Weber
California	William H. Dimond	North Carolina ..	Daniel L. Russell
Colorado	C. M. Donaldson	Ohio	William H. Gibson
Connecticut	Erastus S. Day	Oregon	J. E. Bean
Delaware	Henry C. McLear	Pennsylvania	H. H. Bingham
Florida	J. H. Shelley	Rhode Island..	Benj. M. Bosworth
Georgia	S. A. Darnell	South Carolina ..	John M. Freeman
Illinois	C. J. Lindley	Tennessee	Samuel A. McElwee
Indiana	A. K. Sills	Texas	R. F. Campbell
Iowa	W. P. Hepburn	Vermont	H. C. Ide
Kansas	H. D. Baker	Virginia	Wm. Mahone
Kentucky	George W. Jolly	West Virginia	John Cooper
Louisiana	A. L. Leonard	Wisconsin	James O'Neill
Maine	Fred A. Powers	Arizona	L. H. Goodrich
Maryland	W. T. Warburton	Dakota	B. N. Sullivan
Massachusetts	Jesse M. Gove	District of Columbia	
Michigan	Thomas P. Dunstan	Idaho	George A. Black
Minnesota	H. J. Miller	Montana	T. C. Power
Mississippi	J. J. Spelman	New Mexico.....	J. F. Chavez
Missouri	John Albus, Jr	Utah	C. S. Varian
Nebraska	Aaron W. Wall	Washington	O. C. White
Nevada	W. E. Sharon	Wyoming	F. E. Warren
New Hampshire ..	Hiram A. Tuttle		

Reading Clerk STONE read the Committee on Resolutions as reported.

At the conclusion of the reading:

Mr. JAMES D. HARDY of Alabama. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. HARDY. The name of the member from Alabama is Louis E. Parsons, Jr. [The Clerk had omitted the Jr.]

The CHAIRMAN. The correction will be made.

Mr. CREED HAYMOND of California. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California.

Mr. HAYMOND. There is a mistake in the name of the representative from California. It should be H. Z. Osborne instead of Horace M. Estee. [The name read by the Clerk.]

The CHAIRMAN. The correction will be made.

Mr. JAMES H. HARRIS of North Carolina. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. HARRIS. The name should be J. C. L. Harris instead of J. L. Harris [The name read by the Clerk.]

The CHAIRMAN. The correction will be made.

A DELEGATE from Nevada. Will the Secretary please read the name of the member from Nevada?

Reading Clerk STONE. William M. Stewart.

The DELEGATE. That is correct.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The Committee is as follows:

Alabama	Louis E. Parsons, Jr	New Jersey	John W. Griggs
Arkansas	John A. Williams	New York	Frank Hiscock
California	H. Z. Osborne	North Carolina ..	James C. L. Harris
Colorado	W. A. Hamill	Ohio	William McKinley, Jr.
Connecticut	N. D. Sperry	Oregon	Rufus Mallory
Delaware	Charles H. Trant	Pennsylvania	H. W. Oliver
Florida	E. R. Gunby	Rhode Island	Albert L. Sayles
Georgia	C. W. Arnold	South Carolina ..	George E. Herriott
Illinois	C. B. Farwell	Tennessee	L. C. Houk
Indiana	E. W. Halford	Texas	R. B. Rentfro
Iowa	G. D. Perkins	Vermont	Frank Plumley
Kansas	Albert Griffin	Virginia	S. Brown Allen
Kentucky	Logan McKee	West Virginia....	Thomas B. Swan
Louisiana	H. C. Warmoth	Wisconsin	W. E. Carter
Maine	C. H. Prescott	Arizona	L. F. Eggers
Maryland	B. H. Miller	Dakota	H. C. Hansbrough
Massachusetts ..	Alanson W. Beard	District of Columbia	
Michigan	George Spaulding	Idaho	Willis Sweet
Minnesota	C. G. Edwards	Montana	George O. Eaton
Mississippi	John R. Lynch	New Mexico	Thomas B. Catron
Missouri	William Warner	Utah	C. S. Varian
Nebraska	Patrick Egan	Washington Ter...	W. J. Thompson
Nevada	William M. Stewart	Wyoming	F. E. Warren
New Hampshire	Alfred T. Batchelder		

Reading Clerk STONE read the Committee on Rules as reported.

During the reading:

Mr. CLAYTON of Arkansas. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. CLAYTON. I want to correct the name from Arkansas. It is C. N.

Rix. [The Clerk had read C. M. Rix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Make the correction.

Mr. JAMES JACKSON of Alabama. The name for Alabama should be B. M. Long. [The Clerk had read B. F. Long.]

The CHAIRMAN. The correction from Alabama is made.

Mr. HENRY R. WOLCOTT of Colorado made a correction which was not heard.

The CHAIRMAN. The chair asks the gentleman from Colorado to repeat his correction.

Mr. WOLCOTT. The name is James M. Henderson. [The Clerk had read John M. Henderson.]

No name had been received from Louisiana when that State was called.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the Chairman of the Louisiana delegation please

announce the name of the member of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business?

Mr. WILLIAM PITT KELLOGG of Louisiana. I will send up the name.

No name had been received from Oregon when that State was called.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman from Oregon please give us the name of the member of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business for Oregon?

There was no response.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH of Ohio. *Mr. Chairman.* Some of our delegates say that the name of the committeeman from Ohio was not correctly read. It should be H. C. Carper. [The Clerk had read H. M. Carper.]

The CHAIRMAN. The correction will be made.

At the conclusion of the reading:

Mr. CHARLES S. VARIAN of Utah. The name of the member for Utah is John J. Daly.

Mr. FILLEY of Missouri. The member of that committee from Missouri is Frederick King. [The Clerk had read D. P. Dyer.]

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other corrections to be made?

No one responded.

Mr. GEORGE R. DAVIS of Illinois. I send the following resolution to the desk, and move its adoption.

The CHAIRMAN. The resolution offered by the gentleman from Illinois will be read after we finish this matter of the list. It will be the first order of business. Any other corrections to this list can be made to the Secretary.

THE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The committee is as follows:

Alabama.....Benjamin M. Long
Arkansas.....C. N. Rix
California.....E. D. Robbins
Colorado.....James M. Henderson
Connecticut.....A. T. Roraback
Delaware.....C. H. Maull
Florida.....George S. Wells
Georgia.....Jackson McHenry
Illinois.....B. F. Marsh
Indiana.....W. H. Kniseley
Iowa.....John N. Irwin
Kansas.....James R. Hallowell
Kentucky.....W. W. Jones
Louisiana.....Napoleon Lastrapes
Maine.....Joseph H. Manley
Maryland.....Adrian Posey
Massachusetts.....C. J. Noyes
Michigan.....A. B. Watson
Minnesota.....G. B. Edgerton
Mississippi.....G. F. Bowles
Missouri.....Frederick King
Nebraska.....C. O. Bates
Nevada.....Evan Williams
New Hampshire.....Charles H. Greenleaf

New Jersey.....J. H. Gaskell
New York.....J. W. Husted
North Carolina.....C. M. Bernard
Ohio.....H. M. Carper
Oregon.....
Pennsylvania.....Thomas M. Bayne
Rhode Island.....George T. Cranston
South Carolina.....T. J. Tuomey
Tennessee.....John E. McCaul
Texas.....J. W. Hearne
Vermont.....B. J. Derby
Virginia.....A. W. Harris
West Virginia.....A. B. White
Wisconsin.....A. J. Turner
Arizona.....L. F. Eggers
Dakota.....E. W. Foster
District of Columbia.....
Idaho.....George A. Black
Montana.....T. C. Power
New Mexico.....J. F. Chavez
Utah.....John J. Daly
Washington.....E. Whitson
Wyoming.....C. D. Clark

THE VIRGINIA CONTEST.

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* There now remains the question as to what delegates from the State of Virginia shall be permitted to name the members of these several committees from that State. The Chair will say the National Committee has placed upon the roll of delegates as *prima facie* entitled to seats, the delegation-at-large headed by William Mahone. There are also four district delegates from that State whose seats are uncontested. The National Committee placed the other set of delegates-at-large upon the list as contestants, and they place all of the other district delegates upon the list, with the recommendation that neither set be allowed to vote until the contest is settled by the convention. Unless the convention shall otherwise determine, the Chair will therefore hold that for the purposes of participation in this temporary organization the four delegates-at-large, headed by William Mahone, together with the four delegates whose seats are uncontested, are the delegates who alone have the right to name these committees and to vote.

Mr. JOHN S. WISE of Virginia. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Wise.

Mr. WISE. I am here, Mr. Chairman, claiming to be the Chairman of the lawful Virginia delegation. We are here permitted by this call to have twenty-four delegates from the State of Virginia, and of that twenty-four twenty are contested and four uncontested. The four uncontested delegates are from the First and Fourth Districts of Virginia. The contested delegates are the four delegates-at-large and the delegates from the Second, Third, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Districts. By the decision of the National Committee, with which we make no issue, the delegates-at-large from Virginia have been held to have a *prima facie* title and placed upon the roll with the representatives from the First and Fourth Districts. The result is that four of the delegates on the roll have contests and four have not. Thus eight, but one-third of Virginia's representation, now led by William Mahone, who is trifling with the rights of the Republicans of Virginia, is the issue here. These eight have associated themselves together with their comrades and placed William Mahone upon the Committee on Credentials to pass upon his own case. Gentlemen, that matter has been going on in Virginia for some years, and the decision is always in favor of the plaintiff. William Mahone's name is sent up by William Mahone to decide whether William Mahone is a delegate or not. And I assure you I know how it will be decided. I have learned in the battles of Virginia that a free ballot and a fair count are the dearest boon of National Republicanism. I have learned in the long struggles which we have waged there that no man ought to be permitted to be judge and suitor both. And yet the proposition, gravely presented to this convention by these eight men, four of whom are contested, and all of whom are led by him, is that in this contest he shall go upon this committee and have a vote upon his own rights and mine. Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Convention, I say it is not fair. It is not right that these eight men should go upon the Committee on Credentials, upon the Committee on Rules, upon the Committee on Permanent Organization, and decide in behalf of Virginia what the policy of this convention shall be, what the personnel of this convention shall be, what the rules of this convention shall be, when it may be that within twenty-four hours they will have their hats under their arms walking out of this convention as never having had a right to have a voice in its affairs. We sent up our rival delegation to make this issue, and on this issue we stand before the country. I appeal to this convention to say: Gentlemen, your difficulty is unfortunate. Gentlemen, we feel like you, that tears rather

than words should express the feelings which we have about this unfortunate controversy; but, gentlemen, until it is settled neither of you shall be judge, jury, witness, and complainant, all at the same time. For my part, I am willing to trust to the honesty and the justice of the Republican party from the other forty-five States and Territories of this Union until this unfortunate struggle shall be decided, but I don't want, when our case has been presented, to have William Mahone on the Committee on Credentials, to remain in when we have retired, and vote on his own case when we are gone, and perhaps unrepresented there; and so I appeal to the convention to consider this matter and appeal from the decision of the Chair which places Mahone on the Committee on Credentials, and rely upon the justice of this convention to reverse his ruling on that point. As to the other committees, it is a matter of utter indifference.

There were calls for Mahone.

Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The convention will come to order. [To Mr. Hoar. Wait a moment.] The Chair desires to state that in making its decision it expressly reserved to this convention the right to pass upon this case for itself, and the Chair will entertain any motion made by any gentleman looking toward the solution of this question. I now recognize the gentleman from Massachusetts, Senator Hoar.

Mr. HOAR. *Mr. Chairman:* It is evident it is the desire of this convention to listen to the gentleman from Virginia in a matter in which he is so much concerned, and I will interpose but two sentences before that desire can be fulfilled. They are these: First, it is absolutely necessary, in the nature of the case, that the National Committee should make up a roll *prima facie*—must deal with the organization of the convention. Otherwise we should be proceeding without chart or compass. Next, Gen. Mahone and his colleagues, by the universal parliamentary law, the universal law of all justice, cannot be permitted to vote in their own case. This has been expressly held in previous National conventions. The committee on Credentials will doubtless give the fullest hearing to the honorable contestant from Virginia who has just addressed us, and those who are with him. I suppose the Republicans of this country feel a peculiar honor for a man who, bearing the honorable name of Henry A. Wise, has brought over the authority of that great name to the principles of freedom and Republicanism. They also have a profound respect for the gallant General who first broke the force of the Solid South, and has given seven Republican Representatives to the National Congress. Between these two men who so unhappily differ, this convention hereafter, and the committee which is now put forth, will make, doubtless, an impartial and just decision. But I appeal to my honorable friend, Mr. Wise, not to interpose at this moment a discussion of a matter which cannot have the slightest practical importance, because, as I have said, no man in this convention, either on a committee or on the floor, will ever be permitted to vote in his own case.

Mr. WILLIAM MAHONE of Virginia. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes Gen. Mahone from Virginia.

Mr. MAHONE. *Mr. Chairman and Fellow Republicans:* I confess to you that it is with no ordinary embarrassment, with no ordinary regret, that the representatives of the great Republican party of this Nation should be troubled to consider questions of dissension with respect to the party in Virginia, but I want to say something to you in response to what has been said to prejudice, if that be possible, my attitude before this honorable convention, and those for whom I speak, the regular organization of the Repub-

lican party of Virginia—a party that has multiplied its active political force since I had the honor to enter it, from 80,000 to 144,000; I say that I represent—and I say it in no spirit of egotism—not only the regular organization of that State, but I represent 90 per cent. and more of the Republican masses of that Commonwealth. We are met here by gentlemen who have done little to promote that development in Virginia, who have done most to hold back the wheels of progress, and neither content, and rarely putting their shoulders to the wheel, they come here with contests, and when I give this convention one illustration it will satisfy them, I doubt not, of the utter insufficiency of their pretensions which are made before this convention. I say, as before your Committee on Credentials, as before this convention, we shall be prepared to demonstrate not only that the delegates with whom I am associated represent the party of that State at large, but that they were sent here by over 600 delegates out of 700—a convention called according to our party law, requiring the Republican voters to assemble at their respective precincts on the same day and at the same hour to appoint their delegates to city and county conventions, and by them their delegates to the State convention. I say that a convention thus constituted and composed of nearly 700 delegates, sends you four delegates-at-large, of whom I have the honor to be one; and who, I ask you, I submit to this convention, are the contestants against these four delegates-at-large? They come from a bolting convention. They come from 81 members of that State convention that chose to secede and form an organization of their own; and here you have four delegates pretending to contest the seats of the four delegates with whom I am associated, and who come here by the votes of 600 of the 700 delegates that assembled in our State convention. Such are the people who come here to contest our right in this convention. And, fellow Republicans, when you go down to look at these district delegates—when I tell you that from the great white district of Virginia, giving you a Republican member of Congress by 4,000 majority—when I tell you that all the delegates elected by that great district in our State—great in its resources, great in its Republicanism—when I tell you that three persons, just three persons, called a convention in that district—just three, two of them delegates and one an alternate, constituted the convention, Mr. Lincoln being called to the chair, Mr. Blackenbecker made secretary, and Mr. Pendleton taking the floor—

Mr. WISE. And Mahone taking the result.

Mr. MAHONE. On motion of Mr. Blackenbecker, seconded by Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Pendleton was unanimously elected to this convention as a delegate. But, gentlemen, I do not intend to detain you with these details. I give you that as an illustration of these contestants, and what they represent. Why, you have two other delegates here from another Republican district who did not even pretend to hold a convention. They have certified, by some manner of means, themselves as delegates here. And this, in the face of a regularly constituted convention, fully attended and unanimously acting. Now then, as to my position in respect of this Committee on Credentials. As I have been advised by a member of the National Committee it had agreed to place upon the rolls the two delegates from the First District, and the two from the Fourth whose seats are not contested. Thank God we have no bolters and no kickers in those districts, no mugwumps, no Republicans who would prefer to see the Democrats succeed rather than Mahone in Virginia. Now then, here were four delegates admitted to this roll, and the four delegates with whom I am one associated were admitted to the roll, and, as I am advised, the National Committee passed a resolution that these delegates should exercise the power and privilege on this floor of naming the committeemen upon the committees you are about to consti-

tute. So being advised, and my people asking me to serve upon this Committee on Credentials, they might have suggested that of course, even with such a contest as four delegates coming here from a bolting convention of eighty-one out of 700—that even there, and so situated, no man who knows me would suspect that I would vote in my own case. But I submit it does not render me ineligible to sit upon the cases of those district delegates. I am in that result not involved.

Mr. WISE. You are in my district, for I charge you with the frauds by which I was cheated out of my seat.

Mr. MAHONE. Your charge is false.

Mr. WISE. Again I charge it.

Mr. MAHONE. It is as false as you are foul.

Mr. WISE. I will put the stamp where it belongs at the proper time.
[Confusion.]

Mr. MAHONE. Well, gentlemen—

Mr. GEORGE SPAULDING of Michigan. *Mr. Chairman:* I rise—

Mr. WISE. I hope the Chair will give me a moment to reply. I shall not detain you.

Mr. SPAULDING. I rise to a question of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his question of order.

Mr. SPAULDING. *Mr. Chairman:* I believe that the decision of the Chair was correct in this matter, from which there has been no appeal by a regularly constituted delegate.

Mr. WISE. I beg your pardon. I—

Mr. SPAULDING. By a regularly constituted and admitted delegate to this convention. And I think that this is not germane to the question at all, and the whole matter ought to be left with the Committee on Credentials, as it was left and was stated succinctly by Senator Hoar of Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that there is no motion before the house. This discussion has been permitted by general consent.

Mr. WISE. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. If any delegate makes an objection, the Chair will rule that this discussion is out of order.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH of Ohio. *Mr. Chairman—*

Mr. WISE. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Butterworth.

Mr. WISE. One moment. Will you permit—

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Yes, in a moment. Mr. Chairman, I understand that the point of controversy between the two gentlemen is as to the right of William Mahone to sit as judge in his own case. As that is impossible here there ought to be no controversy between them. Under every rule of parliamentary law he will be excluded from the committee while his matter is under consideration. That being so, I do not know what question can arise between the two honorable gentlemen. And beyond that this convention cannot investigate and reach a wise determination until they hear from the Committee on Credentials. This discussion is premature, and out of place. The action of this committee will be reviewed, not upon the statement of

two gentlemen who do not present all the facts, but in the light of every fact presented by all those who have an interest in instructing this convention in the matter.

Mr. WISE. *Mr. Chairman:* One moment; just for a moment.

SEVERAL DELEGATES. I object.

The CHAIRMAN. There is objection.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Just one single moment. If it be necessary for the convention to instruct the Committee on Credentials that those interested in the determination of any question shall be excluded from the room during their deliberations upon the question, I would make such a motion, but I hesitate to insult the intelligence of any committee of this convention.

Mr. WISE. *Mr. Chairman:* One moment: I won't detain you.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Before issue is joined here, let us not try the case. This is a Republican convention proceeding with orderly deliberation, and precedents are abundant. There is no precedent for this proceeding if we are to reach a just conclusion.

Mr. WISE. *Mr. Chairman:*

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I therefore suggest to my honorable friend, there being no motion pending, that this whole matter go where it properly belongs under the force of the operation of the rule, and upon the coming in of report we will deliberate and decide justly between the claims coming up from various parties from old Virginia.

Mr. WISE. *Mr. Chairman:* Let me withdraw—let me say—

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has already decided that, objections being made, the discussion on the Virginia contest is out of order at the present time.

Mr. H. STEENERSON of Minnesota. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. STEENERSON. I desire to so amend the rule under which these committees are appointed as to make each committee consist of one member from each State whose delegations are not contested. That will exclude these gentlemen from passing upon their own case, and it will not depend upon their own sense of courtesy.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Chair hear a second to the motion?

SEVERAL DELEGATES. I second it.

Mr. GEORGE S. WELLINGTON of Maryland. I move to amend that motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I move you, sir, that all the committees appointed from the various States be recognized except the one from Virginia, and that upon the Committee on Credentials neither of the contesting delegations be recognized as entitled to pass upon their case. We wish to relieve Gen. Mahone from sitting upon his own case, even if he does not vote upon it.

Mr. STEENERSON. I think, Mr. Chairman, that my motion covers everything that is embraced in the amendment, and a little more.

Mr. WELLINGTON. It covers too much.

Mr. STEENERSON. No, it does not.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Minnesota accept the amendment offered by the gentleman from Maryland?

Mr. STEENERSON. I do not. I insist upon the original motion.

The CHAIRMAN. It has been moved and seconded that the rules be amended in such a manner that no member shall be appointed upon any of the standing committees from a State whose delegation is contested. The gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Wellington), moves to amend the original motion to the effect that from the State of Virginia there shall be permitted no member upon the Committee on Credentials. The Chair will first put the amendment.

Mr. ROOTS of Arkansas. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. ROOTS. I arise for the purpose of inquiry. I think before we vote upon the motion of the gentleman [Mr. Steenerson]—the original motion—we ought to know about how many States have contests. We might find ourselves reducing that committee below what we would be willing to have it.

Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts. I desire to call the attention of this convention to the infinite mischief which will result now and hereafter from the adoption of this motion. It will enable, in any future National Convention, any man who chooses to get up a contest to disfranchise the entire State of New York or the State of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, we can trust the justice, the sense of dignity, and the sense of honor and intelligence of the Committee on Credentials which we have just appointed. We can trust beyond that the final justice of an intelligence of the convention itself. If, in the proceedings of that committee, there be indelicacy as my honorable friend from Virginia fears shall be committed, it will prejudice more than anything else the cause of the person who commits it. I move you, Mr. President, that the resolution be laid upon the table.

SEVERAL DELEGATES. I second it.

Mr. WISE. *Mr. Chairman—*

Mr. STEENERSON. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* A motion to lay upon the table is not debatable.

Mr. STEENERSON. I desire to ask the gentleman from—[Cries of "Question."]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair cannot recognize the gentleman while this motion is pending. It has been moved and seconded that the original motion and the amendment lie upon the table.

The motion to lay upon the table was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the pleasure of the Convention?

Mr. ROBERT E. FRAZIER of Michigan. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. FRAZIER. I send up the following resolution, and move its adoption.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. I would call attention to the resolution I sent to the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Davis] sent up a

resolution which the Chair agreed to recognize as soon as it was through with this committee work. The Secretary will therefore first read it.

Mr. G. E. HERRIOTT of South Carolina. I desire to make a motion in respect to this Virginia matter, if the Chair will listen. The motion made has been laid upon the table. That does not make it out of order to make another motion in relation to the same subject.

Mr. WM. WARNER of Missouri. *Mr. Chairman:* Am I recognized?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Warner of Missouri.

Mr. WARNER. I wish to make a request for my own convenience and for the convenience of the members of the different committees, that the announcement be made by the Chair as to the place and time of meeting of the various committees; and then I think, Mr. Chairman, we will be in good condition to adjourn the Convention for to-day, go to work and prepare for the business for which we have come here.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. I would ask for the regular order, and call for the reading of my resolution.

CALLING FOR CREDENTIALS.

The CHAIRMAN. Before proceeding to comply with the request of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Warner] the Chair feels constrained to have the resolution offered previously by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Davis] read. The Chair will then proceed with the other.

Reading Clerk LANNING read the resolution as follows:

Resolved, That the roll of States and Territories be called for the presentation of credentials and for notice of contests, and that all such papers be referred without statement or debate to the Committee on Credentials.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a second to the resolution offered by the gentleman from Illinois?

SEVERAL DELEGATES. I second it.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard the resolution read. So many as favor its adoption will say aye; contrary, no. The motion is lost.

A DELEGATE. I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will put the motion once again, and will ask that the Convention vote upon it.

A DELEGATE. Read the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. The trouble is, very few gentlemen vote on either side. Gentlemen of the Convention—

Mr. FRANK HISCOCK of New York. I wish the resolution might be read again.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read the resolution.

Reading Clerk LANNING read it as follows:

Resolved, That the roll of States and Territories be called for the presentation of credentials and for notice of contests, and that all such papers be referred without statement or debate to the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. W. J. SEWELL of New Jersey. It is entirely without precedent that credentials should be asked for in a National Convention. Gentlemen do not

carry their credentials around in their pockets. It is proper, though, that the roll of States may be called for any contests, but not for credentials.

Mr. HISCOCK of New York. *Mr. Chairman:* As I understand—

Mr. SEWELL. I move to amend the resolution so that it shall read "on contests."

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. *Mr. Chairman—*

Mr. HISCOCK. As I understand it, simply the list of States is to be called. The names of the delegates from the respective States are not to be called or read. I understand that the resolution offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Davis] asks nothing more than what is suggested by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Sewell].

Mr. DAVIS. I also wish to say, Mr. Chairman, that it is entirely proper. It was done in the convention of 1880, and there is abundant precedent for it.

A DELEGATE. I hold a resolution in my hand—

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, you have heard the resolution to the effect that the roll of States be called for the purpose of permitting the presentation of credentials and papers in contested cases. So many as favor the resolution will say aye; contrary, no. The ayes have it. It is so ordered. The Secretary will call the roll.

Reading Clerk BRINKERHOFF called the roll.

When Massachusetts was reached:

Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. HOAR. *Mr. Chairman:* I ask the unanimous consent of the convention that in the States and districts where there is no contest the credentials may be given to their member of the Committee on Credentials.

A DELEGATE. I second the motion.

The CHAIRMAN. It is suggested by the gentleman from Massachusetts that in those States where there is no contest—

Mr. HOAR. States and districts—

The CHAIRMAN. States and districts—that the credentials be presented to the member of the Committee on Credentials from that State.

Mr. HISCOCK of New York. As I understand it, a list of delegates has been made by the National Committee. Why not allow them to stand as the personnel of this convention, and wherever there are contesting delegations, that these contests and the papers involved in the contests be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair understands that the list of delegates as prepared by the National Committee will be taken without further warrant, except where some contested credentials are presented.

Mr. HISCOCK and others. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am requested to announce that the several committees will meet for organization in the rooms provided in this building as soon as possible after the adjournment of the convention.

Mr. H. M. DUFFIELD of Michigan. *Mr. Chairman:* I move that when

this convention adjourns it adjourn until 12 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the chair hear a second to the motion?

SEVERAL DELEGATES. I second it.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, it is moved and seconded that when this convention adjourns it adjourn until 12 o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. FORAKER of Ohio. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio, Gov. Foraker.

Mr. FORAKER. I move as an amendment to the motion that has just been made, that we do now adjourn until 12 o'clock to-morrow.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Chair hear a second?

Mr. DUFFIELD. I accept the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The amendment is accepted. It is moved that the convention now adjourn until 12 o'clock to-morrow.

The motion was agreed to, and at 3:29 P. M., the convention adjourned until 12 o'clock June 20, 1888.

SECOND DAY.

WEDNESDAY, June 20, 1888.

The convention reassembled at noon of this day, and at 12:28 P. M. the Chairman called the delegates to order, saying: *Gentlemen of the Convention:* The hour having arrived to which this convention was adjourned, the Rev. Stephen A. Northrup from Fort Wayne, Ind., will now invoke the Divine blessing upon its deliberations of the day.

PRAYER BY THE REV. MR. NORTHRUP.

The Rev. Mr. NORTHRUP prayed as follows:

Let us unite in prayer. Almighty Father, Lord of hosts, before Thy gracious throne we would reverently bow ourselves, recognizing Thee in all of the solemn and eventful affairs of life. Thou hast been our help in centuries past. Thou art our hope for ages to come. We thank Thee for Thy loving kindness and Thy tender mercies. We thank Thee for all the memories that cluster around this sacred and impressive hour. We thank Thee that Thou hast inclined our hearts toward Thee, and that we realize that without Thee we can do nothing. We invoke the Divine blessing to rest upon this assembly in all of its present responsibilities, in all of its present needs and demands. We thank Thee for Divine and civil protection. We thank Thee for all of the rich blessings that come to us to-day from a glorious past. We thank Thee that Thou dost lead us to depend upon Thee in every deliberation, and especially upon those things that pertain to our National and spiritual welfare. Thou hast strengthened the bars of our gates: Thou hast made peace within our borders; Thou hast filled our land with the finest wheat; Thou hast not dealt so with any other nation. We thank Thee, Father, that to-day we may feel in our own hearts the inspiration of this hour, and we pray that Thy blessing may rest upon the assembled representative hosts that are gathered here to-day from all parts of our broad land. Help them to realize the grave responsibilities resting upon them in the choice of a standard-bearer who shall come from the people and be of the people, one who shall partake of the sympathies of the masses, for Thou didst say when Thou wast on earth, O blessed Christ, "Come unto Me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." We invoke Thy special favor to rest upon those who are leaders of this convention, and those who are the representatives of the people in the various States. We ask Thy blessing to rest upon the great party that is represented here to-day. We thank Thee for its glorious past and success, though indeed it has come out of tribulation and has washed its robes in sacrificial blood of multitudes of brave soldier boys. We pray Thee, Father, that Thy blessing may rest upon the soldier of our nation who is now languishing upon a bed of sickness. May the comfort of the Holy Spirit be with him, and we pray Thee, if consistent with Thy will, that Thou wouldst restore him to his family and to this

Nation. We ask Thee now that Thou wouldst favor this convention, represented by the people and for the people, by Thy presence, and may its deliberations be in keeping with Thy will. We ask it in the name of the Worthy Christ of Calvary. AMEN.

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* There have been forwarded to the Chair numerous petitions and communications relating to the formation of a platform, all of which, with the consent of the convention, will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. [After a pause.] What is the pleasure of the convention?

Mr. WILLIAM A. HAMILL of Colorado. As there is no work to do I move that the convention adjourn until 6 o'clock this evening. [Cries of "No," "No."]

Mr. JOHN A. ROCHE of Illinois. I think we should have the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.

Mr. WILLIAM A. GILE of Massachusetts. I second the motion of the gentleman to hear from the Committee on Permanent Organization.

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* Before stating the question the Chair desires to renew the request made yesterday, that gentlemen upon being recognized will give the name of their State, together with their own name, for the benefit of the secretaries and the reporters. It has been moved and seconded that this convention call upon the Committee of Permanent Organization for its report. Are you ready for the question? [Cries of "Question," "Question."]

Mr. JAS. H. HARRIS of North Carolina. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Harris of North Carolina.

Mr. HARRIS. I suggest to the members of the convention that the first thing in order before this convention is the report from the Committee on Credentials. There can be no report from the Committee on Permanent Organization until this convention has ascertained who here are properly delegates. It seems to me that until the Committee on Credentials have reported, and we have settled the matters reported by them, the Committee on Permanent Organization will not be entitled to report. I take it it is not the pleasure of this convention to deprive any delegate of a seat in this convention, and the number seated will be seated by the voice of this committee before the permanent organization of this body, and while I would not, of course, institute any gag-law in this convention, I would move that the motion made by the gentleman [Mr. Roche] that we have the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization, be laid on the table.

Mr. ROCHE. The motion is withdrawn. It was simply to facilitate the business of the convention. There is no objection to the Committee on Credentials reporting first.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that the last two Republican conventions saw fit to receive and act upon the report of the Committee upon Permanent Organization without waiting for the report from the Committee on Credentials. It is, therefore, within the power of the convention to take whatever course upon that subject it desires. The Chair will further state

that it is informed by the Committee upon Credentials that that committee will be ready to make its final report at 8 o'clock this evening, and not before.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. It is obvious to this convention that we are not prepared to go to business, and that nothing will be gained by remaining in session, unless gentlemen are prepared to make nominating speeches. That is the only thing that would seem to be in order. Now I only want to act in concert with all of the convention in this matter, and it seems to me that probably the best way is for us to adjourn, to take a recess until 8 o'clock this evening, when we will have the report of the Committee on Credentials, and can organize in due form and then proceed regularly to the business of the convention. Therefore, for the purpose of bringing this question before the convention, I move that we take a recess until 8 o'clock this evening. [Cries of "No, no."]

Mr. THOMAS M. BAYNE of Pennsylvania. *Mr. Chairman—*

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. I will not press this, then, if the convention is not in sympathy with the motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Henderson] withdraws his motion.

Mr. HENDERSON. I do not wish to press the motion if the convention is not in sympathy with it.

Mr. BAYNE of Pennsylvania. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. HENDERSON. I will not withdraw my motion until I hear from the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. BAYNE. I understand the Committee on Rules is ready to report; that the Committee on Credentials is not ready to report, as announced by the Chairman of the convention. It has heretofore been the custom to make a permanent organization before the Committee on Credentials shall report. There is no reason why we shall not now proceed to effect a permanent organization under the practice which has obtained in previous conventions. If the motion to adjourn this convention should prevail it may be protracted a long space of time. I think it would be wise on the part of the convention to proceed with the business which is now ready to be proceeded with, and therefore, I hope my friend from Iowa [Mr. Henderson] will withdraw his proposition, and that we shall proceed now with the permanent organization of this convention.

Mr. HENDERSON. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa has the floor.

Mr. HENDERSON. As I stated when I submitted my views to the convention, or rather my motion, I had no purpose, no disposition to antagonize the general sentiment of the convention; and if it is their desire to go ahead and effect the permanent organization I am certainly in sympathy with it, and I therefore withdraw the motion.

Mr. BAYNE. Make the motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The motion to adjourn is withdrawn.

Mr. HENDERSON. I now move, Mr. Chairman, and it will voice the senti-

ment of the convention—we want to work together harmoniously—that we proceed to effect the permanent organization of the convention, and that we have the report of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. It is moved and seconded that we now proceed with the report from the Committee on Permanent Organization. Are you ready for the question? [Cries of "Question," "Question."]

Mr. GILE of Massachusetts. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. GILE. *Mr. Chairman*, I understand that it is not only the right, but that it is the duty of every convention, and of every legislative body, to first perfect their permanent organization before they proceed to try the title of the members of the convention which are contested, and I therefore hope that this motion will prevail, and that the convention will proceed to receive the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has already held that, in accordance with the precedents of former National Conventions, the motion to proceed to a permanent organization is in order. Are you ready for the question?

The question was put, and the motion agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization come forward with his report?

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. CHARLES FOSTER of Ohio. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Foster.

Mr. FOSTER, Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, read their report, which was as follows:

Mr. President: Your Committee on Permanent Organization make the following unanimous report: We recommend for Permanent President the Hon. Morris M. Estee, of the State of California.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Alabama.....	P. D. Barker	New Jersey.....	G. A. Halsey
Arkansas.....	Ferd. Havis	New York.....	Jesse Johnson
California.....	H. W. Byington	North Carolina.....	J. H. Harris
Colorado.....	J. W. Wingate	Ohio.....	Benjamin Butterworth
Connecticut.....	I. L. Spencer	Oregon.....	Z. F. Moodey
Delaware.....	J. R. Whitaker	Pennsylvania.....	James McManes
Florida.....	F. M. Wicker	Rhode Island.....	W. R. Walker
Georgia.....	W. J. White	South Carolina.....	E. H. Deas
Illinois.....	H. S. Clark	Tennessee.....	W. W. Woodruff
Indiana.....	W. A. Cullen	Texas.....	Webster Flanagan
Iowa.....	H. H. Rood	Vermont.....	S. D. Hobson
Kansas.....	W. A. Johnson	Virginia.....	_____
Kentucky.....	E. A. Hobson	West Virginia.....	R. L. Berkshire
Louisiana.....	H. C. Minor	Wisconsin.....	H. O. Fairchild
Maine.....	R. B. Shephard	Arizona.....	L. H. Goodrich
Maryland.....	W. B. Brooks	Dakota.....	L. B. Richardson

Massachusetts.....	J. H. Gould	District of Columbia.....	_____
Michigan.....	G. W. Crawford	Idaho.....	George A. Black
Minnesota.....	M. S. Chandler	Montana.....	T. C. Power
Mississippi.....	J. W. Lee	New Mexico.....	J. F. Chavez
Missouri.....	S. K. Crawford	Utah.....	J. J. Daly
Nebraska.....	B. S. Baker	Washington.....	Thomas H. Minor
Nevada.....	W. E. Sharon	Wyoming.....	F. E. Warren
New Hampshire.....	P. C. Cheney		

And we give authority to such States as have not yet named a candidate for Vice-President, to hereafter name such officer.

HONORARY SECRETARIES.

For Honorary Secretary as follows:

Alabama.....	Albert Boyd	New Hampshire....	A. T. Batchelder
Arkansas.....	J. T. Penn	New Jersey.....	Henry S. White
California.....	George E. De Golia	New York....	Robert Ray Hamilton
Colorado.....	Irving Howbert	North Carolina...	George M. Bulla
Connecticut.....	Henry R. Parrott	Ohio.....	Henry C. Hedges
Delaware.....	Charles H. Maull	Oregon.....	Jonathan Bourne, Jr.
Florida.....	E. R. Gunby	Pennsylvania.....	L. C. Darte
Georgia.....	J. H. Deveaux	Rhode Island..	Edward H. Rathbun
Illinois.....	B. F. Funk	South Carolina.....	P. F. Oliver
Indiana.....	J. V. Hadley	Tennessee.....	George W. Hill
Iowa.....	J. P. Earley	Texas.....	E. H. Terrell
Kansas.....	W. W. Scott	Vermont.....	B. J. Derby
Kentucky....	Charles M. Pendleton	Virginia.....	_____
Louisiana.....	Thos. W. Wickham	West Virginia.....	J. J. Peterson
Maine.....	Eben D. Haley	Wisconsin.....	G. A. Knapp
Maryland.....	L. E. P. Dennis	Arizona.....	L. F. Eggers
Massachusetts....	George S. Merrill	District of Columbia.....	_____
Michigan.....	Wm. B. McCreery	Dakota.....	J. M. Bailey, Jr.
Minnesota.....	Joel P. Heatwole	Idaho.....	Willis Sweet
Mississippi.....	S. P. Hurst	Montana.....	T. C. Power
Missouri.....	L. F. Parker	New Mexico.....	M. S. Otero
Nebraska.....	E. D. Einsel	Utah.....	John J. Dalv
Nevada.....	Evan Williams	Washington.....	O. C. White
		Wyoming.....	C. D. Clark

Mr. HERR of Michigan. *Mr. Chairman—*

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Horr.

Mr. HERR. There is a mistake in the name of Secretary from Michigan. It should be Col. W. B. McCreery, not Mr. Richardson (the name of Mr. N. M. Richardson had been read by Mr. Foster), who is Secretary of our delegation.

Mr. FOSTER. I don't know how we got it.

Mr. HERR. You got it because he is Secretary of our delegation.

The CHAIRMAN. The correction will be made.

Mr. FOSTER. [Continuing the reading]:

There is also authority given to the States not herein reported to report hereafter their names for Honorable Secretary. For all remaining places we recommend the retention of the temporary organization, and Mr. Frank Willing Leach of Pennsylvania, as additional Secretary, and Mr. Charles Martin of Kansas, as additional Reading Clerk.

SECRETARIES.

Charles W. Clisbee, Michigan; Michael Griffin, Wisconsin; Wm. Rule, Tennessee; Frank Willing Leach, Pennsylvania.

ASSISTANT SECRETARIES.

Thos. J. Brogan, Tennessee; Tams Bixby, Minnesota; Henry M. Cooper, Arkansas; Wm. Nelson, New Jersey; A. Warfield Monroe, Maryland; J. E. Wiley, Texas; John L. Minor, Louisiana; and Chas. M. Shinn, West Virginia.

READING CLERK.

Henry Ballard, Vermont; Carson Lake, New York; David Lanning, Ohio; James H. Stone, Michigan; Geo. M. Brinkerhoff, Illinois; Charles Martin, Kansas.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

CHARLES FOSTER, *Chairman*.

JOHN H. WILLIAMSON, *Secretary*.

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen of the Convention*: You have heard the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. What is your pleasure?

Mr. LOGAN MCKEE of Kentucky. I move that it be adopted.

SEVERAL DELEGATES. I second it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McKee of Kentucky moves that the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization be adopted. Are you ready for the question? [Cries of Question.]

The question was put, and the motion to adopt was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will appoint Gov. Foster of Ohio, Mr. George B. Sloan of New York, and Mr. M. D. Foley of Nevada, as a Committee to escort the Permanent Chairman to the platform.

The three gentlemen performed this duty, and when Mr. Estee reached the platform:

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen of the Convention*: In presenting to you your Permanent Chairman, the Chair desires to return to you its sincere thanks for your great assistance in aiding it to perform the difficult duties of the position of Temporary Chairman. I have the honor to present to you as your Permanent Chairman, the Hon. Morris M. Estee of California.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

PRESIDENT ESTEE. *Gentlemen of the Convention*: I thank you in the name of the States and Territories of the Pacific coast, as well as from my own heart, for the distinguished honor that you have seen fit to confer upon me. I appreciate to the fullest extent the grave responsibilities devolving upon me, and, it being a Republican convention, I shall ask in all things its charitable judgment and its candid and earnest support. Gentlemen of the convention, following so illustrious a gentleman as your Temporary Chairman, I shall not attempt to detain you by any lengthened

speech. I only want to say to you that we live so far from the center of the Republic, over on the Pacific shore, that I cannot even guess who your nominee is going to be. Of course you all know. I say further to you, my friends and gentlemen of the convention, that I am not able to say exactly what your platform will be, but the people of the country have echoed its sentiments, and the rattle of the skirmish-line was heard only two weeks ago from Oregon, and, God willing, next November you will hear from Cleveland's Appomattox all over this great Republic. My friends and gentlemen of the convention, again thanking you for the very high honor you have conferred upon me, and impressing you, I hope and pray, with the belief that our duties are the gravest and most solemn in character, and trusting from the depth of my soul that every act may be done to promote the best interests of our common country, and to advance the great Republican party, I will call for the next order of business. [Applause.]

PRESENTATION OF GAVEL.

Mr. ROCHE of Illinois. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Illinois. Mayor Roche.

Mr. ROCHE. *Mr. President and Delegates to the National Republican Convention:* As emblematic of the substantial character of the Republican party and its identification with the interests of both capital and labor, I am instructed by my fellow citizens, in their name and in their behalf, to present to this convention this gavel [Applause], made not of silver alone, but of gold and silver—the bi-metallic basis of our sound National currency, the boon given by the Republican party to the people of this country. The materials, dug from the bowels of the earth, the separating and refining processes, and the adornment with precious stones, requiring both rude and skilled labor [Applause], teach the great lesson which the Republican party has illustrated for a generation by its legislation for free homes, free schools, and a free ballot [Applause], that free intelligent labor is entitled to its just rewards, and is the foundation, not only of all wealth, but of all individual and national prosperity. [Applause.] As gold and silver regulate our National finances, and maintain the wheels of industrial progress in a normal and healthful condition, may this emblem of authority, in the hands of its presiding officer, keep this convention in the line of orderly procedure until it reaches a successful and happy issue of its labors. [Applause.]

Mr. CHARLES A. WORKS of Illinois. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. WORKS. *Mr. President:* I hold in my hand also a gavel sent to the Illinois delegation by Mr. E. W. Montgomery of Galena, Ill. It is a plain tool, and is made of neither silver nor gold, but it is connected closely by association with a name, the memory of which will ever be dearer in the hearts of the American people than either silver or gold. It is made from a piece of wood from the desk in a tannery in Galena [Applause], which desk was left by that superbly magnificent silent soldier of America, Ulysses S. Grant. [Applause.] On yesterday, Mr. President, the Michigan delegation presented to the Temporary Chairman of this convention a gavel with which it was proposed to pound to death the Democracy. [Applause.] I, on behalf of the Illinois delegation, take great pleasure in presenting to you, Mr. President, this gavel, with this sentiment: That, having pounded to death the Democratic party, we will tan its hide. [Cheers.]

The PRESIDENT. *Mayor Roche and Delegate Works of the Illinois Delegation:* On behalf of the National Republican Convention, we accept in

their name these tokens, one of pure silver, the other a memento of that gallant great man who will live in the hearts of the American people so long as history shall be read. [Applause.] We accept these tokens from you as emblematic of the purity of our great party, its lofty and patriotic purposes, and we say to you, "With these tools as our guiding stars we are bound to win hereafter. [Applause.] Gentlemen, we thank you. [After a pause.] What is the further pleasure of the convention? The report of the Committee on Rules, I believe, is the next in order.

Mr. BAYNE, of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Bayne of Pennsylvania has the floor.

Mr. BAYNE. *Mr. President*: The Committee on Rules and Order of Business—

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman step forward to the platform?

Mr. B. F. FUNK of Illinois. I rise to a question of privilege, and it is that—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Illinois rises to a question of privilege. Please state the question.

Mr. FUNK. It is that we request that these banners [those locating the different delegations] be lowered so that the delegates may see. We are blinded here by these banners so we cannot see the speakers.

The PRESIDENT. The Sergeant-at-Arms will see that this matter is corrected. Before the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Bayne] makes his report, if there be no objection by the convention, the Sergeant-at-Arms will remove the banners and replace them hereafter with smaller ones. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Bayne] has the floor.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES.

Mr. BAYNE. *Mr. President*: The Committee on Rules and Order of Business has the honor to submit the following report:

RULE 1. This convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each State, equal to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, ten delegates from Dakota Territory, six from Washington Territory, two from each one of the remaining Territories, and two from the District of Columbia.

RULE 2. The rules of the House of Representatives shall be the rules of the convention so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the following rules.

RULE 3. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegates from any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by a majority of the convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

RULE 4. Upon all subjects before the convention the States shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the Territories and the District of Columbia.

RULE 5. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the Committee on Resolutions shall be disposed of before

the convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

RULE 6. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded the same shall be taken by States, Territories and the District of Columbia, the Secretary calling the roll of the States and Territories and the District of Columbia in the order hereinbefore stated.

RULE 7. In making the nominations for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it appears at the close of any roll call that any candidate has received a majority of all the votes to which the convention is entitled, the President of the convention shall announce the question to be: Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous? But if no candidate shall have received such majority, the Chair shall direct the vote to be taken again, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes; and when any State has announced its vote it shall so stand, unless in case of numerical error.

RULE 8. In the record of the vote by States, the vote of each State, Territory and District of Columbia, shall be announced by the Chairman, and in case the vote of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition; but if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such an announcement by the Chairman of his delegation, the President of the convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the votes individually given.

RULE 9. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except in the presentation of names of candidates.

RULE 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia shall name, through its Chairman, a person who shall act as a member of such committee. Such committee shall issue the call for the meeting of the National Convention six months, at least, before the time fixed for said meeting; and each Congressional District in the United States shall elect its delegates to the National Convention in the same way as the nomination for a Member of Congress is made in said district; and in Territories the delegates to the convention shall be elected in the same way as a nomination of a delegate to Congress is made; and said National Committee shall prescribe the mode for selecting the delegates for the District of Columbia. *An alternate delegate for each delegate to the National Convention*, to act in case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same manner and at the same time as the delegate is elected. Delegates at large for each State, and their alternates, shall be elected by State Conventions in their respective States.

RULE 11. The Republican National Committee is authorized and empowered to select an Executive Committee, to consist of nine members who may or may not be members of the National Committee.

RULE 12. All resolutions relating to the platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

RULE 13. No persons, except members of the several delegations and officers of the convention, shall be admitted to that section of the hall apportioned to delegates.

RULE 14. The convention shall proceed in the following order of business:

1. Report of the Committee on Credentials.
2. Report of the Committee on Resolutions.
3. Naming of Members of National Committee.
4. Presentation of candidates for President.
5. Balloting.
6. Presentation of candidates for Vice-President.
7. Balloting.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN E. McCALL,

Secretary.

THOS. M. BAYNE,

Chairman.

Mr. BAYNE. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. BAYNE. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* The rules reported are substantially those adopted by the last National Convention. The only essential changes are two. One is, instead of adopting Cushing's Manual as the guide for our parliamentary proceedings, we adopt what has been done by previous National Conventions, the Rules of the House of Representatives so far as those rules are applicable. The most essential change in the rules suggested by your committee is this: That an Executive Committee consisting of nine members may be chosen or elected by the National Committee to conduct the affairs of the party. There is another change also, not a material one, however, as to excluding from the section of the hall set apart for delegates to the convention everybody excepting the delegates themselves, and officers of the convention. That is the system of rules unanimously reported by the Committee on Rules.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* You have heard the report of your Committee on Rules and Order of Business. What is your pleasure?

Mr. GILE of Massachusetts. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Gile of Massachusetts.

Mr. GILE. I move that the report of the committee be accepted, and the rules as recommended, be adopted by this convention.

The PRESIDENT. Does that motion receive a second?

Mr. JAMES W. HUSTED of New York. I second the motion.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Husted of New York, seconds the motion. It has been moved and seconded that the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business be adopted.

Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. HOAR. I respectfully ask to have read once more the clause in the rules which provides for the election of alternates.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania will read for the instruction of the convention that part of the report relating to alternates.

The report had been handed in, and sent to the printer.

The PRESIDENT. [After a pause.] The report has already been sent out to be printed, but it will be back in one moment.

Mr. HOAR. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The intention of the committee was, I suppose, to have it printed early so that it could be in use this evening. The Senator from Massachusetts has the floor.

Mr. HOAR. *Mr. President:* If the convention will pardon me, as I heard the rule read it provides for the election of a single alternate for each delegate-at-large, and a single alternate for each district delegate. Now that will prove to be a great inconvenience, because very often the delegate-at-large and the alternate especially elected for him will both be absent, and it has been the universal custom where either of the four delegates-at-large is absent, to permit the alternates in their order, going through the list of those alternates, to take his place, and so, where one district delegate is absent, if his alternate be also absent, the second alternate chosen by the same constituency is permitted to act. Now, if I heard this rule rightly read, it appears to me that it will be convenient to so change its language as to provide that alternates may be elected for each delegation at large, to consist of course of the same number of alternates, and alternates may be elected for each district delegation—to consist of course, of the same number. I will not detain the convention now, as the rules have gone out, by making the motion. But I respectfully ask unanimous consent that if it shall appear that the rules as now reported are liable to that objection hereafter, it may be in order to bring the matter to the attention of the convention in spite of the adoption of the rules at this time.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Massachusetts that the rule has been returned, and it will now be read for the information of the convention. The Secretary will read the rule.

Secretary CLISBEE read the rule as follows:

A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia shall name—

Mr. HOAR. What I desire, Mr. Secretary, is the reading of the rule in reference to the choice of alternates.

Mr. BAYNE of Pennsylvania. That is right. It is the concluding section. You will find it all right.

Secretary CLISBEE, continuing the reading:

through its Chairman a person who shall act as a member of such committee. Such committee shall issue and call for the meeting of the National Convention six months at least before the time fixed for said meeting; and each Congressional district in the United States shall elect its delegates to the National Convention in the same way as the nomination for a Member of Congress is made in said district. And in the Territories the delegates to the convention shall be elected in the same way as the nomination of a delegate to Congress is made; and said National Committee shall prescribe the mode for electing the delegates for the District of Columbia. An alternate delegate for each delegate to the National Convention, to act in case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same manner, and at the same time, as the delegate is elected. Delegates-at-large for each State and their alternates shall be elected by State conventions in their respective States.

The PRESIDENT. Is the convention ready for the question?

Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts. *Mr. President—*

Mr. BUTTERWORTH of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I was only going to ask if that was satisfactory.

Mr. HOAR. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts has the floor.

Mr. HOAR. *Mr. President:* I move that all of the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business be adopted except so much as applies to the election of alternates, and that that be recommitted to the committee.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. One moment.

The PRESIDENT. Does that motion receive a second?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I second the motion with this modification—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will have to second it without any modification.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Then, Mr. President, I will second it and hold the floor to amend it.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio has seconded the motion made by the gentleman from Massachusetts, Senator Hoar. Is the convention ready for the question?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio has the floor.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I only wish to call the attention of the convention to the fact that the time which may be occupied in presenting the names of candidates for nomination for President and Vice-President, has not been limited. While I do not want to check the flow of eloquence, I deem it quite proper that that should be done; it has always been done before. I therefore move to further amend by inserting fifteen minutes for the presentation of names, and ten minutes for seconding the nomination.

The PRESIDENT. Does that motion to amend receive a second?

A DELEGATE. I second it.

Mr. ROOTS of Arkansas. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. ROOTS. *Mr. President:* We desire to hear the motion as made by Senator Hoar announced, so that it may be heard by the convention, and the amendment also.

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, the question was upon the adoption of the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. On that motion Senator Hoar of Massachusetts moved that the whole of the report, except only that portion relating to the election of alternates, be adopted. To that motion an amendment was proposed by the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Butterworth, to the effect that the time for presentation speeches be limited to fifteen minutes, and seconding the presentation of candidates to ten minutes. Is that right?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Yes, Mr. President. that is right.

The PRESIDENT. The question now is upon the adoption of the amendment. Are you ready for the question?

Mr. BAYNE of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. BAYNE. I hope my friend from Ohio will withdraw his amendment. I feel as if he could sympathize with me and I could sympathize with him, in the limitation put upon time by the rules of the House of Representatives, where one has got to say a great deal in a very short time.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I sympathize with the audience. [Laughter.]

Mr. BAYNE. And I feel as if no constraint should be put upon any gentleman whose duty it is to nominate candidates for the Presidency. It is probable my friend from Ohio may himself exercise the pleasant duty of making a speech in behalf of some one of the candidates. But I think that if gentlemen desire to speak for a longer time than fifteen minutes they should be at liberty to do so, and it would be rather an unpleasant thing to restrain a speaker when he had spoken fifteen minutes, or sixteen or seventeen, and for the Chairman of this convention to rise with one of those beautiful gavels which have been presented to him to stop the speaker, when he was perhaps striking his peroration and going to produce the greatest effect of his presentation speech. I do not think that proposition ought to be adopted, and I do not think anybody in this convention, saving, perhaps, my friend from Ohio [Mr. Butterworth], will transcend a reasonable limit in making a nomination. [Laughter.] Now, Mr. President— [Cries of "Time."] I want to say one word—

The PRESIDENT. The Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business [Mr. Bayne] has the floor.

Mr. BAYNE. I want to say one word with reference to the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts, Senator Hoar. This was the same rule adopted in the last convention. The alternates are chosen in the same way that the delegates are chosen—precisely the same way. The alternates to the district delegates are voted for at the same time the delegates are voted for, chosen precisely the same way. The alternates in the State conventions are chosen in the same way as the delegates-at-large. What objection can there be to that? I do not understand it.

Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts. The point is—

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania give way? way?

Mr. HOAR. The gentleman will yield to me, I think.

Mr. BAYNE. I do.

Mr. HOAR. The point is that the rule provides but one alternate for one delegate. If that alternate is not here, the seat is vacant. Now, I want to have the rule provide that each of the four alternates-at-large is able to respond, some one of them—the proper one, in his order—and act for any absent delegate, and so in the case of each district delegate.

Mr. BAYNE. I would just suggest that, although the language of the rule may be susceptible of that construction, the practice has not been that.

Mr. HOAR. That is just it.

Mr. BAYNE. The practice has uniformly been that an alternate can vote in the convention, although he may not be the special alternate of the delegate to whom he is attached.

Mr. HOAR. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman yield the floor to Senator Hoar?

Mr. BAYNE. I do.

Mr. HOAR. I merely wish to say that if the rest of these rules are adopted and this part is recommitted the Chairman of the Committee in two minutes can draw a phrase which will put this important question beyond a doubt.

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Butterworth—namely: To limit the speeches to fifteen minutes. Are you ready for the question? [Cries of "Question."]

The motion to amend was not agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The question now is upon the motion made by the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Hoar.

Mr. CHARLES A. BOUTELLE of Maine. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Before that motion is put, Mr. President, I would like to ascertain from the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts whether it is his purpose or design to obtain a rule whereby, in the absence of a delegate from a district any alternate from any district could vote in the place of that delegate.

Mr. HOAR. No, no, not at all.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Well, Mr. President, that has been the understanding of a great many gentlemen in my vicinity, and I desire to have this distinctly understood before the vote is taken, because it seemed obvious to me that the adoption of that kind of a modification would be an absolute abandonment of the great principle of district representation for which we have fought, and for which we have won a victory in two of the great National Conventions of the Republican party.

Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. HOAR. *Mr. President:* I had something to do with that contest, and with that victory.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Most honorably.

Mr. HOAR. And I entirely sympathize with my honorable friend. What I want is exactly this: That when there are four delegates-at-large and four alternates elected by the same constituency, and one delegate-at-large is absent, each of those four alternates in his order may be entitled to take the place of the one that is absent, and there stop. When there are two delegates chosen from a district and one of them is absent I want his alternate to represent him, or, if he is absent, the other alternate chosen by the same constituency, and there stop. Now, the language of this rule, although the practice has been otherwise, is expressly opposed to that proposition.

Mr. BAYNE. Will the gentleman from Massachusetts yield the floor?

Mr. HOAR. Certainly; I yield.

Mr. BAYNE. That is the practice now. The practice is to call the alternates in succession, and any alternate may represent any delegate.

Mr. HOAR. That is true, but the rule which you reported is expressly otherwise, and I want two or three words put into it so that when the question arises it may be settled by the rule.

Mr. BAYNE. We have practiced under that same rule.

Mr. ROOTS of Arkansas. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. ROOTS. I move sir, that the rule as reported be so amended that the convention electing alternates shall have the authority to state in what order they shall fulfill the position of delegates in the absence of delegates. I think it is the convention which elects the alternates that should express in what order they desire them to assume the position.

Mr. BOUTELLE of Maine. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine.

Mr. BOUTELLE. There is another little misunderstanding in regard to this matter, and we desire to vote intelligently. I would say that I now understand the motion and purpose of the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts to be to adopt the entire report save this clause, and to have that recommitted in order that the phraseology may be carefully and deliberately prepared, to be subsequently submitted to the convention.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman make the motion to recommit?

Mr. FILLEY of Missouri. I understand the gentleman [Mr. Hoar] to state to the convention that the only intention he has is to have the alternates called in order, no matter how they are elected, in the National Convention: that where there are four delegates and one is absent, the alternates may be called in order, and the principal shall not be deprived of the right to vote, either of the four alternates voting for the State; and it would be well, Mr. President, if the convention would also direct the committee, that, in the absence of an alternate for a district delegate, the other one from the same district may vote. Now, that is the proposition plain and simple in the district also, as well as at large.

Mr. TAFT of South Carolina. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. TAFT. It seems to me, Mr. President, that the trouble is upon the construction of the rule, and not with the rule as applied to this convention and the practice in previous conventions. The trouble seems to be with the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Hoar] that the rule may be construed differently in future from what it has been construed in previous conventions. I therefore move as an amendment to the amendment that all relating to alternates be stricken from the rule as reported, and that the four alternates-at-large and two from each district be elected at the same time as delegates from the State at large, and the delegates from the Congressional districts, who shall be entitled to vote in the absence of delegates from the State at large, or from the districts, as the case may be. It seems to me that that will cover it.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from South Carolina reduce his proposed amendment to writing? It is certainly too long for us to understand. Please send it up to the desk.

Mr. TAFT. We have an official stenographer, and he can write it.

Mr. JESSE JOHNSON of New York. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Johnson of New York.

Mr. JOHNSON. *Mr. President:* I move to amend the rule before the convention by providing that the clause relating to alternates be referred back to the committee with instructions to make further report at the next meeting.

The PRESIDENT. If the proposed amendment of the gentleman from South Carolina was seconded, that motion is out of order.

Mr. TAFT. I accept the amendment, thinking it would be better to go to the committee, now that we understand the wishes of the convention.

The PRESIDENT. The question is to refer the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. Are you ready for the question

Mr. BAYNE. I wish—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. JOHNSON. *Mr. President:* I still have the floor. I make this motion—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania is Chairman of the Committee, and he was recognized by the Chair.

Mr. JOHNSON. I had the floor.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair understood the gentleman had taken his seat.

Mr. JOHNSON. I had not.

Mr. BAYNE. *Mr. President:* I yielded the floor to the gentleman from Massachusetts who proposed an amendment which makes clear this proposition, and although I can only speak for myself as a member of the Committee on Rules I have no doubt it will prove acceptable because among the members of the committee it was understood to be exactly what he wants it to be now.

Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts. *Mr. President:*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts, Senator Hoar.

Mr. HOAR. I have prepared a form of amendment which is satisfactory to the Chairman of the Committee. If it be satisfactory to the convention I will withdraw my motion to recommit, and move this amendment instead. Let me read it. The present rule as reported is:

An alternate delegate for each delegate to the National Convention, to act in case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected, etc.

Now I propose this substitute:

Alternate delegates for each delegation-at-large, and alternate delegates for each district delegation, to consist of the same number as their principals, to act in case of the absence of the delegates, shall be elected, etc.

Mr. BAYNE. I hope the convention will accept that.

Mr. HOAR. I move that amendment.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts, Senator Hoar, withdraws his motion to recommit and moves the adoption of the amendment he has read—moves the adoption of the report with the amendment. Is the convention ready for the question? [Cries of "Question."]

Mr. WARNER of Alabama. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Alabama, Mr. Warner.

Mr. WARNER. We don't hear well here, and we want to vote intelligently, and I simply ask for information. As I understand the amendment as read

by Mr. Hoar it is that the alternates may vote in the order in which they are chosen, for their principals. Now, I want to make this suggestion to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. TAFT. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from South Carolina rise to a point of order?

Mr. TAFT. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDENT. State your point of order.

Mr. TAFT. My point of order is that it is impossible for us to know what is under debate, because this part of the convention has not been able to hear the amendment, and I rise for the purpose of asking that it be read again.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Massachusetts, Senator Hoar, please send up the amendment, and the Secretary will read it for the information of the convention.

Mr. WARNER of Alabama. I ask to make the suggestion to the Senator from Massachusetts that if he will accept the suggestion or amendment of Mr. Roots of Arkansas, it will be in the power of the convention to choose the alternates, and to decide how they shall act.

Mr. HOAR. I have no objection, but let that be done afterward. Let my amendment be read.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the proposed amendment.

Reading Clerk STONE. The amendment is to strike out the words:

"An alternate delegate for each delegate to the National Convention," and insert in lieu thereof the following:

Alternate delegates for each delegation at large, and alternate delegates for each district delegation, to consist of the same number as their principals.

The PRESIDENT. You have heard read the proposed amendment.

Mr. HAYMOND of California. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from California, Mr. Haymond.

Mr. HAYMOND. It is too serious a matter to attempt to amend a rule of this importance in this body. The question hereafter will not be what Senator Hoar understood, or what the gentleman from Arkansas understood, but what construction do these words interjected into this rule bear, when read in connection with the whole rule adopted. Now, I move to recommit that rule to the Chairman of the Committee on Rules, with instructions to incorporate in proper language the idea of the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will make a statement.

Mr. JOHNSON of New York. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. In one moment. The Chair will state that the motion of the gentleman from California is out of order. The rule cannot be referred to the Chairman of the Committee. It will have to go to the committee if it is referred at all.

Mr. JOHNSON. I will make a motion that the rule as to alternates be referred back to the committee, and I make the motion, sir, for this reason—

The PRESIDENT. Does that motion receive a second?

Mr. LOUIS R. WALTERS of Pennsylvania. I second it.

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon re-referring the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business to that committee. Are you ready for the question? [Cries of "Question."]

Mr. JOHNSON. I make the motion for this reason. Interpreting rules that we have not read, revising rules that we only hear imperfectly, construing words of that kind, for its future effect, I believe, will not be well, or accurately, or expeditiously performed by a convention of 800 members. I believe it is committee work, and those that are interested in that can appear before the committee and relieve this convention from the mere business of construing words that have been read from the desk, and only imperfectly heard.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair did not understand the gentleman from New York. Did the gentleman from New York move to refer back to the committee only that part of the report relating to the election of alternates?

Mr. JOHNSON. That was all, sir. That was the motion.

The PRESIDENT. Rule 10 is the only part of the report that is to be referred, if the convention so desire, to the committee.

Mr. BAYNE. Now Mr. President—[Cries of "Question."]

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania, the Chairman of the Committee.

Mr. BAYNE. *Gentlemen:* I ask you to hear me for a moment now. This is much ado and much talk about nothing. This rule was in force in 1880 as it is written now. There is a construction put upon the rule by the President of the convention meaning exactly what the gentleman from Massachusetts wants. It never was questioned before that that is the meaning of the rule, but we are willing to accept his amendment now. We cannot get the Committee on Rules together so easily as some people imagine; that is a hard thing to do. Taking it with the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts, or taking it without the amendment, the rule means the same thing. That is all there is to it—all there is to this fuss and feathers. I personally have no objection to accepting the amendments of the gentleman from Massachusetts, and my friend on the right from California, and my friend on the left from New York.

Mr. JOHNSON. I withdraw the motion to refer.

Mr. HUSTED of New York. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York, Mr. Husted, has the floor.

Mr. HUSTED. *Mr. President:* The Chairman of the Committee has taken my words out of my mouth. I had intended to say precisely what Col. Bayne has already said: The Committee on Rules met and considered this specific rule and by a unanimous vote adopted it. They knew, for many of us had been members of conventions before—we all knew precisely what the decision of previous National Conventions had been in regard to this very matter. All the amendments that have been offered, and all the propositions that have been submitted come right back to our report. I trust all amendments will be voted down and the proposition to recommit be defeated. [Cries of "Question."]

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen:* The question is upon the adoption of the proposed amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Hoar. Are you ready for the question? [Cries of "Question."] All those in favor of the motion will say "Aye."

Mr. BOUTELLE of Maine. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I rise to a question of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine will state his question of order.

Mr. BOUTELLE. *Mr. President:* I desire to inquire whether it is not in order at this stage to move as a substitute for the pending amendment the original motion of the Senator from Massachusetts that all of these rules—

The PRESIDENT. It is not in order. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Maine that the motion is not in order during the division of the question.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I understand, if the President will indulge me—[Cries of "Question."] I understand—

The PRESIDENT. O, we are trying to get it right. Let us have a little liberty about it.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I desire to arrive at a conclusion I think in harmony with the views of the convention. This is a very important matter, gentlemen. It is one that should be debated for hours, and it is just as well to do it right as to do it wrong. The only question among this body of delegates here to-day is as to the method by which we can arrive at what we all desire to accomplish. There is a misunderstanding as to the effect of the language of this amendment. The amendment has been hastily drawn on one piece of paper, to be tacked on to another piece of paper, and certain words on the other paper eliminated, and then put together, and no man knows exactly what the grammatical or political effect will be when it is reported back to us; and I submit, it is a great deal more desirable that we should adopt this entire report with the exception of that portion which we want to alter, and recommit that to the committee to be carefully put into such language as will reflect the views of this convention. And, Mr. President, as a question of order has arisen here, I ask of this convention unanimous consent to put the motion in that form. [Cries of "No," "No."]

The PRESIDENT. What is it?

Mr. BOUTELLE. That the whole of these rules concerning which there is no dispute be adopted; all but Rule 10, and that that shall be recommitted to the committee with instructions to report back a rule in harmony with the views of the convention. [Cries of "No," "No," "No."]

The PRESIDENT. It does not receive the unanimous consent of the convention, and therefore that motion is not in order. The question is, gentlemen of the convention—

Mr. SEWELL of New Jersey. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Sewell of New Jersey.

Mr. SEWELL. I move as a substitute for all these motions the adoption of the original report of the committee.

A SCORE OF DELEGATES. I second it.

The PRESIDENT. The question, the Chair will state to the convention, is upon the adoption of the proposed amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts, Senator Hoar. Are you ready, gentlemen, for that question? [Cries of "Question."]

The amendment of Mr. Hoar was not agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon the adoption of the report.

Mr. SEWELL. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Sewell.

Mr. SEWELL. I now move you, Mr. President, the adoption of the original report.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that that is the question before the convention. Those in favor of the adoption of the original report as made by your Committee on Rules and Order of Business, will say aye. Those opposed, no. The ayes have it, and it is so ordered.

The PRESIDENT. The next business in order is the report of the Committee on Credentials. Is the committee ready to report?

Mr. WARNER of Alabama. I rise to a question of privilege.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman rises to a question of privilege. The gentleman from Alabama has the floor.

Mr. WARNER. On this side of the house we cannot hear anything that is said on the other side. There are gentlemen over there for whom we have the highest respect, and we want to hear what they say. Now my suggestion is this: That it will help us a good deal if every man addressing the Chair and the convention will get on top of his chair so we can hear and see him.

The PRESIDENT. The convention has heard the suggestion of the gentleman from Alabama. What is the further pleasure of the convention?

A DELEGATE. I move we adjourn.

Mr. HERR of Michigan. I move you, sir, that we now take a recess until 8 o'clock this evening.

A DELEGATE. I second the motion.

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved and seconded that the convention now take a recess until 8 o'clock this evening. Before that motion is put the Secretary will read the address on some letters and telegrams that he has in his hands, that the delegates may receive them.

THE VETERANS AGAIN.

Mr. HUSTED of New York. *Mr. President:* I desire to make a privileged motion.

The PRESIDENT. There is a motion to adjourn before the house. [Cries of "Question."]

Mr. HUSTED. I ask that that may be deferred, or would ask the gentleman to withdraw it.

The PRESIDENT. If there is no objection the motion to adjourn will be withdrawn for the purpose of allowing the gentleman from New York to make a privileged motion.

There was no objection.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York, Mr. Husted, has the floor.

Mr. HUSTED. Yesterday a resolution was presented, which was referred to the National Committee, having reference to the distribution of 200 tickets to the soldiers of the war. I understand, and am officially informed by the member of the National Committee from New York State, that the sub-committee of the National Committee have decided that they have no authority to issue such tickets unless they are instructed to do so by the convention, and I move you sir, now, that the convention authorize and direct the sub-committee to distribute the 200 tickets to the veterans in accordance with the resolution now under consideration.

A SCORE OF DELEGATES. I second it.

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved and seconded that the sub-committee authorized by the resolution passed yesterday to receive and distribute 200 tickets to veterans of the war be instructed to issue those tickets in accordance with the provisions of the resolution. Are you ready for the question? [Cries of "Question."]

Mr. HERR of Michigan. There will be difficulty unless it is understood there are now no seats.

The PRESIDENT. It is not in order. Does the committee wish to be heard upon it?

Mr. HERR. I want the motion passed, but I want it understood that the committee have no power to issue tickets fixing seats, because there are no seats. I desire that the tickets should be issued admitting them into this hall, and then that the people see they are taken care of.

The PRESIDENT. Debate is out of order. The question is upon the adoption of the motion made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Husted].

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. Now, the question is—

Mr. WM. M. STEWART of Nevada. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Nevada, Senator Stewart.

Mr. STEWART. I move that we take a recess until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning. I think we will get along faster by doing that, as the committees will then have finished their work.

Many of the delegates arose, and there was confusion in consequence.

The PRESIDENT. The delegates will be seated.

Mr. HERR. My motion is now renewed.

The PRESIDENT. The delegates will be seated. The convention is not yet adjourned. Now, the Chair is prepared to hear a motion for adjournment.

Mr. HERR. My motion was withdrawn for the purpose of permitting that. It is to take a recess until 8 o'clock. I now renew it.

SEVERAL DELEGATES. I second it.

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved and seconded that we now take a recess until 8 o'clock this evening. Are you ready for the question? [Cries of "Question."]

The motion was agreed to, and at 2:09 P. M., the convention took a recess until 8 o'clock this evening.

EVENING SESSION.

The convention met pursuant to adjournment, and at 8:22 P. M.

The PRESIDENT said: The convention will come to order. Gentlemen, be seated.

Secretary CLISBEE. I have received the following telegram, and deem it my duty to lay it before the convention.

A DELEGATE from Kansas. *Mr. President:* We can't hear anything. The gentlemen before us are in the way.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentlemen standing in the aisle be seated?

Secretary CLISBEE read the following telegram:

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., June 20, 1888.

To the Secretary of the National Republican Convention Assembled in Chicago:

The Republican State Central Committee of California sends greeting to the National Republican Convention, and returns its grateful thanks for the honor bestowed upon the Pacific Coast by the selection of a California delegate in the person of the Hon. M. M. Estee as President of the convention.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* The Chair desires to make an announcement. You have adopted rules for your government. One of these rules limits the time of speaking to five minutes. The Chair will be compelled hereafter, except on occasions of presenting candidates for President and Vice-President, to enforce the rules.

A DELEGATE. Correct.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair takes the liberty to call the convention's attention to the fact that hereafter this convention will be called to order on time.

SEVERAL DELEGATES. Good, good.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* The regular order of business is the report of the Committee on Credentials. Is the Chairman of that Committee present?

There was no response.

Mr. WELLINGTON of Maryland. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maryland.

SYMPATHY FOR GERMANY.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I desire, Mr. President, to offer a resolution, and will send it to the desk to be read, asking permission to move its adoption after it has been read.

The PRESIDENT. If there is no objection the gentleman from Maryland will have leave to offer the resolution. [There was no objection.] There being none, the Secretary will read the resolution for information.

Reading Clerk BRINKERHOFF read the resolution as follows:

Resolved, By the Republican party of the United States of America, assembled in National Convention, that we tender to the German Nation our sympathy in this hour of their great bereavement and deep sorrow caused by the death of their ruler, the Emperor, King Frederick of Germany.

Mr. WELLINGTON. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. WELLINGTON. In moving the adoption of this resolution I do not intend to make an address to this convention, because I know that they are not in the spirit to listen to one, more especially by myself; but I wish to say one word, and it is this: The German Nation is a great Nation. In the time when Rome stretched forth its arm in conquest and all the world seemed to bow to its yoke the Germans in the forests of Allemania vanquished the legions of Valens and annihilated them. Since then they have advanced to the very topmost round upon the ladder of civilization, wealth and culture, and in the late war, when America stood in need of friends, when England was furnishing pirate vessels to our enemies, the German Nation stood the steadfast, true and staunch friend of the United States, and has furnished by emigration and by descent to this country hundreds of thousands of its best citizens. Therefore I deem it but proper that this great Republican Convention, when twice within the present year the fatal shaft of the silent angel has struck down a German Emperor, should announce in convention its sympathy with that great Nation. I have done. [Applause.]

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* The question is upon the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. JAMES H. HARRIS of North Carolina. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. HARRIS. I would ask the gentleman from Maryland to accept this resolution as a substitute for his, it having been agreed upon by the Committee on Resolutions to be introduced here to-morrow, not as a part of the platform but as an expression from that committee, and I think my friend from Maryland will have no hesitation in accepting it and adopting it as his proposition.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Let it be read.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will please send up the resolution that it may be read for information.

Reading Clerk BRINKERHOFF read as follows:

We tender to the German people— [Cries of "Louder."]

The PRESIDENT. The audience will not interrupt the proceedings of the convention by calling "Louder," or any other word.

Reading Clerk BRINKERHOFF, resuming:

We tender to the German people our heartfelt sympathy in the double loss they have recently sustained in the decease of the great man under whose reign Germany has become a united Nation and that other great man, his liberal-minded peace-loving and noble son.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Maryland accept the resolution?

Mr. WELLINGTON. I accept it.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* Those in favor of the adoption of the resolution just read, will rise to their feet.

All the delegates arose.

The PRESIDENT. It is unanimously carried.

RESOLUTIONS OF REGRET.

Mr. DAVID D. DIXON of Maryland. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. DIXON. I ask the unanimous consent of the convention to have adopted here a resolution which I will send to the Clerk's desk to be read.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maryland asks unanimous consent to submit for the consideration of the convention a resolution which will be read for information. Is there any objection? [None was heard.] There being none, the Secretary will read.

Reading Clerk BRINKERHOFF read as follows:

WHEREAS, It has pleased an All-wise Providence since the last National Republican Convention to remove from the scenes of earth four of America's most distinguished sons, whose names have been associated with her history during more than a quarter of a century, and whose distinguished military services, talents, private virtues and purity of character have shed glory upon her name; and

WHEREAS, It is becoming and proper that this Nation, whilst humbly bowing to the dispensations of infinite wisdom, should in such cases testify its sense of worth and exalted character of the illustrious dead by tributes of respect to their memories, and cherishing the recollections of their virtues; therefore be it

Resolved, By the National Republican Convention in meeting assembled, that it deplores the loss of Gens. U. S. Grant, John A. Logan and Chester A. Arthur, who so often led our armies to victory, and of the Hon. Roscoe Conkling, the peerless statesman and citizen of New York, as a calamity both to the cause of Republican principles and the interest of the Nation.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* You have heard the resolution read. What is your pleasure? Those in favor of the adoption of the resolution will rise to their feet.

All the delegates arose.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution has been adopted unanimously. [After a pause.] The next order of business, gentlemen of the convention, is the report of the Committee on Credentials. Is the Chairman of that Committee present?

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. HENDERSON. I see that he is not present with his delegation, and I think is not yet in the convention.

The PRESIDENT. What is the pleasure of the convention?

A DELEGATE. Music by the band.

The Secretary announced a number of letters and telegrams for delegates and others.

The PRESIDENT. Has the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials arrived? [After a pause, there being no response.] What is the pleasure of the convention? Shall the convention pass to the next order of business?

SEVERAL DELEGATES. Yes.

The PRESIDENT. If there is no objection the Chair will call upon the Committee on Resolutions. Is that committee ready to report?

Mr. J. H. HARRIS of North Carolina. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Harris of South Carolina.

Mr. HARRIS. No, of North Carolina.

The PRESIDENT. Well, it is one of them, any way. [Laughter.]

Mr. HARRIS. The Committee on Resolutions are not ready to report, and will not be ready until to-morrow's session.

Mr. HALLOWELL of Kansas. I move that we now adjourn until 12 o'clock to-morrow. [Cries of "No, no."]

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved that this convention adjourn until 12 o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. R. F. CAMPBELL of Texas. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Texas.

Mr. CAMPBELL. As a member of the committee, having just come from there, I think they will be here in thirty minutes to report the credentials.

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon adjourning. Those in favor of adjourning—

Mr. HALLOWELL. I withdraw my motion to adjourn.

There were calls for Mr. Bradley, Col. Grant and Mr. Ingersoll.

Mr. PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* What is the wish of the convention?

Mr. SAMUEL A. RISLEY of Missouri. I move that Mr. Bradley of Kentucky address the convention.

SEVERAL DELEGATES. I second it.

Mr. BAYNE of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Bayne, the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. BAYNE. Inasmuch as the Committee on Credentials, and the Committee on Resolutions are not ready to report, I move that we proceed with the next order of business and call the roll of States for reporting the members of the National Committee so far as they have been chosen. [Cries of "No."]]

The PRESIDENT. The convention will have an opportunity to vote upon it. Those in favor of passing the order of business and calling the roll of States for the purpose of selecting members of the National Committee, will say aye. Those opposed, no. The Noes have it.

ADDRESS BY WILLIAM O. BRADLEY.

The calls for Mr. Bradley were renewed, and he came to the platform.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* The Chair has the pleasure of presenting to the convention the Hon. Wm. O. Bradley of Kentucky.

Mr. BRADLEY. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I thank

you sincerely for the great honor that you have done me in asking me to address you, and I shall not abuse your patience by detaining you any length of time. You are here defiantly to accept the challenge from St. Louis. You are not here to make any cowardly sacrifice of your principles, but you are here, as the Republican party has always been, for the purpose of accepting every responsibility and of proving yourselves equal to every emergency in your country's history. Upon the action of this convention depends to some extent whether or not all that has been won in council halls and on the red fields of glory shall be lost, and the Democratic party win by the ballot that which they failed to win, thank God, by the sword. You are here to-day to say that you remember the faithful vigils of the Union soldiers, their wounds, their charges, and their countless graves, and that their memory is dear to you; and that so long as there is a dollar in the Nation's Treasury no Union soldier shall live in a pauper house in America. We are not here to lift the veil that obscures the sorrows and conceals the woes of our common country. We would have forgiveness for all, but while we are ready to forgive we desire to teach the rising generation that it was the damnable heresies of the Democratic party which led to all this great desolation in our country. The memory of those men whose graves extend from Appomattox to the sea shall be held up as a priceless heritage by coming generations. And in this magnificent presence here to-night, in this wonderful city of splendid lake and sky, with their patriot presence bending above us, I do declare that the cause for which they fought was just and noble, and that this Nation can never be secure until that truth is written in letters of living light on the heart of every man in this broad Republic of ours. You are here to-day to give renewed emphasis to that great and grand proposition which lies at the foot of all our organism, that truth which was carved by the sword of an unconquerable soldiery and written by the pen of an illustrious statesmanship—that this is a Nation, grand and powerful, and not the subject of the petty States it has produced with its own bounty. Another fact, and with us in the South it is a potent one. You are here I trust, for the purpose of saying that this Attila-like curse of ignorance shall be swept from America. You are here for the purpose of saying to every poor, toiling father and mother that this Republic through the Republican party will give to their children the advantages of an education, and enable them, when their fathers and mothers are bended low with age, to crown their withered temples with a wreath of flowers culled from the fields of learning and the towering heights of fame. You are here for the purpose of rebuking that fraud and murder, and cowardice in the South which tramples upon the voters of the cotton States. We can never say that America is free until every man, whether he inhabit a palace or a hovel, whether he be white or black, shall have the free and untrammelled right of suffrage. The cotton States of the South look to the Republican party, and to that alone for aid. We can look nowhere else, and we trust that the nominee of this convention—we not only trust it but we know it, and it matters not who he is—the Republican party is greater than any man that belongs to it—will lead us to victory, and we expect the shackles to be stricken from the arms of the people in the South, the shackles of political slavery, which are almost as severe as those of African slavery itself. Now I will detain you but a moment longer. We want to put this Democratic party out of power. It is a fraud and a sham, it is a delusion and a snare. It never performed a single promise that it made, and the only history it has is obstinate resistance to the grand measures accomplished by the Republicans. They told us that they would give us an economical government, but they have increased expenses. They told us that they would relieve the Treasury of its surplus, but the surplus has increased. The Democratic party had not the statesmen to originate a system to collect revenue, nor has it now the statesmen to originate one to curtail it. They profess civil ser-

vice reform, and yet the battle-scarred veterans of this Republic, standing with uplifted hands, bearing upon their bosoms the scars of an armed rebellion, appeal to them in vain, while to-day the soldiers of the Confederate army represent the people of this Nation throughout the civilized world. Now, then, what are we going to do? We are here for victory, and victory is in the air. The clans are gathering from mountain and from hillside. They are already going down to the plain, and it is for you to select the grand leader to place at their head, who shall sweep us on to victory. It matters not whether it be the Plumed Knight from Maine or one of these other distinguished gentlemen. The Republican party will win this fight. Democracy is now embarked on its perilous voyage. The old rotten craft is top-heavy with State sovereignty and Grover Cleveland. Its planks of civil service reform and tariff are as rotten as the old ship itself. It has no pilot that has the ability to carry it over the waters. We hear the roar of the cataract now, and in November it shall take its final plunge over the Niagara of public opinion, and go into the vortex below forever. Hailing from that State which holds within her bosom the ashes of Henry Clay, and pointing with pride to the exalted station of her noblest, her martyred son, Abraham Lincoln, it gives me pleasure to say to you that she has not forgotten their teachings. Kentucky is now reaching across the beautiful river, and in November, amidst the plaudits of victory, she shall clasp hands with Indiana, Ohio and Illinois. Thanking you for your attention, and not desiring to abuse your patience, I will add nothing to what I have already said. [Applause.]

There were calls for "McKinley," "Ingersoll," "Foraker" and others.

THE PRESIDENT. Will the audience keep quiet so that we can do some business now? After awhile your favorite may be privileged to speak to you. Is the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials prepared to report?

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. I presume I should say for the information of the convention that a message has just reached us from Col. Hepburn, who is the Chairman of the Committee, that they will be ready to report in about twenty minutes.

Mr. HALLOWELL of Kansas. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Kansas.

ADDRESS OF JOSEPH B. FORAKER.

Mr. HALLOWELL. I move that Gov. Foraker of Ohio be requested to address the convention.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* It has been moved that Gov. Foraker of Ohio be invited to address the convention.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The ayes have it, and the distinguished gentleman will please step forward to the platform.

Mr. Foraker did so.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* Gov. Foraker needs no introduction.

Mr. FORAKER. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I could not be insensible to the compliment you have paid me if I would, and I would not be if I could. Hence it is that I sincerely thank you and assure you of my appreciation of the honor which you have shown me. At the same time I trust you will believe me when I say I would greatly have preferred if you had not seen fit to confer it upon me. I know not what I can say to you at this stage

of our proceedings that will be either of interest or profit, unless it would be to take up and make further answer to the question put by the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky just before he took his seat, and that was as to what we are here for. We have come to formulate an expression of Republican principle, and to nominate the next President of the United States. That is what we are here for. The first of these duties is not difficult to perform. There is not a member of this convention who could not easily frame an acceptable platform. There is not an intelligent schoolboy in all the land who does not already know what our declarations will be. Every Democrat, as well as every Republican, knows what the attitude of the Republican party is with respect to all the questions that concern the American people to-day. It ever was so, and so it ever will be, for the simple reason that Republicanism is sincerity, and sincerity never equivocates. We believe, as Mr. Bradley has pertinently said, in a free ballot and a fair count. And we shall not hesitate to say so with all the emphasis that we can thunder into the declaration. We believe in a protective tariff for the sake of protection. No objection to it because revenue may be incidental. And we shall not hesitate to say so as to that either. We believe, too, as our eloquent Kentucky friend said, that the present Democratic Administration is but a sham and a false pretense—the result of fraud, and that already it has outlived its usefulness and hence we want a change, and we are determined to have one. We believe that the free trade message and tendencies of Grover Cleveland are fraught with harm to the highest and best interests of our country, and we shall protest against them accordingly. We believe in taking care of America, of American homes, American markets, American wages, American laborers, American interests of every description, from the fisheries on the Eastern coast to the Chinese question on the West. And we are going to say so as to all these matters in our platform. And when we get done with that platform we are going to do something else. We are going to nominate our candidate. I do not know, any more than the other distinguished gentleman [Mr. Bradley] did, just who he will be. But I can tell you some of his qualities. In the first place he will be a gentleman. [Great applause.] That is saying a great deal, isn't it? I speak in the light of experience of course. [A voice. "He won't go fishing on Decoration Day."] He will be a man too, of good moral character, and he will have some social standing in the community where he lives. And, as some gentleman has indicated, he will be a loyal son of the Republic. I thought a few minutes ago, when this convention was applauding the son of our great heroic leader [Gen. Grant] in the War of the Rebellion, how badly I should feel if I belonged to a party to whom he would not be welcome as we saw him welcomed here. Yes, the man we nominate will be a man who will cherish the patriotic recollections of the past. The names of Grant and Sherman, and Sheridan will be dear names to him. I might go on and indicate to you many other qualities he will possess. I might point out to you the character of the man he would be in other respects, touching him as an individual, touching him as to his record and all those matters, but let me simply say, and with that quit the platform, that he will not only be a man who will cherish patriotic recollections, but he will have a record as a Republican that will be without spot or blemish. He will be a man who will take our standard in his hand and carry it to victory in the name of Republicanism without explanation or apology to anybody, and when he has once been elected it will be his first and highest business to give us a Republican administration. He will not do it by any false pretenses, though. He will not do it by any kind of indirection, but he will go straight at the mark. He will do it in the name of Republicanism, and because he will have the good sense to know, and the courage to proclaim and act upon it, that he serves his country best who best serves the Republican party. That is the kind of a man I came here to try to nominate. And if we get that kind of a man nominated we can catch up that glorious refrain that

comes to us from Oregon and go with it, sweeping the whole country to a magnificent triumph that will knock Grover Cleveland and the old bandana into "innocuous desuetude." [Great applause.]

Mr. G. M. BULLA of North Carolina. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. BULLA. I move you, sir, that the convention be now addressed by the Hon. Robert G. Ingersoll of the District of Columbia.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* It has been moved that the Hon. Robert G. Ingersoll be invited to address the Convention. The Chair would state to the gentleman from North Carolina that the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials is now present, and we will proceed with the order of business. [After a pause.] We will proceed with the regular business until it is otherwise ordered.

Secretary CLISBEE. The Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions desires the members of the Committee on Resolutions to meet at the Union League club-house immediately after the adjournment of the convention to-night.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Mr. W. P. HEPBURN of Iowa, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Iowa, Mr. Hepburn, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. HEPBURN. The Committee—

Mr. WARNER of Alabama. I ask that the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials take the platform so that we can hear.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is on the platform. [He was on the raised platform in front of the delegates.]

Mr. WARNER. Let him take a higher one.

The PRESIDENT. I don't know where he will get unless he gets on top of this desk. [The President's desk.]

Mr. HEPBURN. *Mr. President:* The Committee on Credentials has assumed that the roll of membership as printed by the National Committee is correct, except in cases of contests. The committee has examined nineteen cases of contests, and has instructed me to report as follows:

In the case of the contest from the Third Congressional District of Georgia, the committee recommends that the following named persons be recognized as delegates: D. A. Dudley and N. J. Taylor; in the Tenth District of Georgia, R. R. Wright, Jesse Wimberley, P. H. Craig and O. T. Gordon be each admitted to a seat, with the power to cast one-half of one vote.

From the Fifth District of Louisiana, David Young and Geo. Gell.

From the Third District of South Carolina, John R. Tolbert and F. L. Hicks, delegates, and L. C. Haler and Henry Kennedy, alternates.

From the Seventh District of Tennessee, A. M. Hughes, Jr., delegate.

From the Third District of Maryland, William F. Airey, William W. Johnson, delegates; Charles F. Riehl, Isidore D. Oliver, alternates.

From the First District of Massachusetts, Frank S. Stevens, Jonathan Bourne, delegates; Samuel Fessenden, John H. Abbott, alternates.

From the District of Columbia, Andrew Gleason, Perry H. Carson, delegates.

The Committee begs leave to submit the following report in the contested cases from the State of Virginia. The committee afforded to the parties in interest the fullest opportunity within the limits of reasonable time to present their evidence, and upon the testimony adduced feels warranted to recommend to this convention that there be admitted as delegates-at-large the four delegates and alternates headed by the Hon. William Mahone, and all the district delegates excepting those of the Ninth Congressional District, known as the Virginia delegates headed by the Hon. John S. Wise. The delegates-at-large in favor of whom we report were chosen by a State Convention of the Republican party. The contestants against whom we report were chosen, according to their own statement, by a minority of that convention, who retired therefrom for reasons which, as the committee thinks, are not within its province to report upon or discuss. The contests in the district delegations in Virginia arise from the fact that two distinct conventions were held for all but two of the ten Congressional districts, in each case one being held within and one without the territorial limits of the respective district. The question which the committee was called upon to decide was which of these two conventions in each district was held in accordance with the call of the National Committee. It was not denied that heretofore in Virginia it has been the invariable custom to hold district conventions to nominate candidates for Congress within the territorial limits of the district. The language of the National call is as follows: "The Congressional district delegates shall be chosen in the same manner as the nomination of a Member of Congress is made in said district." Undoubtedly unanimous acquiescence in the selection of these district delegates at points outside the district might cure any defect of compliance with the letter of the National call. But where, as in the cases from Virginia, a demand has been made and insisted upon by any considerable number of Republican voters for the right of local self-government, and conventions have been held within the district and delegates have been duly chosen, the committee feels constrained to recognize such delegates as chosen in accordance with the letter and spirit of the National call, and to reject the claims of the delegates chosen by the Republicans assembled beyond the territorial limits of the district. In our decisions in these cases we have been governed by this rule, and we feel that the good accomplished by the emphatic recognition of the rule and its enforcement is of much more importance to the Republican party than is the interest of any particular individual, ring or faction, and accordingly we make the following detailed report: That the following named persons are the duly elected and lawful delegates and alternate delegates from the State of Virginia at large: The Hon. William Mahone, S. Brown Allen, John G. Watts and A. W. Harris, delegates, and W. W. Evans, S. B. Downing, Henry Hudnall and P. C. Corrigan, alternates. From the First District O. D. Foster, F. D. Lee, delegates; Josephus Trader, J. A. Barstow, alternates. From the Second District, Harry Libby, Patrick O'Connor, delegates; Robert Norton, George L. Prior, alternates. From the Third District, John S. Wise, Morgan Treat, delegates; S. B. Clarkson, Gilbert Boyd, alternates. From the Fourth District, Charles Gee and John M. Langston, delegates; Ross Hamilton and W. H. Ash, alternates. From the Fifth District, Winfield Scott, J. H. Pedigo, delegates; W. E. Sims, C. F. Barksdale, alternates. From the Sixth District, D. F. Houston, George W. Jackson, delegates; J. W. Wright, J. H. Davis, alternates. From the Seventh District, H. H. Riddleberger, John F. Lewis, delegates; A. M. Lawson, J. S. Sammons, alternates. From the Eighth District, O. E. Hine, Y. T. Brown, delegates; W. P. Graves, M. Trimble, alternates. From the Tenth District, J. A. Frazier, H. W. Williams, delegates; J. P. Wilson, J. W. C. Bryant, alternates. Ninth District: Your committee is of the opinion that there was no convention regularly or lawfully called or held to elect delegates to the National Convention for the Ninth Congressional District of Virginia, and therefore recommend that this district be left unrepresented. All of which is respectfully submitted.

W. P. HEPBURN, *Chairman.*

BENJ. W. BOSWORTH *Secretary.*

Mr. DANIEL L. RUSSELL of North Carolina. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from North Carolina, Mr. Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. The minority of the Committee on Credentials desire to submit the following report:

The undersigned, members of the Committee on Credentials, respectfully report that they dissent from the majority in so far as it admits delegates from the Second, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Tenth Districts of Virginia, who were elected by pretended conventions which were never called by the State Committee, the only authority which, under the recognized and at the time universally accepted written law of the party, could convene a district convention, and fix the time and place of its meeting. And we further dissent from the refusal of the majority to recommend the admission of those delegates from the Second, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Districts of Virginia who were elected by conventions which were called by the State Committee according to the plan of organization which was in force and universally recognized as the existing and only law of the party by the Republicans of Virginia. As to the Third District, we do not dissent from the conclusion that John S. Wise and his colleague should be seated, because it appears that their convention was called by the State Committee, and that the Wise delegation from the city of Richmond was regular, and that they, with nine other rightful delegates from other cities and counties, constituted the lawful convention of the Third District. The action of the majority, if ratified by this National Convention, destroys all party organization in Virginia, and if followed to its legitimate and logical conclusion, annihilates the party organization throughout the country. It serves notice upon the dissatisfied minorities of any State or district in the Union that they may disregard form, regularity, authority and party law in furtherance of their purpose to override decisions of majorities regularly and lawfully declared. The only excuse approaching a reason for their extraordinary conduct is sought in the fact that the regular district conventions called by the State Committee were held outside of the territorial limits of their respective districts, a conclusion which, if impartially applied, excludes from this convention various States and districts throughout the Union. Nor is it any sufficient answer to say that those delegates now sitting in this body holding their credentials from conventions called and held in precisely the same way as these delegates from Virginia, may rightfully hold their seats because no one appears to contest them. If their conventions were unlawfully called and held their title is inherently and fundamentally defective, and they have no more right to seats on this floor than any other body of unauthorized strangers. In all earnestness we protest against this flagrant breach of form, of regularity, usage, justice and party law.

WM. E. SHARON, Nevada.

AARON WALL, Nebraska.

JOHN M. FREEMAN, South Carolina.

A. H. LEONARD, Louisiana.

B. N. SULLIVAN, Dakota.

J. J. SPELMAN, Mississippi.

D. L. RUSSELL, North Carolina.

Mr. RUSSELL. I am instructed, Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. RUSSELL—to say that the member from Dakota of the Committee on Credentials [Mr. B. N. Sullivan] who signs this report, does so with the modification that he believes that the delegation from the district represented by Mr. Riddleberger, should be seated. Have I any time—any right to the floor?

The PRESIDENT. There is no one objecting.

Mr. RUSSELL. Now Mr. President, a word. This minority report, gentlemen of the convention, is an appeal to the judgment.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from North Carolina allow the Chair one moment?

Mr. RUSSELL. Certainly.

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon the adoption of the minority report, upon which the Chair presumes the gentleman from North Carolina desires to address the convention.

Mr. RUSSELL. The minority report is offered as a substitute for the majority report.

The PRESIDENT. There has been no motion of that character made.

Mr. RUSSELL. I now make it.

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved that the report made by the minority be substituted for that of the majority. Are you ready for the question? [Cries of "Question."]

Mr. HALLOWELL of Kansas. *Mr. President.*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. HALLOWELL. I rise for the purpose of making an inquiry. I want to know who signs the minority report.

The PRESIDENT. What is it?

Mr. HALLOWELL. I desire to know who signs the minority report.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the signatures to the minority report for information.

Secretary CLISBEE read the names as follows:

William E. Sharon, Nevada; Aaron Wall, Nebraska—

Mr. HALLOWELL. I did not hear the first name.

Secretary CLISBEE. William E. Sharon, Nevada; Aaron Wall, Nebraska; John M. Freeman, South Carolina; A. H. Leonard, Louisiana, and B. N. Sullivan, Dakota.

Mr. JAMES HILL of Mississippi. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. HILL. Mr. J. J. Spelman wishes to have his name placed on that minority report as a member of the committee from our State.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will step forward and put his name on the report.

Mr. HILL. Here he is, sir.

[Mr. Spelman came forward and signed the report.]

Mr. JAMES H. HARRIS of North Carolina. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. HARRIS. It seems to me that this motion to adopt the majority report, and the motion of Mr. Russell to substitute the minority report, are both out of order. It seems to me the report of the committee ought to be divided, and that each recommendation made by the committee should be considered in the order in which it is made, so that this convention may pass upon it in that respect.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman make a demand for a division of the question?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the first part of the report.

Mr. JOHN B. WEBER of New York. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Weber of New York.

Mr. WEBER. *Mr. President:* There has been no difference among the members of the Committee on Credentials except so far as refers to the contest in the State of Virginia, and I would suggest to the gentleman from North Carolina that the division be made so as to embrace the contests in all of the States except the State of Virginia.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman move to adopt the report except as to Virginia? That will settle it.

Mr. WEBER. I move it be so divided.

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon the adoption of the report of the committee, except so far as it relates to the State of Virginia. [Cries of "Question."]

The motion was agreed to.

THE VIRGINIA CONTEST.

The PRESIDENT. Now, the question is upon the adoption of that part of the report relative to the delegates from the State of Virginia. Are you ready for the question? [Cries of "Question."]

Mr. BINGHAM of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. BINGHAM. Upon that I call for a division, for this reason: There is no issue or question—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania calls for a division. Of course the division will be allowed as proper. How does the gentleman desire the division made?

Mr. BINGHAM. There is no issue in the committee as to the delegates and alternates-at-large representing the State of Virginia.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman make a motion to adopt that part of the report?

Mr. BINGHAM. I do so.

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved that that part of the report of the committee relating to the delegates-at-large and their alternates, be adopted. Are you ready for the question?

Mr. H. H. RIDDLEBERGER of Virginia. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. RIDDLEBERGER. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* I will ask you to be as quiet as possible, for I have been struggling for days to present the truths of the Virginia case to the gentlemen of the committee who have brought in here a report in favor of seating delegates honestly and fairly, and, as I may say, elected under a plan of organization provided by the Republican party.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman allow the Chair to suggest that the question before the convention relates only to that part of the report where there is no contest?

Mr. RIDDLEBERGER. I beg pardon. There is a contest.

The PRESIDENT. A contest as to the delegates-at-large?

Mr. RIDDLEBERGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. BINGHAM. The committee's report is unanimous as to the delegates-at-large.

Mr. RIDDLEBERGER. That I do not deny, sir. [Cries of "Question."]

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon the adoption of that part of the report.

Mr. RIDDLEBERGER. It is to that that I wanted to speak to these gentlemen, and in speaking to that I thought I could use what little voice I have left in presenting the views that went to that committee. If there is objection I do not want to intrude any remarks upon the convention, and I am entirely willing to go back to my seat.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman has the floor.

Mr. RIDDLEBERGER. I never heard matters relating to the rights of a delegate—a man—so circumscribed as they appear to be in this convention. I came here without a vote cast against me by any Republican in the Seventh Congressional District. My seat was never contested there. No man served notice of contest upon me, and I am asked to sit down here quietly and hear a North Carolina gentleman make a minority report that I am not entitled to a seat on this floor. If that be so, who is? I want no apologetic report such as I have heard made, even by the majority of the committee. I came here by the representative Republican vote of a Congressional district composed of eleven counties, and seven of them Republican; twice have voted, and have elected a member of Congress—

Mr. J. P. HARTMAN of Nebraska. *Mr. President—*

Mr. RIDDLEBERGER. And twice have elected Senators by their votes, and no member of the Republican party in that State has ruled against it.

Mr. HARTMAN. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. HARTMAN. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Virginia give way to the gentleman from Nebraska?

Mr. RIDDLEBERGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HARTMAN. My point of order is that the question before the house does not concern the district from which the gentleman comes.

The PRESIDENT. The point of order is well taken. The question is upon the adoption of that part of the report relating to the delegates-at-large, on which both the minority and majority of the committee agree.

Mr. RIDDLEBERGER. Will you allow me to ask—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. RIDDLEBERGER. Whether there will be any time at which there can be a discussion of the fair representation from Virginia, outside of that parti-

zanship which makes it possible to send people in here to vote for their special candidate?

The PRESIDENT. There will certainly be after it is adopted. The question is on the adoption of that part of the report relating to the delegates-at-large from the State of Virginia. Those in favor of the adoption of that part of the report will say aye. Those opposed, no. The ayes seem to have it. The ayes have it. Now the question is upon the adoption of the rest of the report. What is your pleasure?

Mr. M. B. WOOD of Virginia. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. WOOD. I want to make a very few remarks as to the Ninth Congressional District of Virginia.

He was invited to the platform, and addressed the convention as follows:
Gentlemen of the Convention: I will detain you only a moment. The Ninth Congressional District of Virginia is the stronghold of Republicanism in that State. It contains 200,000 inhabitants, nine-tenths of whom are white people. It sent 15,000 soldiers to the armies of the Confederacy. More than half of them are the staunchest Republicans in the State of Virginia. It is the most prosperous district to-day in Virginia, and perhaps in the whole South. In the last fifteen months \$40,000,000 of Northern capital have been invested in the mines and timbers of that district alone. Various railways are being built into it and over it. There is a majority of 4,000 Republicans in that district, composed of intelligent, the most intelligent, as highly intelligent voters as there are in any State. Now that district held a meeting in accordance with the call of the constituted authorities of the Republican party of the State. They are not only intelligent, but they are intensely loyal to the Republican party, and when called upon they elected seventy-four delegates that they were entitled to, to go to the City of Petersburg, as had always been the custom in that State by both parties, and there they elected my colleague and myself delegates to this convention. On the 30th day of April, Mr. Pendleton, who is here contesting my seat, called a convention to meet in the town of Marion. Mr. Pendleton was simply a member of the Republican party, but no officer. At that convention, which was held two days prior to the Petersburg convention, and which was composed of three men—Mr. Pendleton, Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Blackenbecker—all from the same town and from the same county—these three persons resolved themselves into a convention in Mr. Pendleton's office and elected themselves delegates to this convention. I appeal to this convention if 14,000 Republican voters in the Ninth Congressional District shall go without representation because, forsooth, a technicality, if there be a technicality, was committed by the loyal people of that district. There was no division in that meeting at Petersburg. They resolved to hold the convention then and there. A large majority of the delegates to which the district was entitled were present, and every county in the district was represented—except, perhaps, one, the little county of Craig, in which there are only a hundred Republican voters, anyhow. Now, gentlemen, that is a plain, unvarnished statement of facts. I appeal to this convention to allow the intelligent and loyal voters of that district representation in this convention. Republicanism is growing there, and there is the place that we want to make our solid gains. Tilden carried the district by 10,000 majority. We now have it by 4,000. The county that I am from, the second largest county in the district, has given a Republican majority for the last eight years. [Here the gavel fell.]

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman's time is up. The Chair wishes to state

to the gentleman from Virginia, that, according to the report of the committee, both the majority and minority, this district is left unrepresented, and therefore in order to give it representation, or to raise the question at all, there would have to be a motion made relating thereto.

Mr. RUSSELL of North Carolina. Not at all, not at all. What district does the gentleman represent; the Ninth?

Mr. WOOD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Then, according to the minority report, the gentleman is entitled to his seat. They were elected as fairly and squarely as any delegates on this floor were ever elected in the South.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will be seated. The Chair desires to state that that report is made to the Chair by the Secretary. If there is any mistake the Secretary will read that part of the report for information. It is not necessary to discuss without a motion. The Secretary will read.

Mr. W. H. GIBSON of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. GIBSON. I was on the Committee on Credentials, and I am one of those who believe and insist that the Ninth District shall be represented in this convention. It is a magnificent Republican district, led by magnificent Republican champions, and for the sake of peace I venture to make this motion, Mr. President. That both sets of delegates be admitted, with power to cast one-half vote each. [Confusion.]

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentlemen come to order. The Chair will state the question.

A DELEGATE. It has not been put.

The PRESIDENT. It will not be put until the convention has an opportunity to discuss it. The motion is that the representation from the Ninth District of Virginia—

A DELEGATE. Is that the District?

The PRESIDENT. Be distributed between the two sets of delegates, each to have one-half a vote. Are you ready for the question?

Mr. WISE of Virginia. I second the motion.

The PRESIDENT. Are you ready for the question? Those in favor—

Mr. HEPBURN of Iowa. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. HEPBURN. *Mr. President:* I want this convention to know what this motion involves. If this is adopted, then you are saying to men that whenever they choose to play the miserable farce of holding a so-called convention, called by no one in authority, representing no one, composed of but three men, they can by that kind of a fraud, under the pretense of a compromise, steal their way into the deliberations of a Republican convention. Is this convention prepared to offer that kind of a premium for this kind of trickery? I wish to state further with reference to the gentleman, Mr. Wood, and his colleague, that the committee, in refusing to give them seats, has acted upon the theory that under the call of the convention, and under the usage of that district in the selection and nomination of its candidate for Congressman, it is not entitled to representation, because while the nominees for Congress are invariably chosen within the boundaries of the district, the convention which selected these gentlemen was at a place

very many miles away from that district. And I wish further to state that these conventions are held to be invalid because they did not comply with the usage of the party in those districts as to the place where the convention has heretofore been and should be called.

The PRESIDENT. The question is—

Mr. STEENERSON of Minnesota. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. STEENERSON. I rise to a point of order. I desire to know what has become of that part of the minority report which related to the Ninth District? The Chair promised to have it read, and I desire to know what it is.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the convention that the Secretary had no opportunity to read it, for immediately after the motion was made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Gibson] to admit both delegations, each to have a half-vote, the motion has been under discussion, and it is now pending. Are you ready for the question?

Mr. STEENERSON. I intended to move an amendment to that motion.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman make a motion?

Mr. STEENERSON. I move to amend. My motion was intended to be that the minority report, so far as relates to the Ninth District, be adopted as an amendment to the motion that each delegate have half a vote.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Minnesota that, since the announcement from the Chair, the Secretary has examined the minority report, and it dissents from the majority report, but does not ask that any one be seated, and that is the way the mistake arose; and hence it does not seem by the two reports that there is any request or any report in favor of any member from the Ninth District.

Mr. STEENERSON. Then I desire to move as an amendment to the motion of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Gibson] that, instead of seating both delegations, the delegation headed by Mr. Wood be seated.

A DELEGATE. I support that. Will the Chair state the question?

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved as an amendment to the motion now pending that the delegation headed by Mr. Wood of Virginia be seated. Are you ready for the question? [Cries of "Question."]

Mr. WEBER of New York. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

Mr. WEBER. *Mr. President:* This convention should understand that if they vote in favor of that motion they must, to be consistent, vote to admit every delegate mentioned in that minority report. Those delegates were elected at the State Convention held at Petersburg, outside of the limits of the Congressional Districts, and the majority of the Committee on Credentials submitted in their report simply the principle under which the call was made by the National Committee. They had no desire to weary this convention, or to disgust those outside of this convention, with the details of the fight of the warring factions from Virginia. No one regrets more than I that the unfortunate contest in that State has deprived us of the first ray of light to break the Solid South. Never in all my life have I heard cases argued and discussed on both sides with such ability and such magnificent eloquence as it was my fortune to listen to last night, and the thought came to me, as I presume it did to all the members of that com-

mittee, what a grand thing it would be if the energy, the ability and eloquence could be turned upon the common enemy. Mr. President, it occurred to the majority of that committee, however, that the true way of building up a Republican party in the South is to recognize home rule and self-government, and that it was the intention of this convention that, when they came to us pleading for an honest ballot and a fair count as against the Democrats, they must apply that rule as against Republicans. I had no intention, Mr. President, of discussing it—indeed, it was my hope that we should have no discussion upon this subject; but I desire briefly to call attention to the rule adopted by the National Committee which provides that, in all cases, the manner of choosing these delegates shall be the same as in the nomination of candidates for Congress, and I think there are many here within the sound of my voice who remember that this question was first agitated in 1880; and that in 1884 the National Committee, recognizing the fact that it would not be possible in all instances to enforce that rule strictly, left it optional with the States and Congressional districts to select in the Congressional districts or in separate district conventions held at the State convention. In the convention of 1884 that optional feature was followed, and it has become the law that governs the selection of delegates all over the land; and I say, simply, Mr. President— [Here the gavel fell.]

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman's time is up.

Mr. RUSSELL of North Carolina. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. RUSSELL. Let not this convention proceed to vote upon the proposition now before it until—

The PRESIDENT. It would be an accommodation to the convention, and a great accommodation to the Chair hereafter, if the gentlemen will—it will not take from their time, as the Chair will not count it—take the platform, and then the convention can hear them.

Mr. RUSSELL. I do not propose that gentlemen shall vote upon the pending proposition without some knowledge of the facts of the case. What is this proposition of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Gibson]? It is that both the contesting delegations from the Ninth District in Virginia shall be seated with equal power. The majority report of the Committee on Credentials excludes both of them. The minority report of the committee recommends the admission of what are known as the two Mahone delegates. Why did the majority exclude the anti-Mahone delegates in the Ninth District and admit them in every other contested district in the State of Virginia? They have done it. The reason they did it was because it appeared in that case that these contestants represented a constituency of three men—one besides themselves—

Mr. HALLOWELL of Kansas. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. HALLOWELL. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. State your point of order.

Mr. HALLOWELL. I desire to call the Chair's attention to Rule 9, adopted by this convention, which says that no member shall speak more than once upon the same question.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that the gentleman has not addressed the convention relative to the admission of the members from the Ninth District.

Mr. HALLOWELL. I submit—

Mr. RUSSELL. He only got in behind a piece of paper.

Mr. HALLOWELL. That he is proceeding in the discussion from his seat.

Mr. RUSSELL. The Chair presides over this convention.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will keep order. The gentleman [Mr. Russell] will proceed.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is that to be deducted out of my time? I submit not.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman has the floor.

Mr. RUSSELL. These delegates then were not recommended to be seated by the majority because they represent that constituency of three—one, I believe, besides themselves—who assembled, according to their own admission, in some highly respectable grog-shop, or some other place in the State of Virginia, and elected themselves to this convention; and that after the regular district convention of that district had assembled, regularly called by and under the authority of the State Committee, as it only could be, had been regularly held, and a set of delegates regularly elected, representing all the counties, I believe, of that district to this convention. And now it is proposed that these three men shall be seated. One word more. Let it be understood by the intelligent members of this body that the question here, after all, is what was the regularly-organized party in Virginia? It may be asked, why do you advise seating Wise and his colleagues? The answer is that Wise's convention was held under the call of the State Committee regularly assembled. Wise did not go in as a bolter, but went in as a regular, and the minority admit that his convention was the regular convention of that district. That is not the case with any other convention of these bolters in the State of Virginia. The line must be drawn somewhere, and it is submitted that it must be drawn right there. What convention was regularly called? The facts show that the conventions named by the State Committee, called by them, were the only lawful and regular bodies. Whatever may be the result, however much we may desire to concede, and yield, and compromise, this question must be fairly met. Are you going to be governed by the party law, or are you going to allow a parcel of revolutionists, as they politically term themselves, to run rough shod over the regular organization of the party in a great State?

Mr. FILLEY of Missouri. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. FILLEY. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. RUSSELL. Certainly.

Mr. FILLEY. Was there a Congressional Committee in that district?

Mr. RUSSELL. Under the plan of organization—under the Constitution and the party organization of the State, no Congressional district convention could be held except by order of the State Committee. That is written in the law, planted in the constitution of the party.

Mr. FILLEY. Was that the usual proceeding throughout the State?

Mr. RUSSELL. The usual and universal proceeding until they bolted and sent these men here.

Mr. FILLEY. One more question.

The PRESIDENT. The gentlemen will come to order. Personal debate is out of order.

Mr. FILLEY. I am only asking a question. It is not a personal debate. I am merely asking for information.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman [Mr. Russell] submit?

Mr. FILLEY. Was there any other Congressional call, or any Congressional district call in that State?

Mr. RUSSELL. In most of the districts there never was until this convention was assembled at Petersburg, under the regular State call. In most of them that was the case. In some of them there were calls not authorized by the State Committee, but in defiance of it, by unauthorized persons.

Mr. FILLEY. One more question. How do you proceed in Virginia to call conventions for the nomination of Congressmen?

Mr. RUSSELL. By district conventions, assembled where they please, I suppose; I don't know.

Mr. FILLEY. Called by whom?

Mr. RUSSELL. By the State Committee.

Mr. FILLEY. Always?

Mr. RUSSELL. Generally.

Mr. BINGHAM. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. WOOD of Virginia. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Bingham arose before, and the Chair had to rap him down. He will give him the floor this time.

Mr. BINGHAM. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* First as to the direct point at issue with reference to the Ninth Congressional District of Virginia. The majority vacate that district, and declare no representation. The minority, following its consistent action, believing that by the call of the State Committee a convention should assemble at Petersburg to elect representatives to this National Convention, were consistent in upholding the action of that State Committee. The reason why the majority did not follow their consistent course and admit the anti-Mahone delegates from the Ninth District, was because it appeared uncontradicted that but three men constituted that convention, and therefore, to be consistent, they declared the delegates vacated from that district. The organic law upon which the Republican party operates in the State of Virginia vests all and every power in the State Committee. It reads in these words: "It shall decide all questions at issue in any election district, and all vacancies in the party, as to conventions, candidates, and nominees, or otherwise, which may arise calculated to affect the cause and efficiency of the organization or the success of the party. The State Committee," a continuing organization, "shall fix the time and place of all State and Congressional conventions of the party, and prescribe the number of delegates and alternates for each county and city of the State, and the mode of electing the same to such convention." Under that power, under the power resting in the State Committee, they convened at Petersburg a State Convention, and in the call they indicated that the respective districts should send their representatives in order that delegates to this convention might be elected; not in the State Convention, however, but either at the State Convention at Petersburg, where it was held, or any place that the delegates might see proper to assemble and determine. That was the issue made before your committee. The judgment of the majority was that the independent conventions convened in the many districts without regard to the call of the State Committee, with no authority for convening, should be admitted to this convention, and every delegate elected under the call of the State Committee, the only power to convene any convention, specially intrusted with everything that per-

tains to Congressional conventions—that every one of those men elected by these district representatives in their own conventions assembled, should not be admitted into this convention. Now, the moment you admit and grant a half a vote to these four gentlemen, that moment the majority gives up the very principle they have been fighting for, for the reason that the majority dare not approve the fraud that three men could elect a delegate to this convention, and further that they would then declare that district vacant in order that their action might seem to appear consistent. Concede a half a vote and you have given up the whole principle—the very principle that Mr. Wise fought for in that concession is given up. The minority maintain that the convention at Petersburg was under the organic law of the Republican party, which gives to the State Convention the right to determine the time, place, and manner of holding conventions for the election of Congressmen, as well as the election of delegates to the National Convention. [Here the gavel fell.]

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman's time is up.

Mr. JOHN B. RECTOR of Texas. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Texas.

Mr. RECTOR. *Mr. President:*..It seems to me that the principle upon which the committee has been proceeding is the correct one.

Mr. L. C. HOUK of Tennessee. *Mr. President:* I desire to ask Mr. Bingham a question.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman desires to ask Mr. Bingham a question. If there is no objection that privilege will be granted.

Mr. HOUK. I desire to know of Mr. Bingham how many counties were represented in the Petersburg convention that elected these Mahone delegates.

Mr. BINGHAM. I do not know the details as to the number of counties.

Mr. HOUK. I will ask some gentleman how many counties were represented.

Mr. WOOD of Virginia. I will answer that. Every county in the district was represented except the small county of Craig, that contains only about 100 Republican voters.

Mr. HOUK. About how many delegates were in that convention?

Mr. WOOD. The district was entitled to seventy-four delegates. There were sixty-nine or seventy present.

Mr. HOUK. I do not think it right for those sixty-nine delegates to be overridden by three.

Mr. RECTOR. It seems to me we should adopt the majority report—that the principle underlying that report is in consonance with the order of the National Convention that delegates from Congressional districts shall be nominated after the manner of nominating Congressmen. [Confusion.]

Mr. GREEN of Nebraska. I rise to a question of privilege. It is impossible to hear the gentleman talk.

Mr. RECTOR. The fact that there was a State Convention—

The PRESIDENT. One moment. It is to be hoped that the convention and the audience will keep order so that the debate may be listened to with attention. The gentleman from Nebraska states that he cannot hear the speaker at his place where he is sitting. The Chair trusts the gentleman from Texas will try and make himself heard.

Mr. RECTOR. The fact that there was a State Convention where the Republican party had assembled for the purpose of nominating and sending delegates here makes, it seems to me, no difference in principle, as the rule prescribed by the National Committee limited the method of sending district delegates to the manner of nominating Congressmen; and, when a sufficient number of Republicans in these districts repudiated that idea, when they declined to accept that as the principle governing their conduct, when their rule was in the line of the rules prescribed by former conventions and by the Republican party, it was proper that the majority should recognize it as they did; but when you come to the Ninth District it seems to me that a different rule should obtain. And why? Because it seems to be agreed on all hands that but three men assembled there to repudiate what had been done by the Republicans at large outside of the district. There come up here many delegates who perhaps were elected at the State Convention—district delegates, I mean, who were elected at the State Convention. If nobody complained of that, if nobody repudiated it, they come here as a matter of course representing the district, because there is no dispute. The fact that three men met there amounts to no repudiation in the Ninth District. It is such a small matter it amounts to nothing, but it seems to me that the members from the Ninth District who met outside and were elected should be seated by this convention. It seems to me that the majority report should be adopted with that amendment.

Mr. SPAULDING of Michigan. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. SPAULDING. *Mr. President:* I will detain you but one moment about the passage of the original resolution with that amendment. If there was a contest in Michigan, where the Republican party was first formed under that gallant old leader, Zach Chandler, they would be disfranchised. We elected our delegates in the same manner—many of them—at Grand Rapids, outside of their district territory. It was as clear as a noonday sun that these men met at their State Convention and there assembled in their district convention, and elected Mr. Wood and his colleague to represent that district in this convention. That has been the rule, I believe, in Ohio, and my gallant General friend from Ohio [Mr. Gibson], that made the original motion, I am afraid, would be disfranchised if his seat were contested under the same rule. Now, it seems to me that the National Committee rule does not say they shall be elected in the territory where they are called together. As I understand the facts in this case, a State Convention was called at Petersburg, and the district conventions were invited to meet there, and they met there and elected their delegates. Does this Republican Convention in Chicago, in the nineteenth century, propose to repudiate them? I think not. That thing has been settled time and time again—that where the conventions were properly called, no self-constituted convention of three men or 300 improperly called, can unseat them. [Cries of "Question."]

Mr. STEENERSON of Minnesota. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. STEENERSON. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* I have listened with some attention to the statement of this case. I moved as an amendment to the motion of the gentleman from Ohio—he moved that the two sets of delegates be admitted with one-half vote each—that the delegation headed by Mr. Wood be admitted to seats—

A DELEGATE. As an amendment?

Mr. STEENERSON. As an amendment to his motion. Now, then, I think you have gathered the same opinion from the statement that I have—to-wit:

That there has been only one convention in that district. The delegates were elected by counties and assembled outside of the district; and chose Mr. Wood and his colleague as delegates to this convention. It is admitted on both sides that the convening of three men for the purpose of holding a Congressional Convention was a trick and a fraud. If it was, it is a nullity. It amounts to nothing. Now, then, it remains to be determined whether the simple irregularity that these delegates from the different counties in that district, instead of gathering in their district, proceeded to Petersburg, outside of the district, and elected two delegates to represent that district in this convention should disfranchise the whole district and leave them without a vote. I have been a member of many State Conventions and whenever there was a county that was not represented we would invite any member from that county to a seat in the convention to represent it. It is a matter of right. So, the simple question before this convention is, in view of the fact that there has been no protest that amounts to anything, simply a trick, if you will not disregard it, which you have the power to do, whether the National Committee desires to hold strictly to that rule or not, will you not in all justice disregard the irregularity, which injures nobody, and seat these delegates? If you do not you establish a precedent that, by simply trick and fraud, you can disfranchise a whole Congressional district, and leave them with no voice in the deliberations of this convention. This is the question that I ask you to vote upon, and therefore I desire that this amendment seating Mr. Wood and his colleague should prevail. [Cries of "Question."]

Mr. WISE of Virginia. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Wise, has the floor.

Mr. GREEN of Nebraska. A question of privilege.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Nebraska rises to a question of privilege.

Mr. GREEN. I should like to inquire upon what question we are talking. There has been a resolution—

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state the question. First, there was a motion to admit both delegations in the contest, giving each half a vote; then the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Steenerson] moved that the Wood delegation be admitted, and that is the question now before the convention. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Wise] has the floor.

Mr. WISE. One word, and I shall have finished. I want, in the first place, to say to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Russell] that when he speaks of the gentleman who made this contest here as one who probably went to a grog-shop, he does not confine himself to the facts in the case. This gentleman, Mr. Pendleton, who made the rival contest, is the Clerk of the Court of Appeals in the Western District of Virginia. He is the peer of the gentleman from North Carolina or any gentleman here, and his meeting was not held in a grogshop, but in a reputable place, where every convention has been held in that district for years. He comes here, it is true, representing a small minority of the delegates from his district, but he represents equally the principle that these conventions should be held within the territorial limits of their districts. He came here to test that question. He did not come here to be called a trickster who was seeking to steal a seat. He did not come here to be called a habitue of a grogshop, and it seems to me that we might well settle that question without branching off into these collaterals. Now, in the first place, when the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Gibson] moved, not as a question of principle, but as a question of policy and courtesy, that we waive the question of this

district and not let it go unrepresented, but divide its delegation sooner than give it the go-by, I seconded it; not for the purpose of admitting anything that was contended for by Judge Russell from North Carolina, but because, as a true Republican from Virginia, recognizing the Ninth District of that State as the banner district of Virginia Republicanism, loving its people whether they come here under the banner of Mahone or Wise, it grieved me to see her go unrepresented. So I say, sir, waiving all questions of principle in that particular instance, recognizing the glorious record that district has made, in the spirit of concession which must bring victory if we will all practice it, don't let the Ninth Congressional District of Virginia go unrepresented, but let her be represented here by reputable gentlemen, as they are, whatever faction they represent, and let her divide it where we are divided.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the admission of the Wood delegation. Are you ready for the question? [Cries of "Question."]

Mr. ALEXANDER C. MOORE of West Virginia. *Mr. President*—

Mr. C. P. HESS of Missouri. I now move the previous question.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from West Virginia has the floor.

Mr. MOORE. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention*: While I would be glad to pour oil upon the troubled waters in Virginia, and for the sake of harmony in that grand district of Republicans I would like to admit these delegates, yet I cannot do it without a violation of a principle. I believe in home rule and home government. I care nothing what the Republicans of Virginia may have done by the action of the State Executive Committee. I want a response to the call of the National Committee, which calls for delegates to be elected in the same manner as Congressmen are nominated. Tell me, if you will, are the majority of Congressmen throughout the limits of the United States elected at the capital of the respective States? Not at all. They are elected within their respective districts. Take it, for instance, in the State of Illinois. Are the delegates to go to Springfield because the State Committee calls them there? Not at all. If they respond to the call of the National Executive Committee they must meet within the limits of their respective districts. Your action here will be a precedent for the future, for you are by your action to determine what is a response to the call. It is a question of principle, and principle alone. While you might like to gratify them, it is a dangerous precedent to establish. It is a question of the call of the National Executive Committee, and it must be met; it must be responded to, whatever may be the consequences, by the election of delegates in the manner the call requires. Anything else will be a violation of it, and I must ask that this convention shall not set such a dangerous precedent as will hereafter authorize any convention held in the capital of a State to violate the call.

Mr. S. BROWN ALLEN of Virginia. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. ALLEN. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention*: I see the weariness of this body under the discussion of this question, and I promise not to detain you two minutes. I am a delegate-at-large representing the State of Virginia on this floor by the grace of the report of the Committee on Credentials and by a vote of this convention, but my vote and my seat are almost valueless to me and to the Republicans of Virginia, in my judgment, if the report of the Committee on Credentials shall be adopted; because on a technicality, to say the least of it, eight great districts in the State of Virginia will be deprived of representation here by their delegates, elected as fairly, as honestly, as truly, as overwhelmingly as I was myself. Now sir, we in Virginia thought, and the party organization, or the party plan

which provided for our call, has been read in your hearing—we thought, we believed, that we understood the meaning of the wording of the law of the National Committee, which has also been read to you. It is this: "That district delegates shall be elected as Congressmen are nominated, or in the same manner that Congressmen are nominated." The National law does not, never did, and in my judgment, never will undertake to name the place where a district convention shall be held to nominate a Congressman. It provides that it shall be done in the same manner—that is to say, by the district convention. Every one of these delegates having the proper credentials here, presenting credentials from the regular organization of the State of Virginia, was elected as Congressmen are nominated—by district conventions, the delegates to which were elected by every precinct in their district for that purpose; and I say, in conclusion, if you adopt this majority report, in my judgment, you will turn back the wheels of progress of Republicanism in the State of Virginia, for twenty-five years to come.

Mr. HESS of Missouri. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Missouri, Mr. Hess.

Mr. HESS. I now move the previous question.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman represent the majority of his delegation?

Mr. HESS. Yes, sir.

A DELEGATE. I second the motion.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Missouri, in the name of the majority of his delegation, calls for the previous question. Does that receive a second?

Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts. *Mr. President:* I am authorized by the delegation from Massachusetts to second the call.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts, Senator Hoar, is authorized by that State to second the call. Does any other State second the call?

Mr. GREEN of Nebraska. In behalf of the Nebraska delegation, I second the call.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Nebraska is authorized by his State to second the call.

Mr. FOLEY of Nevada. The State of Nevada also demands it.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the demand for the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The PRESIDENT. The question now is upon the motion made by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Steenerson] to admit the Wood delegation from Virginia.

After stating the question:

The PRESIDENT. The ayes seem to have it.

A division was called for.

The PRESIDENT. Those in favor of the motion will rise and stand until they are counted. [After a pause.] Those opposed to the motion will rise. [After a pause.] The ayes have it, and the Wood delegation from the Ninth District will be seated. The question now is upon the adoption of the majority report.

A DELEGATE. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. No debate is in order. The question now is upon the adoption of the remainder of the majority report.

The DELEGATE. No, it is not.

Mr. FRANK REEDER of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President:* I do not rise for the purpose of debate, but to call for a division of the question. The decision in each case rests upon wholly different facts, and we ask—

The PRESIDENT. The Chair, perhaps, did not state the question properly. Will the gentlemen come to order a moment! The question now is upon the adoption of the motion made by Mr. Gibson of Ohio, as amended.

After putting the question:

The PRESIDENT. The ayes have it, and the Wood delegation is admitted. Now the question is upon the adoption of the remainder of the majority report.

Mr. REEDER. Upon that I call for a division of the question, and ask that we may be permitted to vote upon the districts in their numerical order.

The PRESIDENT. Call for a vote by—

Mr. JAMES H. HARRIS of North Carolina. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. HARRIS. I desire to call the attention of the Chair to the fact that there was a motion to substitute the minority report for that of the majority. And I rise to the point of order that that is the first vote to be taken under the call of the previous question.

The PRESIDENT. That was as to the other questions that have been disposed of.

Mr. HARRIS. It covers these also.

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon the adoption of the report relating to the First District. Those in favor of the adoption of the report—

Mr. REEDER. Which report?

Mr. GREEN of Nebraska. I understand, Mr. President, that we have voted to adopt the amendment to the original proposition, and that now the original proposition as amended should be submitted to the convention.

The PRESIDENT. It has been settled. The question is as to the adoption of the majority report, a division having been called for—what district?

A DELEGATE. The First District.

Mr. BINGHAM of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President:* There is no contest in the First District.

The PRESIDENT. One moment, we will get it right. The question now is on the adoption of the report relating to the Second District of Virginia.

Mr. FESSENDEN of Connecticut. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. FESSENDEN. I move you, sir, to reconsider the vote on the Ninth District of Virginia. A number of the gentlemen here thought they were voting on the main question. [Cries of "Too late."] I therefore move to reconsider that vote.

Mr. STEENERSON of Minnesota. I would ask that the Chair ascertain how the gentleman voted.

The PRESIDENT. It is a privileged question, as the rules of the House of Representatives have been adopted by this convention, and the gentleman is in order. The question is on the motion to reconsider the vote whereby the Wood delegation was admitted to represent the Ninth District of Virginia.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH of Ohio. *Mr. President:* I move to lay that motion on the table.

Mr. SPAULDING of Michigan. *Mr. President:* I second the motion of Mr. Butterworth to lay it on the table.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH of Ohio. I move to lay the motion to reconsider on the table.

Mr. SPAULDING of Michigan. I second the motion.

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved by the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Butterworth, to lay the motion to reconsider on the table. Are you ready for the question? [Cries of "Question."]

After putting the question:

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is in doubt.

Mr. CHARLES SCHWEICKHARDT of Missouri. I call for a division.

Mr. BOUTELLE of Maine. Is not a motion to reconsider debatable?

The PRESIDENT. The previous question has been called for, and hence it is not debatable.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Do I understand that the previous question is still operating?

The PRESIDENT. It is. No debate can be had under the previous question.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I make the point of order that the previous question is exhausted, and is not now operating.

A DELEGATE. Oh, bosh!

Mr. BOUTELLE. I make the point of order, further, that this motion to reconsider, under every parliamentary rule, carries the right of debate, the right of the person making the motion to state the reasons on which he based his motion.

The PRESIDENT. The trouble was, and the trouble is, that we were acting under the previous question, and that is not debatable. No question is debatable under the previous question. The gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Fessenden] did not proceed to debate the question, or even to state his point of order.

Mr. FESSENDEN of Connecticut. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. FESSENDEN. I made the motion to reconsider for the reason that many of the gentlemen around me here did not know what the question was when they voted.

Mr. HILL of Mississippi. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. HILL. A motion to lay on the table is not debatable.

The PRESIDENT. The point of order is well taken.

Mr. FESSENDEN. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Connecticut has the floor.

Mr. FESSENDEN. I say this, that the question was and ought to have been: Shall the main question now be put?

Mr. SPAULDING of Michigan. It was put.

Mr. FESSENDEN. That was not the question put to the convention; but the Chair declared it carried on that motion, when it should have been on the simple and plain question as to whether the main question should now be put. And therefore, Mr. President, I move to reconsider in consequence of the Chair's announcement that it had been carried when, in fact, it had not, to the knowledge of this entire convention.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the convention that the motion as the Chair understood it, and as the clerks at the desk understood it, and as they have so recorded it, was put and declared carried.

Mr. FESSENDEN. Very well, then, Mr. President; I move a reconsideration, and ask that the Chair put the question.

The PRESIDENT. That question has been put, and on the vote a division is called for. Those in favor of a reconsideration—

Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts. I rise to a question of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. HOAR. My point of order is that a motion has been made to lay the motion to reconsider on the table, and that it is not debatable.

The PRESIDENT. That is not debatable. The point of order is well taken.

Mr. BOUTELLE. *Mr. President:* I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine, Mr. Boutelle.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I beg to submit to the Chair that the motion to reconsider has not been voted upon. The question upon laying the motion to reconsider upon the table has been put, but there has been no submission of the question to reconsider that vote. Now, I beg that we may have this question put intelligently, so that we may vote understandingly.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is correct. There has been no vote upon the reconsideration, but after the motion was made by the gentleman from Connecticut, then a motion was made by the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Butterworth, to lay that motion on the table, and on that motion a division is now pending. Those are the facts.

Mr. HAYMOND of California. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from California. [Cries of "Question."]

Mr. HAYMOND. Will the Chair state the question so that the convention will understand what they are voting on? That is all that is wanted.

The PRESIDENT. The question now before the convention is: Shall the motion to reconsider the vote whereby the Wood delegates from the Ninth District of Virginia were admitted, be laid upon the table. That is the motion. Does the convention understand the question? Those in favor of adopting the motion—

Mr. BOUTELLE. Will the Chair state the effect of an aye vote, and the effect of a no vote, and then we shall have no misunderstanding?

The PRESIDENT. An aye vote means to lay upon the table the motion to reconsider. A no vote means that the motion to reconsider shall not go to

the table. Does the convention understand the question? Those in favor of laying on the table the motion made by the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Fessenden] to reconsider the vote whereby the Wood delegates from the Ninth District of Virginia were admitted will say aye, those opposed will say no. The noes seem to have it.

Several delegates demanded a division.

The PRESIDENT. A division is called for. Those in favor of the motion will rise and stand until they are counted. The Secretaries will make the count. [After a pause.] The ayes are 252, and the noes are 174, and the motion to lay upon the table is carried. Gentlemen of the convention, the next question is on the adoption of the majority report relative to the Second District of Virginia.

Mr. THOS. N. COOPER of North Carolina. Upon that report I ask the convention to allow me five minutes.

The PRESIDENT. There can be no debate on it.

Mr. COOPER. I move the substitution of the minority for the majority report.

Mr. J. B. COCKRUM of Indiana. On the motion just put, I move a call of the roll of States.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

Mr. RUSSELL of North Carolina. I rise to a point of order. My point of order is that the vote has been regularly and duly and finally announced.

A DELEGATE from Illinois. *Mr. President—*

A DELEGATE from Kansas. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. One moment. The gentlemen will be seated. The Chair will state the question. The vote had not passed or been regularly announced. The vote that was passed related to the Ninth District of Virginia. The vote as to the Second District of Virginia has not yet been disposed of, and is before the convention for its consideration.

A DELEGATE. What is the question?

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon the adoption of the majority report as to the Second District of Virginia.

Mr. REEDER of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President—*

Mr. HENRY T. GAGE of California. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from California.

Mr. GAGE. I move we adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.
[Cries of "No."]

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon adjourning.

The motion to adjourn was lost.

Mr. HUSTED of New York. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

Mr. HUSTED. The members of this convention, or some of them, seem to think that a single individual can demand a roll call. I ask that the Secretary read the rule.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that the rules have just been printed, and the Secretary will now read the one called for.

Reading Clerk STONE read the rule as follows:

When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, the Secretary calling the roll of the States and Territories and the District of Columbia, in the order hereinbefore stated.

The PRESIDENT. The point of order is well taken.

Mr. HUSTED. Now, on a question of information. As I understand it, the main question has been ordered.

The PRESIDENT. Yes.

Mr. HUSTED. And that question goes to the completion of this report.

The PRESIDENT. Yes. The question now is, gentlemen—

Mr. M. S. QUAY of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President:* I move the substitution of the minority report for the majority report.

Mr. GEORGE M. GLEASON of New York. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

Mr. GLEASON. I understand, before the motion to order the previous question was made, that a motion was made to substitute the minority for the majority report, and carried. I want to know if I am correct in my understanding?

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman state the point again?

Mr. GLEASON. My understanding is that a motion has been made and carried to substitute the minority report for the majority report.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is not correct. The question is upon the adoption of that part of the report relating to the Second District of Virginia.

Mr. WARNER MILLER of New York. I rise to a question of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. MILLER. It seems to me that a plain statement of the present condition of this question will satisfy the whole convention as to how it ought to be put. First, the report of the majority of this committee was made. Then the report of the minority was submitted. And when the minority submitted its report, it moved the substitution of the minority report for the majority report. There the question rested. Then we proceeded to discuss it. And by some inadvertence the discussion began upon the Ninth District instead of upon the First or Second District. During that discussion also the demand was made, and it was granted by the Chair, that this question should be divided. That meant that the vote should be taken upon each individual contest, district by district. It can be taken no other way. Now I submit that the condition of business or order is this: We are now to vote upon the report upon the Second District, and the motion is, which must be submitted by the Chair—shall the report of the minority be substituted for that of the majority in the case of the Second District? There is no escape from that. And when that has been acted upon, the same motion must be submitted in regard to each of the other districts in their order.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair did not understand that the original motion to adopt the minority report reached further than that then under consideration. If the Chair is wrong it makes no difference. The Chair will submit the question upon the adoption of the minority report, if such a motion is made.

Mr. MILLER. That motion is pending as to the whole.

Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts. When the minority report was made the gentleman who made it said: "I make the motion to substitute the minority report." Then after that came the special discussion about the Ninth District. I think the gentleman from New York is clearly right.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair doubtless misunderstood the motion made by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Russell] and supposed it reached only the point then under discussion. The question then will be—assuming that the gentleman is correct, which the Chair does—as to the adoption of the minority report relative to the Second District of Virginia. Is the convention ready for the question? [Cries of "Question."]

The question was put, and the motion was not agreed to.

A DELEGATE. I call for a division.

The PRESIDENT. A division is called for.

As no other State demanded the call, the next case was taken up.

The PRESIDENT. The next is the Third District.

Mr. THURSTON of Nebraska. On behalf of the delegation from the State of Nebraska I demand a roll call and a record of the vote as to the adoption of the minority report upon the Second District.

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon a roll call as to the adoption of the minority report as to the Second District of Virginia, on which motion two States have made the call. It has been seconded by two States.

Mr. WM. BOLDENWECK of Illinois. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Boldenweck of Illinois rises to a point of order.

Mr. BOLDENWECK. I believe the President has declared the vote on this motion. I do not see how the roll can be called.

The PRESIDENT. But that does not preclude the right of a call by two States. That right still exists. And two States have asked for a roll call by States upon the question of the adoption of the minority report as to the admission of the delegates from the Second District of Virginia.

Mr. BAYNE of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President:* I rise to make a parliamentary inquiry, and I hope my friend from Nebraska will consider it. By the declaration of the Chair the minority report with reference to the Second District of Virginia was voted down.

The PRESIDENT. Yes, sir.

Mr. BAYNE. The motion yet to be voted upon is with reference to the majority report as to the Second District of Virginia.

The PRESIDENT. But we have not reached it.

Mr. BAYNE. A division was not called for.

The PRESIDENT. A division was called for.

Mr. BAYNE. Then I am mistaken.

The PRESIDENT. A roll call by States was called for.

Mr. WARNER of Alabama. *Mr. President:* This is an important question, and we want to vote intelligently upon it. Now I will make a suggestion to the Chair, and if he will go outside of the record a little, and use a little plain English, we will understand the question. There are many delegates here who do not know what the majority report or the minority report

means. If the Chair will say that the effect of a vote for the majority report or the minority report, as the case may be, is to admit the Mahone delegates, or the Wise delegates, everybody will understand and know how to vote upon it.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the convention that the adoption of the minority report admits the Mahone delegates. The adoption of the majority report admits the Wise delegates. Is the convention informed?

A DELEGATE from Kentucky. *Mr. President:* I am requested by the Kentucky delegation to ask whether we are right in the position that a vote aye is a vote for the minority report?

The PRESIDENT. A vote aye is for the minority report. A vote no, is against the adoption of the minority report. The Secretary will call the roll.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Alabama, 20 votes.

Mr. HUSTED of New York. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

Mr. HUSTED. Will the Chair state the effect of the adoption of the different reports? It is utterly impossible to tell the effect a vote will have.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair has attempted to state to the convention twice that the adoption of the minority report will admit the Mahone delegates. The adoption of the majority report admits the Wise delegation.

Mr. FORAKER of Ohio. What we want to know is whether we are voting for the adoption of the minority report. In other words, does aye mean Mahone?

The PRESIDENT. An aye vote means to admit the Mahone delegates. A no vote is against the admission of that delegation.

Mr. HILL of Mississippi. *Mr. President:* I want to ask you this question. Do not the minority report and the majority report both seat Mr. Wise

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is in error. The adoption of the minority report will seat the Mahone delegates. [To the Reading Clerk.] Call the roll.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Alabama, 20 votes.

Mr. JACKSON of Alabama. Not ready.

When Kentucky was called:

Mr. WILLSON of Kentucky. Pass Kentucky for a moment.

When Ohio was called:

Mr. FORAKER. We are not ready yet to cast our vote.

When Dakota was called, there was no response.

Mr. FORAKER of Ohio. Ohio is ready.

The PRESIDENT. Wait a minute.

At the conclusion of the roll call:

Mr. JACKSON of Alabama. Ten aye, eight no, two not voting.

Mr. WILLSON of Kentucky. One aye, twenty-five no.

Mr. FORAKER. Only thirty-eight delegates are present. Nineteen aye, nineteen no.

Mr. MOODY of Dakota. Ten votes aye.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* Listen to the announce-

ment of the vote. For the adoption of the minority report the vote stands 249½, and against 514. The noes have it.

The following is the vote in detail:

States.	Votes.	Ayes.	Noes.	States.	Votes.	Ayes.	Noes.
Alabama	20	10	8	New York	72	22	50
Arkansas	14	..	14	North Carolina	22	18	4
California	16	..	16	Ohio	46	19	19
Colorado	6	..	6	Oregon	6	..	6
Connecticut	12	..	12	Pennsylvania	60	56	4
Delaware	6	..	6	Rhode Island	8	..	8
Florida	8	4	4	South Carolina	18	18	..
Georgia	24	12½	4	Tennessee	24	6	7
Illinois	44	2	42	Texas	26	2	19
Indiana	30	..	30	Vermont	8	..	8
Iowa	26	..	26	Virginia	28	10	..
Kansas	18	..	18	West Virginia	12	4	8
Kentucky	26	1	25	Wisconsin	22	3	19
Louisiana	16	9	7	Arizona	2	..	2
Maine	12	..	12	Dakota	10	10	..
Maryland	16	1	11	District of Columbia	2	..	2
Massachusetts	28	6	19	Idaho	2	..	2
Michigan	26	..	26	Montana	2	..	2
Minnesota	14	..	14	New Mexico	2	..	2
Mississippi	18	15	1	Utah	2	..	2
Missouri	32	4	23	Washington	6	..	6
Nebraska	10	6	4	Wyoming	2	1	1
Nevada	6	6	..				
New Hampshire	8	..	3				
New Jersey	18	4	12				
					832	249½	514

The PRESIDENT. The question now is upon the adoption of the majority report as to the district named—the Second District of Virginia.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH of Ohio. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH *Mr. President*: I take it that this vote sufficiently indicates the judgment of the convention. These districts—the ones with which we have to deal now—stand substantially, as I understand it, upon the same footing, and I hope the motion to have a roll call will be dispensed with, and that the vote will be taken viva voce.

The PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? Otherwise, the roll call will proceed to the whole question.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I ask unanimous consent to have a viva voce vote.

The PRESIDENT. There is no objection, and it is so ordered. The question now is upon the adoption of the majority report as to the Second District of Virginia.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. No, the whole.

The PRESIDENT. That is the motion. Is there a motion to amend? The question is upon the majority report as to the Second District.

Mr. GEORGE DENNY of Kentucky. I move as a substitute that we adopt the balance of the majority report.

The PRESIDENT. We are working under the previous question.

Mr. HUSTED of New York. I ask unanimous consent to do it.

The PRESIDENT. There is no objection. That is the order. The question now is upon concurrence in all of the unadopted portion of the majority report relating to Virginia.

The motion was agreed to.

DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES.

The following is the list of delegates and alternates, with their postoffice address, which accompanied the majority report, corrected in accordance with the action of the convention.

ALABAMA.

Delegates.

Alternates.

AT LARGE.

Benjamin M. Long.....Cordova
Albert Boyd.....Birmingham
James D. Hardy.....Calera
John W. Jones.....Hayneville

Cyrus O. Godfrey.....Fort Payne
Anderson N. McEwen.....Montgomery
William J. Stevens.....Anniston
John H. Thomasson.....Birmingham

DISTRICT.

1—Prelate D. Barker.....Mobile
Frank H. Threet.....Demopolis
2—Leander J. Bryan.....Montgomery
Isaac N. Carter.....Monterey
3—William Youngblood.....Birmingham
Alfred H. Hendricks.....Opelika
4—Elbert W. Locke.....Camden
Stephen Childs.....Marion
5—Lewis E. Parsons, Jr., Birmingham
Coly N. Finlay.....Lafayette
6—Daniel N. Cooper.....Jasper
William M. Rocertson.....Birmingham
7—William Warner.....Tecomseh
George W. Parsons.....Talladega
8—James Jackson.....Tuscumbia
Henry C. Binford.....Huntsville

James T. Peterson.....Mobile
Anthony R. Davidson.....Kempsville
Anderson S. Loveless.....Montgomery
John Blount.....Montgomery
James D. Stanley.....Thompson
Tobias Smith.....Opelika
Benjamin de Lemos.....Hayneville
Joseph Goldsby.....Selma
Payton Finley.....Lafayette
Green W. Jeter.....Central Institute
Jerome J. Hinds.....Decatur
Joseph W. White.....Birmingham
Napoleon B. Spears.....Pell City
Daniel L. Prentice.....Aldrich
Pleasant B. Barton.....Tuscumbia
Francis Davis.....Huntsville

ARKANSAS,

AT LARGE.

Powell Clayton.....Eureka Springs
Logan H. Roots.....Little Rock
John A. Williams.....Pine Bluff
J. E. Rector.....Little Rock

O. M. Norman.....Brinkley
H. F. McDaniel.....Fayetteville
J. D. Page.....Hot Springs
D. Ferguson.....Marion

DISTRICT.

1—A. M. Neely.....Forrest City
D. W. Ellison.....Helena
2—Ferd Havis.....Pine Bluff
John M. Clayton.....Pine Bluff
3—C. E. Mitchell.....Texarkana
D. W. Chandler.....Camden
4—C. M. Baines.....Ft. Smith
C. N. Rix.....Hot Springs
5—C. M. Greene.....Fayetteville
James T. Penn.....Harrison

Alex. Goodrich.....Osceola
H. A. Johnson.....Lake Village
S. A. Mosely.....Augusta
S. B. P. Weaver.....Brinkley
Ira A. Church.....Texarkana
A. H. Miller.....Arkadelphia
George N. Perkins.....Little Rock
William Laporte.....Little Rock
Damon Clarke.....Fayetteville
W. W. Johnson.....Eureka Springs

CALIFORNIA.

AT LARGE.

Morris E. Estee.....San Francisco
John F. Swift.....San Francisco
Creed Haymond.....San Francisco
Henry T. Gage.....Los Angeles

J. A. Clayton.....San Jose
Nathan W. Spaulding.....San Francisco
Edwin P. Danforth.....San Francisco
Richard Gird.....Chino

CALIFORNIA—Continued.

Delegates. *Alternates.*

DISTRICT.

1—Horace W. Byington.....	Santa Rosa	Wm. H. Pratt.....	Eureka
John F. Ellison.....	Red Bluff	M. C. Beem.....	Ft. Jones
2—David E. Knight.....	Marysville	Wm. A. Long.....	Plainsberg
A. W. Simpson.....	Stockton	Wm. G. Long.....	Sonora
3—E. D. Robbins.....	Suisun	Marco B. Ivory.....	Brentwood
Eli Dennison.....	Oakland	Wm. C. Van Fleet.....	Sacramento
4—William H. Dimond.....	San Francisco	John T. Cutting.....	San Francisco
Charles F. Crocker.....	San Francisco	David McClure.....	San Francisco
5—Michael H. de Young.....	San Francisco	Percy Beamish.....	San Francisco
F. C. Franck.....	Santa Clara	Duncan McPherson.....	Sentinel
6—H. Z. Osborne.....	Express	J. W. Martin.....	Fresno City
Paris Kilburn.....	Salinas	F. H. Heald.....	Elsinore

COLORADO.

AT LARGE.

William A. Hamill.....	Georgetown	Henry Kellogg.....	Las Animas
Henry R. Wolcott.....	Denver	George H. Graham.....	Denver
Irving Howbert.....	Colorado Springs	J. F. Drake.....	Pueblo
C. M. Donaldson.....	Leadville	H. C. Olney.....	Gunnison

DISTRICT.

1—James M. Henderson.....	Sterling	A. M. Safely.....	Boulder
John W. Wingate.....	Silverton	C. E. McConnell.....	Gunnison

CONNECTICUT.

AT LARGE.

Samuel Fessenden.....	Stamford	Frederick Miles.....	Salisbury
Samuel L. Warner.....	Middletown	Leverett M. Hubbard.....	Wallingford
Erastus S. Day.....	Colchester	John McCormick.....	New London
E. Stevens Henry.....	Rockville	Edward C. Frisbie.....	Hartford

DISTRICT.

1—I. Luther Spencer.....	Suffield	Thomas S. Duncan.....	Pequonnock
Julius Converse.....	Stafford Springs	F. H. Underwood.....	Tolland
2—N. D. Sperry.....	New Haven	Edward T. Turner.....	Waterbury
Oscar Leach.....	Durham	Matthewson W. Potter.....	Deep River
3—Thomas H. Allen.....	Baltic	Horace Trumbull.....	Stonington
G. D. Bates.....	Putnam	T. E. Hopkins.....	Killingly
4—H. R. Parrot.....	Bridgeport	F. A. Mason.....	N. Bridgeport
A. T. Roraback.....	Canaan	William B. Rudd.....	North Canaan

DELAWARE.

AT LARGE.

Henry C. McLearn.....	Wilmington	William B. Berry.....	Wilmington
Edward G. Bradford.....	Wilmington	Samuel Aldrich.....	Glasgow
Joseph R. Whitaker.....	Dover	Daniel P. Barnard.....	Wyoming
Charles H. Treat.....	Georgetown	William B. Records.....	Laurel

DISTRICT.

1—Alvin B. Conner.....	Felton	John H. Hoffecker.....	Smyrna
Charles H. Maull.....	Lewes	Hiram W. McColley.....	Milford

FLORIDA.

AT LARGE.

Wm. M. Ledwith.....	Jacksonville	Isaac Stone.....	Glenwood
Samuel Petty.....	Fernandina	Emanuel Fortune.....	Jacksonville
E. R. Gunby.....	Orlando	Mark S. White.....	Pensacola
J. W. Mitchell.....	Tallahassee	W. H. Bishop.....	Eustis

FLORIDA—Continued.
Delegates. *Alternates.*

DISTRICT.

1—F. M. Wicker.....Key West	R. Y. Scarrett.....De Funiak Springs
George S. Wells.....Pensacola	Joseph Rains.....Tallahassee
2—J. K. Russell.....Olustee	W. A. Middleton.....Jacksonville
J. H. Shelley.....Palatka	M. M. Moore.....Gainesville

GEORGIA.

AT LARGE.

A. E. Buck.....Atlanta	Milton Allen.....Macon
R. D. Locke.....Macon	George Wallace.....Macon
W. A. Pledger.....Athens	M. H. Bentley.....Atlanta
W. J. White.....Augusta	

DISTRICT.

1—J. H. Deveaux.....Savannah	L. M. Pleasant.....Savannah
Floyd Snelson.....McIntosh	L. W. Crawford.....Darien
2—D. F. Brimberry.....Camilla	A. E. Lippitt.....Albany
C. W. Arnold.....Albany	O. E. Cone.....Ft. Gaines
3—D. A. Dudley.....Americus	Elbert Head.....Americus
N. J. Taylor.....Smithville	C. A. Coleman.....Ferry
4—J. C. Beall.....Hamilton	D. W. Echols.....Columbus
R. F. Milner.....Newman	Logan Heard.....La Grange
5—C. C. Wimbish.....Atlanta	J. W. Smith.....Monroe
Jackson McHenry.....Atlanta	Taylor Slaughter.....Douglasville
6—W. W. Brown.....Macon	B. J. Jones.....Thomasston
P. O. Holt.....Macon	I. W. Wood.....Forsyth
7—Aaron Collins.....Cartersville	S. H. Galloway.....Cartersville
A. B. Fortune.....Rome	John Kimball.....Marietta
8—Madison Davis.....Athens	M. B. Morton.....Athens
John Heard.....Greensboro	J. W. Jones.....Madison
9—S. A. Darnell.....Jasper	L. B. Greer.....Elizay
H. D. Ingersoll.....Dahlonega	Daniel Barnes.....Lawrenceville
10—R. R. Wright, $\frac{1}{2}$ vote.....Augusta	Noah Johnson.....Sandersville
Jesse Wimberly, $\frac{1}{2}$ vote.....Waynesboro	W. H. Clark.....Augusta
P. H. Craig, $\frac{1}{2}$ vote.....Augusta	
O. T. Gondon, $\frac{1}{2}$ vote.....Thompson	

ILLINOIS.

AT LARGE.

George R. Davis.....Chicago	James H. Lott.....Paxton
Charles B. Farwell.....Chicago	Henry D. Judson.....Rochelle
Horace S. Clark.....Mattoon	Peyton Roberts.....Monmouth
William F. L. Hadley.....Edwardsville	Lee L. Wilcox.....Champaign

DISTRICT.

1—William J. Campbell.....Chicago	H. H. Kohlsaat.....Chicago
Eugene Cary.....Chicago	Henry V. Freeman.....Chicago
2—William B. Kent.....Chicago	Michael F. Barrett.....Chicago
Henry Scherer.....Chicago	William L. Deming.....Chicago
3—John A. Roche.....Chicago	John M. Smith.....Chicago
Leonard Swett.....Chicago	Emil Wilken.....Chicago
4—William Boldenweck.....Lake View	John J. Healy.....Chicago
Canute R. Matson.....Chicago	William H. Thompson.....Chicago
5—Isaac L. Ellwood.....De Kalb	Omar H. Wright.....Belvidere
Homer Cook.....Waukegan	G. W. Eldredge.....Richmond
6—Charles A. Works.....Rockford	George S. Haskell.....Rockford
William Spensley.....Galena	Jerome C. Neff.....Rochelle
7—Thomas E. Milchrist.....Galva	Dwight S. Spafford.....Morrison
Josiah Little.....Amboy	Henry J. Swindler.....Magnolia
8—Henry Mayo.....Ottawa	E. B. Fletcher.....Morris
I. F. Bennett.....Plano	L. C. Cooper.....Chicago
9—James E. Morrow.....Pontiac	Robert D. Hester.....La Rose
John H. Jones.....Milford	Frank D. Larned.....Bensen
10—Julius S. Starr.....Peoria	Jeremiah Wallace.....Knoxville
Clarence E. Snively.....Canton	D. S. Hewitt.....Toulon

ILLINOIS—Continued.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

11—Benjamin F. Marsh.....	Warsaw
John M. Turnbull.....	Monmouth
12—William L. Distin.....	Quincy
Richard Mills.....	Virginia
13—John A. Ayers.....	Jacksonville
William Brown.....	Island Grove
14—James Millikin.....	Decatur
B. F. Funk.....	Bloomington
15—Frank K. Robeson.....	Campaign
Charles P. Hitch.....	Paris
16—Thomas W. Scott.....	Fairfield
D. E. Green.....	Toledo
17—R. T. Higgins.....	Vandalia
Benson Wood.....	Effingham
18—William A. Haskell.....	Alton
Cicero J. Lindley.....	Greenville
19—Jasper Partridge.....	Carmi
George C. Ross.....	Benton
20—William R. Brown.....	Metropolis
Ed. E. Mitchell.....	Marion

Warren O. Blaisdell.....	Macomb
William D. Craig.....	Aledo
William Watson.....	Barry
Francis E. Marriom.....	Hardin
W. H. Weaver.....	Petersburg
R. C. Coyner.....	Pana
R. Marquis.....	Lincoln
G. M. Abbott.....	Chicago
Patrick M. Richards.....	Urbana
Charles G. Eckhart.....	Tuscola
Warren May.....	Sumner
Robert S. Gordon.....	Mt. Carmel
C. N. Twadell.....	Lake City
Frank Millner.....	Litchfield
James A. Willoughby.....	Belleville
Emil Schmidt.....	Nashville
Frank M. Pickett.....	Harrisburg
Joseph W. Maddux.....	Carlyle
William N. Butler.....	Cairo
William S. Wheatley.....	Duquoin

INDIANA.

AT LARGE.

Albert G. Porter.....	Indianapolis
Richard W. Thompson.....	Terre Haute
James N. Huston.....	Connerville
Clem. Studebaker.....	South Bend

John P. Carr.....	Brookston
M. M. Hurley.....	New Albany
Harry G. Thayer.....	Plymouth
Stanton J. Peele.....	Indianapolis

DISTRICT.

1—John B. Cockrum.....	Booneville
Arthur P. Twineham.....	Princeton
2—S. N. Chambers.....	Vincennes
Joseph Gardner.....	Bedford
3—John Overmyer.....	North Vernon
W. N. McDonald.....	Seymour
4—M. D. Tackett.....	Greensburg
W. H. Clark.....	Rising Sun
5—John V. Hadley.....	Danville
W. L. Dunlap.....	Franklin
6—W. A. Cullen.....	Rushville
John Wildman.....	Muncie
7—E. W. Halford.....	Indianapolis
R. A. Black.....	Greenfield
8—J. D. Earle.....	Terre Haute
R. H. Nixon.....	Newport
9—Thomas J. Kane.....	Nobleville
N. R. Throckmorton.....	Lafayette
10—E. C. Field.....	Crown Point
A. K. Sills.....	Monticello
11—A. C. Bearss.....	Peru
Hezekiah Caldwell.....	Wabash
12—James S. Drake.....	LaGrange
W. H. Kniseley.....	Columbia City
13—J. W. Crumacker.....	La Porte
M. W. Simons.....	Plymouth

J. H. Sulzer.....	Cannelton
W. T. Mason.....	Rockport
J. C. Billheimer.....	Washington
M. C. Taylor.....	Worthington
J. A. Kemp.....	Salem
George B. Cardwell.....	New Albany
W. T. Forshea.....	Madison
Alfred Shaw.....	Vevay
C. S. Hammond.....	Greencastle
J. G. McPheeters.....	Bloomington
Charles M. Rock.....	Knightstown
J. M. Townsend.....	Richmond
E. B. Wingate.....	Shelbyville
B. D. Bagby.....	Indianapolis
S. Daniels.....	Terra Haute
A. S. Peacock.....	Attica
H. S. Travis.....	Fowler
D. W. Paul.....	Frankfort
M. L. Demotto.....	Valparaiso
J. A. Hatch.....	Kentland
L. C. Davenport.....	Bluffton
Leopold Levy.....	Huntington
J. M. Somers.....	Waterloo
Hiram Iddings.....	Kendallville
A. H. Henderson.....	Knox
James H. Cisney.....	Warsaw

IOWA.

AT LARGE.

D. B. Henderson.....	Dubuque
J. S. Clarkson.....	Des Moines
J. P. Dolliver.....	Fort Dodge
G. D. Perkins.....	Sioux City

E. S. Ormsby.....	Emmettsburg
J. Brigham.....	Cedar Rapids
S. C. McFarland.....	Marshalltown
O. M. Ladd.....	Ottumwa

IOWA—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICT.

1—J. F. Wilson.....Fairfield	L. W. Meyers.....Wapello
J. N. Irwin.....Keokuk	W. B. Bell.....Washington
2—J. T. Lane.....Davenport	C. Hedges.....Marengo
M. Remley.....Iowa City	C. F. Garlock.....Muscatine
3—J. D. Newcomer.....Eldora	H. S. Birdsall.....Clarion
E. A. Dawson.....Waverly	Jed. Lake.....Independence
4—T. Updegraff.....McGregor	L. E. Smith.....Cresco
J. D. Glass.....Mason City	A. K. Bailey.....Decorah
5—H. H. Rood.....Mt. Vernon	C. L. Longley.....Tipton
W. A. Hunter.....Belle Plaine	S. S. Farwell.....Monticello
6—G. M. Christian.....Grinnell	T. C. Cunningham.....Sigourney
J. P. Early.....Albia	A. H. Fortune.....Bloomfield
7—D. A. Bigelow.....Ames	C. B. Lothrop.....Winterset
T. J. Caldwell.....Adel	R. L. Chase.....Des Moines
8—W. P. Hepburn.....Clarinda	H. M. Towner.....Corning
F. M. Drake.....Centerville	F. R. Crocker.....Chariton
9—S. McPherson.....Red Oak	E. W. Weeks.....Guthrie Center
W. J. Davis.....Harlan	J. T. Jenkins.....Brayton
10—W. L. Culbertson.....Carroll	P. H. Pope.....Humboldt
G. W. Hanna.....Luverne	Mahlon Head.....Jefferson
11—F. H. Hellsell.....Sioux Rapids	H. S. Linderink.....Orange City
E. C. Brown.....Sheldon	A. R. Molyneaux.....Cherokee

KANSAS.

AT LARGE.

Albert Griffin.....Manhattan	C. A. Swenson.....Lindsborg
Thomas A. Osborn.....Topeka	A. A. Whitman.....Pratt
James R. Hallowell.....Wichita	T. C. McBreen.....Stockton
J. C. Strang.....Larned	J. Ware Butterfield.....Marion

DISTRICT.

1—Cyrus Leland, Jr.....Troy	J. T. Brady.....Sabetha
James M. Graybill.....Leavenworth	L. W. Crowl.....Westmoreland
2—Henry L. Alden.....Wyandotte	William Everett.....Lawrence
W. A. Johnson.....Garrett	H. W. Pond.....Fort Scott
3—W. M. Jenkins.....Arkansas City	Adrian Reynolds.....Sedan
J. D. Barker.....Girard	T. C. Jones.....Chanute
4—W. W. Scott.....Emporia	F. F. Mc Kercher.....Marion
Alvah Sheldon.....Eldorado	J. N. McDonald.....Burlingame
5—H. D. Baker.....Salina	S. G. Stover.....Belleville
B. H. McEckron.....Concordia	R. F. Thompson.....Minneapolis
6—W. W. Watson.....Osborne	L. H. Thompson.....Norton
M. H. Johnson.....Kirwin	J. L. Cook.....Gove
7—A. H. Heber.....Meade Center	E. E. Hubbell.....Scott
C. C. Curtis.....Wellington	Isaac A. Love.....Anthony

KENTUCKY.

AT LARGE.

William O. Bradley.....Lancaster	William L. Hurst.....Campton
John W. Lewis.....Springfield	Thomas Forman.....Maysville
George M. Thomas.....Vanceburg	Isaac Curtis.....Louisville
George Denny.....Lexington	Hugh Mulholland, Jr.....Paducah

DISTRICT.

1—W. J. Deboe.....Marion	J. B. Tyler.....Princetown
N. S. Allison.....Mayfield	G. W. Witty.....Milburn
2—George W. Jolly.....Owensboro	T. W. Gardner.....Madisonville
Ed. W. Glass.....Hopkinsville	A. H. Cabell.....Henderson
3—E. U. Fordyce.....Bowling Green	E. Scott Brown.....Scottsville
W. S. Taylor.....Morgantown	I. H. Gray.....Russellville
4—Andrew Thompson.....Springfield	John W. Sayers.....Deatsville
Charles M. Pendleton.....Hartford	S. A. Smith.....Elizabethtown
5—A. E. Wilson.....Louisville	Burton Vance.....Louisville
W. P. Hampton.....Louisville	J. J. Johnson.....Louisville

KENTUCKY—Continued.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

DISTRICT.

6—John M. Wilson.....Williamstown	Paris E. Morgan.....Falmouth
John P. Ernst.....Covington	D. B. Wallace.....Warsaw
7—William Cassius Goodloe.....Lexington	A. B. Sowards.....Georgetown
Louis Lebus.....Cynthiana	James Walker.....Owenton
8—John Bennett.....Richmond	John T. Ballard.....Shelbyville
Logan McKee.....Danville	James M. Sebastian.....Booneville
9—W. W. Patterson.....Ashland	H. C. Metcalf.....Brookville
W. A. Warford.....Flemingsburg	H. H. Gambril.....Louisia
10—John W. Langley.....Prestonburg	D. G. Colston.....Pineville
G. L. Kirkpatrick.....Mt. Sterling	J. L. Bosley.....Winchester
11—E. A. Hobson.....Greensburg	E. W. Porch.....Somerset
W. W. Jones.....Columbia	W. L. Hazelip.....Glasgow

LOUISIANA.

AT LARGE.

William Pitt Kellogg.....Washington, D. C	W. B. Smith.....Franklin
P. T. Herwig.....New Orleans	E. W. Wall.....Vidalia
P. B. S. Pinchback.....New Orleans	Paul Thomas.....New Orleans
James Lewis.....New Orleans	J. C. Baumann.....Kenner City

DISTRICT.

1—H. C. Warmoth.....Lawrence	John E. Staes.....New Orleans
L. P. Smith.....New Orleans	John W. Edwards.....New Orleans
2—Andrew Hero, Jr.....New Orleans	Chas. A. Bourgeois.....St. Charles
Thomas W. Wickham.....New Orleans	Z. B. Cohen.....Central
3—Henry C. Minor.....Houma	Mayer Cahen.....Donaldsonville
C. B. Darrall.....Franklin	W. W. Williams.....Lafayette
4—William Harper.....Shreveport	D. J. Price.....New Orleans
A. H. Leonard.....New Orleans	A. J. Smith.....New Orleans
5—David Young.....New Orleans	T. I. Galbreth.....New Orleans
George Gell.....New Orleans	S. W. Smith.....New Orleans
6—John E. Breaux.....New Orleans	B. F. Moseley.....New Orleans
Napoleon Lastrapes.....New Orleans	Aleck Gilbert.....New Orleans

MAINE.

AT LARGE.

Charles H. Prescott.....Biddeford	Charles J. Chapman.....Portland
Samuel H. Allen.....Thomaston	George L. Beal.....Norway
Joseph H. Manley.....Augusta	I. C. Libby.....Burnham
Charles A. Boutelle.....Bangor	A. E. Sumner.....Lubec

DISTRICT.

1—Charles A. Brown.....Portland	Edward B. Mallett, Jr.....Freeport
William B. Tobie.....North Berwick	Justin M. Leavitt.....Bucksport
2—George A. Wilson.....Paris	Henry M. Richards.....Harrington
John H. Kimball.....Bath	David W. Chapman.....Damariscotta
3—R. B. Shepard.....Skowhegan	Elliott Wood.....Winthrop
Eben D. Haley.....Gardner	C. C. Burrill.....Ellsworth
4—Fred A. Powers.....Houlton	George F. Townsend.....Calais
B. B. Thatcher.....Bangor	J. B. Mayo.....Foxcroft

MARYLAND.

AT LARGE.

Walter B. Brooks.....Baltimore	George R. Marshall.....Stockton
William D. Burchinal.....Chestertown	F. Albert Kurtz.....Baltimore
Adam E. King.....Baltimore	John P. Forrester.....Centerville
David D. Dixon.....Baltimore	John W. Adams.....Baltimore

MARYLAND—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICT.

- 1—R. J. W. Garey.....Denton
L. E. P. Dennis.....Crisfield
- 2—William T. Warburton.....Elkton
William M. Marine.....Baltimore
- 3—William F. Airey.....Baltimore
W. W. Johnson.....Baltimore
- 4—J. Reese Pitcher.....Baltimore
Wesley M. Oler.....Baltimore
- 5—James A. Gary.....Baltimore
Adrian Posey.....Port Tobacco
- 6—George L. Wellington, Cumberland
Benjamin H. Miller...Sandy Spring

- Joseph Mallalieu.....Millington
William Perkins.....Chestertown
Charles W. Lee.....Towson
Isaac E. Pierson.....Westminster
Charles F. Riehl.....Baltimore
I. D. Oliver.....Baltimore
Joshua C. Simms.....Baltimore
Charles T. Smith.....Baltimore
Nicholas Jacobs.....Annapolis
J. H. Garrett.....Carroll
F. T. Wheaton.....Hagerstown
F. B. Noyes.....Washington, D. C

MASSACHUSETTS.

AT LARGE.

- George F. Hoar.....Worcester
Henry S. Hyde.....West Springfield
Frederick L. Burden..North Attleboro
Alanson W. Beard.....Boston

- Benjamin S. Lovell.....Weymouth
Julius C. Chappelle.....Boston
Fred H. Williams.....Foxborough
Charles N. Yeamans.....Westfield

DISTRICT.

- 1—Frank Stevens.....Swansea
Jonathan Bourne...New Bedford
- 2—William H. Bent.....Tauton
Eben L. Ripley.....Hingham
- 3—Arthur W. Tufts.....Boston
Edward P. Wilbur.....Boston
- 4—Jesse M. Gove.....Boston
Charles J. Noyes.....Boston
- 5—Edward D. Hayden.....Woburn
Elmer H. Capen.....Somerville
- 6—William B. Littlefield.....Lynn
Samuel W. McCall...Winchester
- 7—William Cogswell.....Salem
William E. Blunt.....Haverhill
- 8—Joseph L. Sargent.....Dracut
George S. Merrill.....Lawrence
- 9—J. Henry Gould.....Medfield
David W. Farquhar.....Newton
- 10—William A. Gile.....Worcester
George L. Gibbs.....Northbridge
- 11—John W. Wheeler.....Orange
John G. Mackintosh.....Holyoke
- 12—Emerson Gaylord.....Chicopee
William M. Prince.....Pittsfield

- Samuel Fessenden.....Sandwich
John H. Abbott.....Fall River
Frank L. Pushaw.....Canton
Francis A. Hobart.....Braintree
Thomas Dana.....Boston
J. P. S. Churchill.....Milton
Harrison H. Atwood.....Boston
Joseph B. Maccahee.....Boston
William A. Tower.....Lexington
Francis L. Chapman.....Cambridge
Charles A. Campbell.....Chelsea
Horace E. Boynton.....Boston
James D. Pike.....Merrimac
C. H. Shepard.....Danvers
Byran Truell.....Lawrence
Richard F. Barrett.....Concord
M. M. Dessau.....Farmingham
George M. Towle.....Brookline
M. V. B. Jefferson.....Worcester
Henry O. Sawyer.....West Boylston
E. A. Buffington.....Leominster
Lyman D. James.....Williamsburg
William N. Flint.....Monson
Frank H. Wright...Great Barrington

MICHIGAN.

AT LARGE.

- R. E. Fraser.....Detroit
J. K. Boies.....Hudson
W. Q. Atwood.....Saginaw
Thomas P. Dunstan.....Hancock

- James M. Turner.....Lausing
M. S. Crosby.....Grand Rapids
W. S. Tousey.....Bay City
Wm. S. Hopkins.....St. Clair

DISTRICT.

- 1—H. M. Duffield.....Detroit
John Atkinson.....Detroit
- 2—George Spaulding.....Monroe
Charles T. Mitchell.....Hillsdale
- 3—William A. Coombs.....Coldwater
Charles E. Townsend.....Jackson
- 4—L. M. Ward.....Benton Harbor
Bishop E. Andrews...Three Rivers
- 5—A. B. Watson.....Grand Rapids
C. P. Brown.....Spring Lake

- George H. Hopkins.....Detroit
James H. Stone.....Detroit
B. F. Graves.....Adrian
J. L. Gilbert.....Chelsea
D. Hawkins.....Vermontville
R. L. Warren.....Albion
H. D. Smith.....Cassopolis
D. K. Charles.....Bangor
John Crisp.....Allegan
James H. Kidd.....Ionia

MICHIGAN—*Continued.**Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

6—William McPherson, Jr.....Howell	J. Sumner Rogers.....Orchard Lake
W. B. McCreery.....Flint	C. S. Brown.....Flint
7—Edgar Weeks.....Mt. Clemens	J. McGill.....Marlette
Harrison Geer.....Lapeer	J. S. Ayres.....Port Austin
8—R. G. Horr.....East Saginaw	Wm. Kilpatrick.....Owosso
S. Perry Young.....Stanton	P. C. Heald.....Midland
9—E. O. Shaw.....Newaygo	T. S. Gurney.....Hart
George W. Crawford.....Big Rapids	William Mears.....Boyne Falls
10—N. M. Richardson.....Caro	H. P. Merrill.....Bay City
Green Pack.....Oscoda	P. E. Witherspoon.....Harrison
11—Perry Hannah.....Traverse City	Joseph Sellwood.....Bessemer
S. M. Stephenson.....Menominee	W. H. Rood.....Ishpeming

MINNESOTA.

AT LARGE.

Frank F. Davis.....Minneapolis	C. E. Wright..... ³ Monticello
Joel P. Heatwole.....Northfield	W. A. Sperry.....Owatonna
C. G. Hartley.....Duluth	H. A. Finkle.....Moorhead
C. G. Edwards.....Spring Valley	J. E. Brown.....Mapleton

DISTRICT.

1—James O'Brien.....Caledonia	Oscar Ayres.....Austin
George B. Edgerton.....Kasson	A. J. Greer.....Lake City
2—M. N. Leland.....Wells	P. V. Collins.....St. Peter
H. J. Miller.....Luverne	L. C. Herr.....Slayton
3—M. S. Chandler.....Red Wing	Frank Gifford.....Shakopee
Peter Johnson.....Dassel	F. A. Hilscher.....Willmar
4—W. J. Freaney.....St. Paul	N. W. Chance.....Cokato
R. B. Langdon.....Minneapolis	J. P. McCusick.....Pine City
5—C. L. Lewis.....Fergus Falls	M. D. Taylor.....St. Cloud
H. Steenerson.....Crookston	O. M. Torrison.....Elbow Lake

MISSISSIPPI.

AT LARGE.

John R. Lynch.....Natchez	F. P. Hill.....Sardis
James Hill.....Jackson	Charles Rosenbaum.....DeKalb
John McGill.....Jackson	J. J. Baker.....Lexington
T. W. Stringer.....Vicksburg	H. H. Harvey.....Greenville

DISTRICT.

1—G. C. Chandler.....Corinth	H. C. Powers.....Starkville
J. W. Lee.....Aberdeen	W. E. Parker.....Aberdeen
2—John S. Burton.....Holly Springs	N. L. Lockey.....Sardis
George M. Buchanan.....Holly Sp'gs	W. W. Ellison.....Hernando
3—Wesley Creyton.....Vicksburg	Gilbert Horton.....Greenville
W. H. Allen.....Friar's Point	G. W. Gillian.....Lula
4—W. D. Frazee.....Okalona	William Tindall.....Okolona
E. E. Pettibone.....Grenada	H. H. Harrington.....West Point
5—A. C. Edwards.....Meridian	J. R. Smith.....Meridian
S. P. Hurst.....Lexington	Perry Howard.....Ebenezer
6—G. F. Bowles.....Natchez	Wm. Noonan.....Natchez
C. A. Simpson.....Hattiesburgh	C. H. Crugat.....Scranton
7—J. J. Spelman.....Jackson	O. L. Garrett.....Canton
H. Kernaghan.....Brandon	S. S. Mathews.....Hazelhurst

MISSOURI.

AT LARGE.

Chauncey I. Filley.....St. Louis	Joseph B. Upton.....Bolivar
Wm. Warner.....Kansas City	E. E. Kimball.....Nevada
D. P. Dyer.....St. Louis	John D. Dopf.....Rockport
Joseph H. Pelham.....Hannibal	A. C. Widdicombe.....Boonville

MISSOURI—Continued.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

DISTRICT.

- 1—C. P. Hess.....Macon
D. W. Pollock.....St. John
- 2—A. W. Mullins.....Linneus
W. A. Jacobs.....Chillicothe
- 3—Wm. T. Sullivan.....Gallatin
Eugene S. Low.....Maysville
- 4—John Albus, Jr.....St. Joseph
Julius A. Sanders.....Savannah
- 5—John A. Duncan.....Kansas City
S. G. Kelly.....Knob Noster
- 6—S. K. Crawford.....Warsaw
Orville Vaughan.....Slaters
- 7—John R. Martin.....Washington
W. L. Morsey.....Warrington
- 8—John H. Pohlman.....St. Louis
H. M. Pollard.....St. Louis
- 9—Charles E. Pearce.....St. Louis
J. Gilbert Chapman.....St. Louis
- 10—Henry Ziegenheim.....St. Louis
Robert C. Allen.....Clayton
- 11—L. F. Parker.....Rolla
T. B. Robinson.....Tuscumbia
- 12—Joseph C. Stewart.....Webb City
George A. Neal.....Osceola
- 13—Frederick King.....Marshfield
Horace R. Williams.....Purdy
- 14—Byrd Duncan.....Popular Bluff
Samuel A. Risley.....West Plains

- Joseph Meyer.....Kahoka
James Gillespie.....Memphis
Louis Benecke.....Brunswick
P. C. Stepp.....Trenton
George W. Wilcox.....Princeton
A. H. Vandivert.....Bethany
S. McComas.....Platte City
E. A. Welty.....Oregon
L. P. Williamson.....Independence
Robert Taubman.....Lexington
A. P. Morey.....Sedalia
J. W. Moore.....California
A. F. Mispagel.....St. Charles
T. C. Wilson.....Troy
Charles F. Wennecker.....St. Louis
F. W. H. Weishahn.....St. Louis
Charles Turner.....St. Louis
Charles Schweickardt.....St. Louis
Louis Grund.....St. Louis
G. St. Gem.....St. Genevieve
James T. Moore.....Lebanon
Giles Bell.....Fulton
James Masters.....Stockton
Jacob Keiser.....Clinton
D. S. Flowers.....Pierce City
W. S. Johnson.....Springfield
L. P. Clymer.....Commerce
Lindsay Murdock.....Marble Hill

NEBRASKA.

AT LARGE.

- John M. Thurston.....Omaha
Patrick Egan.....Lincoln
R. S. Norval.....Seward
George W. Heist.....Sidney

- C. W. Boggs.....Blair
H. E. Palmer.....Plattsmouth
J. P. Hartman.....Kearney
R. B. Likes.....Hayes Center

DISTRICT.

- 1—Charles Green.....Omaha
C. O. Bates.....Beatrice
- 2—B. S. Baker.....Fairbury
E. D. Einsel.....Holdrege
- 3—W. M. Robertson.....Madison
Aaron W. Wall.....Loup City

- C. C. Wilson.....Sterling
F. A. Scoville.....Ashland
C. S. Johnson.....Nelson
George H. Stewart.....Stockville
B. S. Lily.....Broken Bow
W. Radford.....Ponca

NEVADA.

AT LARGE.

- William M. Stewart.....Carson
John P. Jones.....Gold Hill
W. E. Sharon.....Virginia City
L. Hamilton.....Virginia City

- Andrew Maute.....Belmont
J. Meiggs.....Elko
F. C. Parsons.....Tuscarora
James Haynes.....Genoa

DISTRICT.

- 1—Evan Williams.....Carson
M. D. Foley.....Eureka

- J. Poujade.....Pioche
G. C. Thaxter.....Carson

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

AT LARGE.

- Person C. Cheney.....Manchester
Jacob H. Gallinger.....Concord
Hiram A. Tuttle.....Pittsfield
Alfred T. Batchelder.....Keene

- Arthur Taggart.....Manchester
Dana W. King.....Nashua
Frank W. Coburn.....New Durham
Seth M. Richards.....Newport

NEW HAMPSHIRE—*Continued.*
Delegates. *Alternates.*

DISTRICT.

1—John L. Peavey.....	Wolfborough	Samuel A. Haley.....	New Market
Edward H. Gilman.....	Exeter	David F. Healy.....	Manchester
2—Chester Pike.....	Cornish	David W. O'Neil.....	Claremont
Charles H. Greenleaf....	Franconia	Charles Parker.....	Lisbon

NEW JERSEY.

AT LARGE.

W. J. Sewell.....	Camden	Geo. T. Cranmer.....	Barnegat
J. Hart Brewer.....	Trenton	H. C. H. Herold.....	Newark
John W. Griggs.....	Paterson	Gilbert Collins.....	Jersey City
Geo. A. Halsey.....	Newark	Frank F. Patterson.....	Camden

DISTRICT.

1—Isaac Moffatt.....	Glassborough	Malachi D. Cornish.....	Camden
Richard T. Starr.....	Salem	John T. Bottomley.....	Camden
2—Wm. H. Skirm.....	Trenton	Abram Lower.....	Point Pleasant
Jos. H. Gaskell.....	Mt. Holly	Shepard S. Hudson.....	May's Landing
3—Jos. H. T. Martin.....	Woodbridge	John Ulrich.....	Plainfield
Henry S. White.....	Red Bank	Hugh W. Adams.....	Elizabeth
4—H. B. Herr.....	White House Station	S. Snowden Cook.....	Somerville
John I. Blair.....	Blairstown	William M. Smith.....	Newton
5—H. O. Marsh.....	Morristown	Edward D. Halsey.....	Morristown
Wm. M. Johnson.....	Hackensack	N. Murray Butler.....	Paterson
6—Henry M. Doremus.....	Newark	Thomas B. Peabody.....	Newark
Henry A. Potter.....	East Orange	Ambrose M. Matthews.....	Orange Valley
7—James V. Vredenburg.....	Jersey City	Richard Williams.....	Jersey City
John Ramsey.....	Jersey City	John D. Carscallen.....	Jersey City

NEW YORK.

AT LARGE.

Frank Hiscock.....	Syracuse	James Arkell.....	Canajoharie
Chauncey M. Depew.....	New York	John Raines.....	Canandaigua
Warner Miller.....	Herkimer	Davis A. Baldwin.....	Brooklyn
Thomas C. Platt.....	Tioga	Daniel H. McMillan.....	Buffalo

DISTRICT.

1—James H. Platt.....	Queens	David J. Tyson.....	New Dorp
William S. Coggswell.....	Jamacia	R. W. Fielding.....	Brooklyn
2—T. L. Woodruff.....	Brooklyn	J. Lott Nostrand.....	New Utrecht
Granville W. Harman.....	Brooklyn	Howard M. Smith.....	Brooklyn
3—Jesse Johnson.....	Brooklyn	Charles Naehar.....	Brooklyn
W. J. Taylor.....	Brooklyn	Henry E. Townsend.....	Brooklyn
4—M. J. Dady.....	Brooklyn	H. H. Beadle.....	Brooklyn
Theo. B. Willis.....	Brooklyn	George W. Farmer.....	Brooklyn
5—Charles Engert.....	Brooklyn	William H. Gedney.....	New York
Louis E. Nicot.....	Brooklyn	Frank J. Carroll.....	New York
6—Stephen B. French.....	New York	Dennis Shea.....	New York
George B. Deane.....	New York	William M. Doyle.....	New York
7—John D. Lawson.....	New York	John Simpson.....	New York
Charles N. Taintor.....	New York	Theodore E. Brodhead.....	New York
8—John J. O'Brien.....	New York	John S. Phillips.....	New York
Arthur E. Bateman.....	New York	Louis L. Roland.....	New York
9—John R. Nugent.....	New York	John C. O'Conner, Jr.....	New York
George Hilliard.....	New York	Henry Kroff.....	New York
10—Alfred R. Whitney.....	New York	Robert A. Greacen.....	New York
Robert R. Hamilton.....	New York	Stephen N. Simonson.....	New York
11—Sheridan Shook.....	New York	John H. Gunner.....	New York
Fred S. Gibbs.....	New York	Alfred G. Nason.....	New York
12—Solon B. Smith.....	New York	John Reisenweber.....	New York
John F. Plummer.....	New York	Morris Friedsam.....	New York
13—John McClave.....	New York	William B. Davidson.....	Dobbs Ferry
Donald McClave.....	New York	J. Thomas Stearns.....	Tremont
14—William H. Robertson.....	Katonah		
James W. Husted.....	White Plains		

NEW YORK—*Continued.*

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICT.

15—Charles St. John, Jr....Port Jervis
H. J. Sarles.....Liberty
16—Louis F. Payne.....Chatham
Obed Wheeler.....Wing's Station
17—Jacob Lefever.....Rondout
Marvin D. Wheeler.....Hancock
18—James S. Smart.....Cambridge
John A. Quackenbush.....Troy
19—John M. Bailey.....Albany
John A. Sleicher.....Albany
20—James P. Angersinger.....Johnstown
David A. Wells.....Gloversville
21—Robert W. Thompson.....Malone
L. W. Emerson.....Warrensburg
22—George M. Gleason.....Gouverneur
Joseph Mullin.....Watertown
23—Samuel R. Campbell.....
.....New York Mills
Henry A. Phillips.....Lowville
24—David Wilbur.....Oneonta
Hobart Krum.....Schoharie
25—Francis Hendricks.....Syracuse
Edward Keator.....Cortland
26—Stephen C. Millard.....Binghamton
Cyrus B. Martin.....Norwich
27—George B. Sloan.....Oswego
John H. Camp.....Lyons
28—J. S. Fassett.....Elmira
John W. Dwight.....Dryden
29—Stephen T. Hoyt.....Corning
J. Foster Parkhurst.....Bath
30—John B. Hamilton.....West Rush
H. H. Warner.....Rochester
31—L. N. Humphrey.....Warsaw
H. F. Tarbox.....Batavia
32—O. G. Warren.....Buffalo
John Laughlin.....Buffalo
33—Harvey F. Gaskill.....Niagara Falls
John B. Weber.....Buffalo
34—Frank W. Higgins.....Olean
Jerome B. Fisher.....Jamestown

W. D. Dickey.....Newburgh
W. W. Snow.....Hillburn
Edward S. Atwater.....Poughkeepsie
George McCabe.....Cold Spring
Robert Loughran.....Kingston
Oliver Bourke.....Catskill
Richard A. Derrick.....Troy
George Clements.....Dresden
Thomas J. Cowell.....Albany
John Kellogg.....Amsterdam
John Houghtran.....Ellenburgh
John S. Roberts.....Elizabethtown
Carlton E. Sanford.....Pottsdam
Byron B. Taggart.....Watertown
W. H. Bright.....Utica
John D. Jones.....Turin
John B. Hooker.....Fly Creek
James H. Crandell.....Cobleskill
George Baxter.....Liverpool
Robert Bushby.....Cortland
Samuel R. Mott.....Canastota
George C. Bayless.....Binghamton
Charles Tollner.....Pulaski
Cyrenus Wheeler, Jr.....Auburn
J. B. H. Mongin.....Waterloo
E. E. Robinson.....Ithaca
Volney P. Brown.....Scottsville
Henry Hebing.....Rochester
Isaac Hampton.....Dansville
Isaac S. Signor.....Albion
S. G. Dorr.....Buffalo
James Carmichael.....Buffalo
Henry Lapp.....Clarence
George E. Smith.....Middleport
A. W. Smith.....Cuba
L. McInstry.....Fredonia

NORTH CAROLINA.

AT LARGE.

Thomas N. Cooper.....Brevard
James H. Harris.....Raleigh
John C. Dacey.....Salisbury
Elihu A. White.....Belvidere

G. H. Smathers.....Waynesville
Ellwood Cox.....High Point
W. C. Smith.....Charlotte
J. T. Reynolds.....Enfield

DISTRICT.

1—C. M. Bernard.....Greenville
Hugh Cole.....Elizabeth City
2—L. C. Estes.....Enfield
R. L. Parrot.....Kingston
3—O. J. Spears.....Lillington
George T. Wassom.....Goldsboro
4—J. C. L. Harris.....Raleigh
J. H. Williamson.....Louisburg
5—J. A. Hoskins.....Summerfield
W. A. Pattillo.....Oxford
6—D. L. Russell.....Wilmington
J. W. Gordon.....Charlotte
7—J. J. Mott.....Statesville
G. M. Bulla.....Lexington
8—T. J. Dula.....Wilkesboro
D. C. Pearson.....Morganton
9—J. W. Shook.....Clyde
G. W. Crawford.....Marion

H. O. Gussom.....Edenton
W. W. Spakes.....Simsbury
J. H. Montgomery.....Weldon
J. W. Harrell.....Newbern
A. A. Smith.....Goldsborough
E. P. Powers.....Fayetteville
H. C. Long.....Haywood
W. S. Mitchell.....Raleigh
J. W. Powe.....Yanceyville
J. M. Smith.....Rockingham
T. S. Lewis.....Lumberton
J. A. Pearson.....Catawba
C. G. Bailey.....Mocksville
T. M. Puett.....Lenoir
J. R. Henderson.....Wilkesborough
J. A. Nichols.....Marshall
O. M. Deaver.....Asheville

OHIO.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

Joseph B. Foraker.....Columbus
Wm. McKinley, Jr.....Canton
Charles Foster.....Fostoria
Benj. Butterworth.....Cincinnati

Robert Harlan.....Cincinnati
C. L. Maxwell.....Xenia
L. W. Brown.....Wauseon
Frank Baird.....Baird's Furnace

DISTRICT.

1—T. W. Graydon.....Cincinnati
Howard Ferris.....Cincinnati
2—Frank Tucker.....Cincinnati
Armor Smith, Jr.....Cincinnati
3—J. E. Lowes.....Dayton
O. B. Brown.....Dayton
4—George P. Waldorf.....Lima
A. M. Kuhn.....Wapakoneta
5—W. H. Gibson.....Tiffin
E. J. Totten.....Findlay
6—I. N. Alexander.....Van Wert
H. A. Hamilton.....Perrysburg
7—John Little.....Xenia
James B. Swing.....Batavia
8—John Foos.....Springfield
Festus Walters.....Circleville
9—H. M. Carper.....Delaware
R. L. Woodburn.....Marysville
10—Clarence Brown.....Toledo
J. B. Luckey.....Elmore
11—E. S. Wilson.....Ironton
S. M. Brandyberry.....Gallipolis
12—A. W. Doan.....Wilmington
Marcus Boggs.....Chillicothe
13—Jared P. Bliss.....Columbus
John W. Jones.....Haydenville
14—Henry C. Hedges.....Mansfield
S. S. Warner.....Wellington
15—Charles L. Kurtz.....Athens
W. W. Merrick.....Pomeroy
16—M. Churchill.....Zanesville
Samuel J. Davis.....Newark
17—John A. Bingham.....Cadiz
Robert Sherrard, Jr.....Stuebenville
18—R. N. Chamberlin.....East Palestine
T. R. Morgan, Sr.....Alliance
19—Wm. Grinnell.....Ravenna
W. H. Johnson.....East Mentor
20—M. L. Smyser.....Wooster
Cornelius J. Manix.....Cleveland
21—Myron T. Merrick.....Cleveland
M. A. Hanna.....Cleveland

E. B. Warren.....Cincinnati
Samuel A. Hirst.....Cincinnati
Samuel Trost.....Cincinnati
John Strubbe.....Cincinnati
John W. Widny.....Pickaway
John Reisinger.....Eaton
L. S. Jameson.....Celina
Z. T. Dorman.....Greenville
Horace M. Deal.....Bucyrus
J. A. Maxwell.....Upper Sandusky
Walter Hilton.....Defiance
L. G. Randall.....Napoleon
Samuel H. Dustin.....Loveland
J. B. Allen.....Xenia
John M. Boyer.....London
Wm. J. Means.....Urbana
James Olds.....Mt. Gilead
J. J. Hayne.....Marion
J. C. Bonner.....Toledo
Lester Wilson.....Sandusky
T. F. McClure.....Hamden Junction
L. F. Fenton.....Winchester
J. W. Barger.....Waverly
J. M. Wilson.....New Holland
William M. Crawford.....Columbus
J. F. Harris.....New Straitsville
J. S. Stewart.....Lexington
Calvin Starbird.....New London
J. W. Doherty.....Woodfield
D. R. Root.....Belpre
J. L. McIlvane.....New Philadelphia
W. T. Hull.....Millersburg
W. D. Guilbert.....Caldwell
J. M. Lewis.....Barnesville
E. C. Ross.....Malvern
Julius Whiting, Jr.....Canton
W. C. Haskell.....Ashtabula
I. N. Hathaway.....Chardon
A. M. Cole.....Akron
Robert McDowell.....Medina
David W. Jones.....Cleveland
Fred Gunsenhauser.....Cleveland

OREGON.

AT LARGE.

J. Bourne, Jr.....Portland
Z. F. Moody.....The Dalles
Rufus Mallory.....Portland
J. W. Cusick.....Albany
J. E. Bean.....Pendleton
F. P. Mays.....The Dalles

Lee Laughlin.....McMinnville
W. D. Hare.....Hillsborough
W. C. Johnson.....Oregon City
J. S. Cooper.....Independence
G. W. Kimball.....Roseburg
J. F. Baker.....La Grande

PENNSYLVANIA.

AT LARGE.

M. S. Quay.....Beaver
D. H. Hastings.....Harrisburg
Henry W. Oliver.....Pittsburg
William R. Leeds.....Philadelphia

Harry J. Shoemaker.....Tullytown
John K. Ewing.....Uniontown
William H. Woods.....Huntingdon
Walter L. Jones.....Allentown

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued.

Delegates.

DISTRICT.

Alternates.

- 1—H. H. Bingham.....Washington, D. C
- Edwin S. Stuart.....Philadelphia
- 2—David H. Lane.....Philadelphia
- Hamilton Disston.....Philadelphia
- 3—Henry Clay.....Philadelphia
- John Hunter.....Philadelphia
- 4—James McManes.....Philadelphia
- Charles A. Porter.....Philadelphia
- 5—David Martin.....Philadelphia
- Thomas W. South.....Tacony
- 6—Isaac Johnson.....Media
- Louis R. Walters.....Phoenixville
- 7—B. F. Gilkeson.....Bristol
- Joseph Bosler.....Cheltenham
- 8—Frank Reeder.....Easton
- Thomas C. Walton.....Stroudsburg
- 9—Franklin H. Hersh.....Allentown
- Augustus M. High.....Reading
- 10—Francis M. Shroder.....Lancaster
- S. M. Seldomridge.....Farmerville
- 11—Joseph H. Scranton.....Scranton
- Edward P. Kingsbury.....Scranton
- 12—Edwin S. Osborne.....Wash'ton, D. C.
- L. D. Darte.....Wilkesbarre
- 13—D. D. Phillips.....Gordon
- W. J. Whitehouse.....Pottsville
- 14—S. J. M. McCarrell.....Harrisburg
- E. M. Woomeer.....Lebanon
- 15—Wm. N. Reynolds.....Tunkhannock
- Thomas B. Boyd.....Honesdale
- 16—Hugh Young.....Wellsboro
- William K. Jones.....Condersport
- 17—Ellery P. Ingham.....Dushore
- D. A. Beckley.....Bloomsburg
- 18—J. Merrill Linn.....Lewisburg
- Samuel S. Woods.....Lewistown
- 19—George C. Schmidt.....York
- Charles H. Mullin.Mt. Holly Sp'gs
- 20—William S. Hammond.....Altoona
- George T. Swank.....Johnstown
- 21—William M. Henry.....Kitanning
- C. M. Watson.....Indiana
- 22—C. L. Magee.....Pittsburg
- Wm. Flinn.....Pittsburg
- 23—T. M. Bayne.....Washington, D. C
- Peter Walter, Jr.....Allegheny
- 24—Geo. M. Von Bonnhorst.....Pittsburg
- John P. Moore.....Knoxville
- 25—W. C. Thompson.....Butler
- William Kile.....Mercer
- 26—Wm. B. Roberts.....Titusville
- S. A. Davenport.....Erie
- 27—H. H. Cumings.....Tidioute
- J. W. Cochran.....Emporium
- 28—J. H. Hagerty.....Ridgway
- Archibald B. Kelly.....Tionesta

- William J. Pollock.....Philadelphia
- James Park.....Philadelphia
- William B. Ahern.....Philadelphia
- Jacob Wildmore.....Philadelphia
- Charles Alego.....Philadelphia
- Martin Burk.....Philadelphia
- Henry B. Schoch.....Philadelphia
- Wm. H. Smith.....Philadelphia
- Horatio B. Hackett.....Philadelphia
- Thomas J. Powers.....Philadelphia
- David L. Smith.....Pomeroy
- George B. Lindsay.....Chester
- J. Roberts Rambo.....Norristown
- William C. Blackfan.....New Hope
- William Lilly.....Mauch Chunk
- Bernard E. Lehman.....Bethlehem
- R. C. Ettinger.....Allentown
- Wm. G. Moore.....Reading
- Henry S. Eberly.....Durlach
- Samuel M. Myers.....Lancaster
- John H. Thomas.....Carbondale
- Everett E. Dale.....Daleville
- Daniel J. Thomas.....Audenreid
- James Mantayne.....Pittston
- Clay W. Evans.....St. Clair
- J. B. Davis.....Shenandoah
- Allen D. Hoffer.....Lebanon
- Abraham Fortenbaugh.....Halifax
- Rodney A. Mercer.....Towanda
- Orrin A. Lines.....Great Bend
- Gilbert P. Smith.....Jersey Shore
- George H. Colestock.....Renovo
- Bonham R. Gearhart.....Danyille
- Daniel T. Huckell.....Forksville
- Rufus Elder.....Lewiston
- I. Z. Ober.....McConnellsburg
- James V. Fenn.....Mechanicsburg
- R. M. Wirt.....Hanover
- J. C. Barndollar.....Everett
- F. J. Kooser.....Somerset
- James E. Long.....Brookville
- J. K. Thompson.....Marion
- William McCallin.....Pittsburg
- E. M. Bigelow.....Allegheny
- Arthur Kennedy.....Allegheny
- James Hunter.....Allegheny
- John A. Bell.....Pittsburg
- D. G. Foster.....Crafton
- David Tidball.....New Castle
- Turner Strawbridge.....New Brighton
- Arthur L. Bates.....Meadville
- James W. Sproul.....Union City
- C. W. Mackey.....Franklin
- Rufus B. Stone.....Bradford
- Wm. H. Wigton.....Philipsburg
- John W. Patrick.....Clarion

RHODE ISLAND.

AT LARGE.

- Fred L. Marcy.....Providence
- William R. Walker.....Pawtucket
- Richard Thornley.....East Greenwich
- George T. Cranston.....Wickford

- Isaac L. Goff.....South Providence
- Wheaton Cole.....Pawtucket
- Dwight R. Adams.....Phoenix
- Frederick T. Rogers.....Westerly

DISTRICT.

- 1—Melville Bull.....Middletown
- Benjamin M. Bosworth.....Warren
- 2—Albert L. Sayles.....Pascoag
- Henry L. Ballou.....Woonsocket

- Albert C. Landers.....Newport
- Nathan N. Cole.....Bristol
- Charles A. Wilson.....Providence
- Edward H. Rathbun.....Woonsocket

SOUTH CAROLINA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

AT LARGE.

E. M. Brayton.....Columbia
 W. F. Myers.....Waterboro
 W. N. Taft.....Charleston
 Robert Smalls.....Beaufort

S. A. Swails.....Kingstree
 R. D. George.....Charleston
 W. J. Whipper.....Beaufort
 A. W. Curtis.....Columbia

DISTRICT.

1—E. A. Webster.....Orangeburgh
 J. M. Freeman.....Charleston
 2—Fred. Nix, Jr.....Blockville
 Paris Simpkins.....Edgefield
 3—J. R. Tolbert.....Ninety-six
 F. L. Hicks.....Newberry
 4—P. F. Oliver.....Columbia
 F. A. Saxton.....Laurens
 5—C. C. Levy.....Camden
 Z. E. Walker.....Sumter
 6—E. H. Deas.....Darlington
 T. J. Tuomey.....Sumter
 7—T. B. Johnston.....Mayesville
 G. E. Herriott.....Georgetown

J. H. Fordham.....Orangeburgh
 S. W. McKinley.....Charleston
 E. J. Dickerson.....Aiken
 N. W. Edwards.....Edgefield
 L. C. Haller.....Ninety-six
 Henry Kennedy.....Newberry
 J. P. Boyden.....Spartansburgh
 Israel Byrd.....Winsborough
 E. H. Dibble.....Camden
 A. J. Andrews.....Sumter
 J. H. Smith.....Darlington
 J. W. White.....Charleston
 H. B. Williams.....Mt. Pleasant
 C. H. Sperry.....Georgetown

TENNESSEE.

AT LARGE.

L. C. Houk.....Knoxville
 Sam. A. McElwee.....Brownsville
 George Maney.....Nashville
 A. A. Taylor.....Johnson City

W. S. Tipton.....Cleveland
 H. A. Hasslock.....Nashville
 I. B. Merriam.....Chattanooga
 John T. Robinson.....Huntington

DISTRICT.

1—R. R. Butler.....Mountain City
 Newton Hacker.....Jonesboro
 2—W. W. Woodruff.....Knoxville
 G. W. Hill.....Dandridge
 3—W. N. Hoge.....Athens
 C. E. Stanley.....Chattanooga
 4—Claiborne Beatty.....Jamestown
 Eugene S. Priest.....Watertown
 5—R. S. Montgomery.....Palmetto
 J. C. Dougherty.....Fayetteville
 1—J. B. Bosley.....Nashville
 H. L. W. Cheatham.....Springfield
 2—A. M. Hughes, Jr.....Columbia
 W. H. H. Butler.....Franklin
 —S. N. Williams.....Huntingdon
 John E. McCall.....Lexington
 —W. J. Lyle.....Union City
 G. W. Winstead.....Dresden
 1—Thomas J. Brogan.....Memphis
 Isham F. Norris.....Memphis

John B. Holloway.....Morristown
 S. H. Gault.....Rogersville
 J. F. Tarwater.....Rockwood
 William Allen.....Jacksborough
 Gus Cate.....Cleveland
 Charles De Elward.....Chattanooga
 George McKinnis.....Fayette
 Caleb Manier.....Grant
 J. B. Guenter.....Charity
 J. W. Sparrow.....Murfreesborough
 J. H. Keble.....Nashville
 Albert H. Gresham.....Nashville
 J. H. Holt.....Elkton
 W. H. Collier.....Paris
 Luther James.....Paris
 Albert Hurst.....Jacksonton
 P. F. Hill.....Union City
 M. Vann.....Dyersburg
 W. N. White.....Covington
 Moses Stricklin.....Memphis

TEXAS.

AT LARGE.

Joan B. Rector.....Austin
 A. J. Rosenthal.....La Grange
 N. W. Cuney.....Galveston
 C. M. Ferguson.....Richmond

J. C. Bigger.....Dallas
 F. L. Cleaves.....Gainesville
 Burrill P. Johnson.....Fort Worth
 N. T. Mitchell.....Tyler

DISTRICT.

1—M. A. Baker.....Houston
 Joshua Houston.....Huntsville
 2—George W. Burkitt.....Palestine
 Alex. Asbury.....Calvert
 3—Webster Flanagan.....Henderson
 L. B. Fish.....Tyler

John S. Tibbitt.....Beaumont
 Henry Davis.....Hempstead
 J. N. Gillett.....Calvert
 Wm. Keesee.....Calvert
 John P. Richardson.....Pittsburg
 Patrick Dennis.....Marshall

TEXAS—Continued.

Delegates.

Alternates.

DISTRICT.

4—Samuel J. Wright.....	Paris
John S. Coffey.....	Sulphur Springs
5—H. M. Spaulding.....	Denton
J. W. Hearne.....	Sherman
6—J. P. Alexander.....	Worth
C. F. Alterman.....	Dallas
7—R. B. Rentfro.....	Brownsville
H. C. Ferguson.....	Richmond
8—A. J. Johnson.....	Columbus
M. M. Rogers.....	La Grange
9—W. F. Crawford.....	Cameron
W. H. Blunt.....	Brenham
10—J. C. DeGress.....	Austin
W. H. Terrell.....	San Antonio
11—R. F. Campbell.....	El Paso
E. W. Morton.....	Millsap

Frank Graham	Paris
W. M. Johnson.....	Bonham
Otis E. Bacon.....	Wichita Falls
L. B. Moore.....	Denison
A. L. Dodson.....	Fort Worth
J. N. McCormick.....	Dallas
R. L. Andrews.....	Wharton
William Billings	Victoria
P. H. Collier.....	Belleville
G. W. Sydney.....	Hallettsville
D. L. Sublette.....	Brenham
A. J. Moore.....	Waco
C. O. Harris.....	Ballinger
H. B. Hancock.....	Austin
George B. Jackson.....	San Angelo
C. W. Johnson.....	Graham

VERMONT.

AT LARGE.

Redfield Proctor	Proctor
J. G. McCullaugh.....	Bennington
J. J. Estey.....	Brattleboro
Frank Plumley	Northfield

George Hammond.....	Middlebury
R. C. Cristy.....	Johnson
A. A. Davidson.....	South Craftsbury
G. H. Babbitt.....	Bellows Falls

DISTRICT.

1—B. J. Derby.....	Burlington
C. W. Read.....	Vergennes
2—S. D. Hobson.....	East Brighton
H. C. Ide.....	St. Johnsbury

Olin Merrill	Enosburgh Falls
N. W. Fisk.....	Isle LaMotte
J. C. Stearns.....	Bradford
Gilbert A. Dennis.....	Windsor

VIRGINIA.

AT LARGE.

William Mahone	Petersburg
John G. Watts.....	Tazewell C. H.
S. Brown Allen.....	Jennings Gap
A. W. Harris.....	Petersburg

W. W. Evans.....	Petersburg
S. E. Downing.....	Lexington
Henry Hudnall	Richmond
P. C. Corrigan.....	Portsmouth

DISTRICT.

1—O. D. Foster.....	Fredericksburg
F. D. Lee.....	Gloucester C. H.
2—Harry Libby.....	Hampton
Patrick O'Connor.....	Portsmouth
3—John S. Wise.....	Richmond
Morgan Treat.....	West Point
4—Charles Gee.....	Disputanta
John M. Langston.....	Petersburg
5—Winfield Scott.....	Floyd C. H.
J. H. Pedigo.....	Preston
6—D. F. Houston.....	Roanoke
George W. Jackson.....	Brooklyn
7—H. H. Riddleberger.....	Woodstock
John F. Lewis.....	Lynnwood
8—O. E. Hine.....	Vienna
Y. T. Brown.....	Hamilton
9—M. B. Wood.....	Estillville
William A. French.....	Narrows
10—J. A. Frazier.....	Lexington
H. W. Williams.....	Staunton

Josephus Trader	Fitchetts
J. A. Bristow.....	Saluda
Robert Norton	Yorktown
George L. Pryor.....	Norfolk
S. B. Clarkson.....	Richmond
Gilbert Boyd.....	Goochland C. H.
Ross Hamilton.....	Boynton
W. H. Ash.....	Burkville
C. F. Barksdale.....	Danville
W. E. Sims.....	Washington, D. C.
J. W. Wright.....	Lynchburg
J. H. Davis.....	Roanoke
A. M. Lawson.....	Charlottesville
J. S. Sammons.....	Charlottesville
W. P. Graves.....	Alexandria
W. H. Egghron.....	Egghronville
W. F. Slater.....	Wytheville
S. F. Hurt.....	Abingdon
James P. Wilson.....	Snowden
J. W. C. Bryant.....	Clifton Forge

WEST VIRGINIA.

AT LARGE.

John Frew	Wheeling
R. L. Berkshire.....	Morgantown
T. B. Swann.....	Charlestown
C. B. Smith.....	Parkersburg

L. M. Wade.....	Braxton C. H.
C. F. Teter.....	Philippi
C. F. Elliott.....	Hacker's Valley
H. C. Flesher.....	Jackson C. H.

WEST VIRGINIA—*Continued.*
Delegates. *Alternates.*

DISTRICT.

1—W. P. Hubbard.....	Wheeling	John Cummins	Wheeling
Alexander C. Moore.....	Clarksburg	M. S. Holt.....	Weston
2—John Miller.....	Keyser	George W. Feidt.....	Martinsburg
George W. Curtin.....	Grafton	T. F. Lanham.....	Newburgh
3—C. H. Payne.....	Coal Valley	J. S. McDonald.....	Charlestown
John Cooper	Cooper's	J. P. Miller.....	Buckhannon
4—A. B. White.....	Parkersburg	R. J. Perkins.....	Huntington
J. J. Peterson.....	Huntington	George W. Murdock....	Hartford City

WISCONSIN.

AT LARGE.

John C. Spooner.....	Hudson	O. H. Fethers.....	Janesville
Henry C. Payne.....	Milwaukee	C. K. Erwin.....	Tomah
H. O. Fairchild.....	Marinette	J. H. McCourt.....	St. Croix Falls
H. C. Adams.....	Madison	J. H. Kline.....	Racine

DISTRICT.

1—Jesse Stone.....	Watertown	W. H. Hurlburt.....	Elkhorn
L. H. Parker.....	Beloit	George Yule.....	Kenosha
2—A. S. Ludlow.....	Waukesha	H. K. Butterfield.....	Hartford
G. A. Knapp.....	Fond du Lac	W. A. Van Brunt.....	Horicon
3—W. E. Carter.....	Platteville	James Spenseley.....	Mineral Point
J. G. Monahan.....	Darlington	H. C. Putnam.....	Darlington
4—H. J. Baumgartner.....	Milwaukee	John F. Burnham.....	Milwaukee
Charles A. Chapin.....	Milwaukee	W. H. Fowler.....	Milwaukee
5—C. A. Vroman.....	Green Bay	George W. Wing.....	Kewaunee
H. G. Kress.....	Manitowoc	F. Boernert.....	Cedarburgh
6—A. J. Turner.....	Portage	Frank W. Harrimon.....	Appleton
A. E. Thompson.....	Oshkosh	Charles D. McConnell.....	Berlin
7—L. S. Fisher.....	Sparta	J. J. Fruit.....	La Crosse
D. G. James.....	Richmond Centre	L. W. Hoyt.....	Viroqua
8—James O'Neill.....	Neillsville	N. C. Foster.....	Menominee
J. L. Linderman.....	Osseo	L. S. Tainter.....	Fairchild
9—B. B. Scott.....	Ashland	George W. Gibbs.....	Shawano
A. W. Sanborn.....	Stevens' Point	E. S. Minor.....	Sturgeon Bay

ARIZONA.

L. H. Goodrich	Phoenix	George Christ	Nogallis
L. F. Eggers.....	Prescott	E. Williams.....	Kingman

DAKOTA.

G. C. Moody.....	Deadwood	J. A. Fowler.....	Rapid City
T. O. Bogart.....	Scotland	G. Gilbert.....	Parker
J. M. Bailey, Jr.....	Sioux Falls	Fred Schnaber	Yankton
B. N. Sullivan.....	Plankington	J. H. Baldwin.....	Miller
W. C. Plummer.....	Casselton	T. G. Orr.....	Bangor
E. W. Foster.....	Frankfort	S. M. Laird.....	Pierre
G. W. Hopp.....	Brookings	A. Sprague	Grafton
N. K. Hubbard.....	Fargo	R. M. Tuttle.....	Mandan
L. B. Richardson.....	Grand Forks	A. H. Gray.....	Valley City
H. C. Hansborough.....	Devil's Lake	Harvey Harris	Bismarck

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Andrew Gleason	Washington	Marcelus West.....	Washington
P. H. Carson.....	Washington	Daniel Cahill.....	Washington

IDAHO.

George A. Black.....	Hailey	Willis Sweet	Moscow
W. B. Heyburn.....	Murray	Joseph Pinkham	Ketchum

MONTANA.

*Delegates.**Alternates.*

George O. Eaton.....	Gardner	A. L. Babcock.....	Billings
T. C. Power.....	Helena	W. H. DeWitt.....	Butte

NEW MEXICO.

Thomas B. Catron.....	Santa Fe	J. D. Woodyard.....	Socorro
J. Francisco Chavez.....	Los Lunas	Philip Nothersill	Engle

UTAH.

Charles S. Varian.....	Salt Lake City	William McKay.....	Salt Lake City
John J. Daly.....	Salt Lake City	V. N. C. Silva.....	Ogden

WASHINGTON.

Thomas H. Minor.....	Seattle	S. A. Wells.....	Ritzville
W. J. Thompson.....	Tacoma	H. S. Burkett.....	Port Townsend
O. C. White.....	Dayton	A. W. Bash.....	Port Townsend
T. H. Cavanaugh.....	Olympia	C. M. Holton.....	North Yakima
Edward Whitson	North Yakima	J. R. Hayden.....	Olympia
E. B. Hyde.....	Spokane Falls	T. J. Anders.....	Walla Walla

WYOMING.

Francis E. Warren.....	Cheyenne	P. L. Smith.....	Rawlins
C. D. Clark.....	Evanston	B. F. Fowler.....	Sundance

Mr. HESS of Missouri. *Mr. President:* I move that the convention adjourn until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to, and at 11:24 P. M. the convention adjourned until 10 o'clock Thursday morning, June 21, 1888.

THIRD DAY.

THURSDAY, June 21, 1888.

The convention met, pursuant to adjournment, and was called to order at 10:03 A. M.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* You will please come to order. [After a pause.] Gentlemen will please be seated. [After a pause.] You will now listen to the opening prayer by the Rev. Thomas E. Green of Chicago.

PRAYER BY THE REV. THOMAS E. GREEN.

Mr. GREEN offered prayer as follows:

Let us pray. Almighty God, Father of all men, Ruler of nations, King of kings, we render Thee our grateful homage and thanksgiving for all the rich abundance of blessings that Thou hast vouchsafed to this land in our time and day. We bless Thee for the past with its mighty weight of history, for the present with the magnificent sweep of possibility, and for the rich hope of the future; and we pray that our hearts may ever in humble reverence bless Thy name for all Thy great goodness. Have mercy, we beseech Thee, upon this whole land; cleanse it from sin, and exalt it in righteousness. From intemperance and impurity, from dishonesty and corruption, from deceit and fraud, from intimidation and tyranny, we beseech Thee, good Lord, deliver us. May Thy kingdom come and Thy will be done among men, and may Thy peace, the peace of God, brood in blessed benediction over our land. Bestow Thy blessing, we beseech Thee, upon this convention assembled for the grave concerns of government. With Thine infinite wisdom direct its deliberations, and so guide it by Thy holy spirit that we, remembering whose servants we are, may ever seek Thy honor and Thy glory. Bless, we beseech Thee, our rulers, and all who are over us in authority, and grant that he may be exalted to the chief ruler of this great Nation whose hands are cleanest, whose heart is purest, and whose strength is in the Mighty One of Israel. Direct us, we beseech Thee, in all our doings with Thy most gracious favor, and further us with Thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued and ended in Thee, we may glorify Thy holy name, and finally by Thy mercy, enter into Thine Eternal Kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. AMEN.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* Yesterday an order of business was passed, namely, calling the States and reporting the names of members of the National Committee. If there is no objection, that will be the first order of business this morning. [After a pause.] The Chair hearing no objection, that will be the order of business, and the Secretary will proceed to call the roll. The gentlemen will please be seated, and report the name of the committeeman from each State and Territory as the Secretary shall call such State or Territory.

The roll of States and Territories was then called by Reading Clerk Ballard, and most of the delegations sent up the names, there being no response from Arkansas, Nebraska, District of Columbia, Idaho, and Wyoming.

It was announced by the Chairman of the delegation that New York, Tennessee and Virginia were not ready to report.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary of the convention will now call the roll of such States and Territories as have not responded to the roll call, and they will furnish the name of the member of the National Committee from each of such States and Territories not hitherto given in.

Reading Clerk BALLARD called the roll again, and there was no response from Arkansas, Nebraska, New York, Virginia, Idaho and Utah. The District of Columbia and Wyoming responded. Tennessee was not ready to report.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary of the convention will now call the roll of States and Territories with the names given in for correction, if any be needed. The Secretary will call the names of members of the National Committee, and gentlemen will take notice that any correction may be made.

The following is the National Committee, as finally made up:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	MEMBERS.	P. O. ADDRESS.
Alabama	Wm. Youngblood	Birmingham
Arkansas	Powell Clayton	Eureka Springs
California	M. H. DeYoung	San Francisco
Colorado	Wm. A. Hamill	Georgetown
Connecticut	Samuel Fessenden	Stamford
Delaware	Daniel J. Layton	Georgetown
Florida	J. K. Russell	Olustee
Georgia	F. F. Putney	Hardaway
Illinois	George R. Davis	Chicago
Indiana	John C. New	Indianapolis
Iowa	John S. Clarkson	Des Moines
Kansas	Cyrus Leland, Jr.	Troy
Kentucky	Wm. Cassius Goodloe	Lexington
Louisiana	P. B. S. Pinchback	New Orleans
Maine	J. Manchester Haynes	Augusta
Maryland	James A. Gary	Baltimore
Massachusetts	Henry S. Hyde	Springfield
Michigan	John P. Sanborn	Port Huron
Minnesota	Robert G. Evans	Minneapolis
Mississippi	James Hill	Jackson
Missouri	Chauncey I. Filley	St. Louis
Nebraska	Wm. M. Robertson	Madison
Nevada	E. Williams	Carson City
New Hampshire	Edward H. Rollins	Dover
New Jersey	Garret A. Hobart	Patterson
New York	J. Sloat Fassett	Elmira
North Carolina	W. P. Canady	Wilmington
Ohio	A. L. Conger	Akron
Oregon	Jonathan Bourne, Jr.	Portland
Pennsylvania	M. S. Quay	Beaver
Rhode Island	Thomas W. Chase	Providence
South Carolina	E. M. Brayton	Columbia
Tennessee	W. W. Murray	Huntington

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE—*Continued.*

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	MEMBERS.	P. O. ADDRESS.
Texas	N. W. Cuney	Galveston
Vermont	George W. Hooker	Brattleboro
Virginia	James D. Brady	Petersburg
West Virginia	N. B. Scott	Wheeling
Wisconsin	Henry C. Payne	Milwaukee
Arizona	George Christ	Nogales
Dakota	Arthur L. Mellette	Watertown
District of Columbia	Perry H. Carson	Washington
Idaho	George L. Shoup	Salmon City
New Mexico	Wm. L. Rynerson	Las Crusas
Utah	R. J. McBride	Salt Lake City
Washington	Thos. H. Cavanaugh	Olympia
Wyoming	J. M. Cary	Cheyenne

Mr. WARNER of Missouri. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. WARNER. I am requested by the Committee on Resolutions to announce to the convention that they will be ready to report in ten minutes.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state to the convention that there are several States which have not yet handed in the name of their member of the National Committee. They can do so when they agree upon such member by handing the name privately to the Secretary.

After music by the band:

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* Please come to order. Is the Committee on Resolutions prepared to report?

Mr. WARNER of Missouri. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. WARNER. The committee will be ready to report inside of two or three minutes. The Chairman will be in directly.

The PRESIDENT. [After a pause.] Is the Chairman of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions prepared to report?

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR., of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. MCKINLEY. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am instructed by the Committee on Resolutions to report the following declaration of principles:

The Republicans of the United States assembled by their delegates in National Convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader—the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln; and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders who have been more recently called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished!

We also recall with our greetings, and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the Republic—the name of that noble sol-

dier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan. In the spirit of those great leaders and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulations to our fellow Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution and the indissoluble Union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our Republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority. We charge that the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the user and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican Representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry throughout the United States.

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the National revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts, and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and releases from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the government we favor the entire repeal of internal revenue taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the whisky trust and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and constitution; and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the State Legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers—not alien—which the Republican party established in 1862 against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the Administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of Republicans and Democrats in Congress about 60,000,000 acres of unearned lands originally granted for the construction of railroads have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic Administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers the titles to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity only to the end that they may become States in the Union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted as a right inherent in them to form for themselves constitutions and State governments, and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for Statehood all officers thereof should be selected from the bona fide residents and citizens of the Territory wherein they are to serve. South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a State in the Union under the constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily indorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills is a wilful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota and Montana Territories to form constitutions and establish State governments, should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States, such of them as are now qualified, as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they may become so.

The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories as exercised in the past is a menace to free institutions too dangerous to be longer suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the Nation in all Territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

In a Republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign, and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free Nation; therefore, the State or Nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford every child growing in the land the opportunity of a good common school education.

The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people, and the purity of their homes. The Republican party cordially sym-

pathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free ship bill as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our shipyards. We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance and other approved modern means of defense for the protection of our defenceless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for necessary works of National importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the government's money without interest to "pet banks."

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present Administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican Administrations for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce, and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine it has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine and of our National influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and further coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

We arraign the present Democratic Administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable National industry, and an indispensable resource of defence against a foreign enemy. "The name American applies alike to all citizens of the Republic and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights, it should and must afford him protection at home and follow and protect him abroad in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand."

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom and purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to-wit: "The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the Republican Administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all ex-

ecutive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided."

The gratitude of the Nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation in Congress should conform to the pledges made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform shall become an inmate of an almshouse, or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the government. We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all working men, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free trade policy of the present Administration.

Mr. WILLIAM M. MARINE of Maryland. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. MARINE. *Mr. President:* I desire to move the unanimous adoption of those resolutions, and, to more cordially express our sentiments, that we do so by a rising vote. But before that motion is put, I beg the indulgence of the gentlemen of this convention for a very few brief words. We have a right to-day to feel proud of our party, as we have a right to feel proud of our country. Thirty-two years ago the first declaration of the Republican party was heralded to the country on the basis of free soil, free speech and free press. The Republican party has kept march with the pace of the times. The Republican party has been the salvation of the government, and the emancipator of the slave. And when the interests of the government are threatened again by the cohorts of Democracy, and the trade and the prosperity of the people of our Nation are put in peril, this grand old historical party of ours, always equal to every emergency, no matter how great that emergency may be, comes forward again and plants itself upon the immutable and everlasting rock of truth and patriotism, and proclaims to the people of this country that the grand old organization that has saved them in the past will protect and save them in the future. Mr. President, we have been fortunate indeed in every platform adopted by our party since its existence. We never were more fortunate in any phraseology employed in a platform than we are here to-day. And I predict that the patriotic utterances that are written in the platform before us will thrill the country with the power of electricity from one end of it to the other, and that the memories of the past, sweeping like the winds over the prairies, the dead echoes of the past uniting themselves to the living thoughts of to-day, will stir in every manly, patriotic bosom those fires of patriotism that have made Republicanism a power in the land heretofore. And, uniting ourselves under the grand old banner of the Republic, which is the banner of the Republican party, we shall go forth to conquer, and to triumph.

Mr. HERR of Michigan. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* The question is upon the adoption of the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. JAMES H. HARRIS of North Carolina. *Mr. President—*[Cries of "Question."]

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Horr of Michigan.

Mr. HERR. I second that motion, and call for the previous question.

The PRESIDENT. The State of Michigan calls for the previous question. Does that call receive a second? (After a pause.) It is not seconded.

Mr. SEWELL of New Jersey. The State of New Jersey seconds the call.

Mr. FILLEY of Missouri. The State of Missouri seconds the call.

The PRESIDENT. The State of New Jersey and the State of Missouri second the call.

A DELEGATE. Pennsylvania also.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* Shall the main question be now put? [Cries of "Yes, yes."]

The motion ordering the previous question was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The question now is upon the adoption of the report of the Committee on Resolutions. Those in favor of that motion will rise. [After a pause.] Those opposed will rise. It is unanimous. The report is adopted. Gentlemen of the Convention: The next order of business is the presentation of candidates for President of the United States. The Secretary will call the roll by States and Territories. The rule relating to the subject will be read by the Secretary, as there has been a slight change from previous rules.

Reading Clerk BALLARD read as follows:

In making the nominations for President and Vice-President in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it appears at the close of any roll call that any candidate has received a majority of all the votes to which the convention is entitled, the President of the convention shall announce the question to be, Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous? But if no candidate shall have received such majority the Chair shall direct the vote to be taken again, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes; and when any State has announced its vote it shall so stand unless in case of numerical error.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll of States and Territories. [After a pause.] Permit me to state to the convention that the name of any candidate may be presented by any member of the convention, though not a member of the delegation of the State which at that time is called.

Mr. SAMUEL W. MCCALL of Massachusetts. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. McCall of Massachusetts.

Mr. MCCALL. I would like to inquire if the rule applicable to the presentation of candidates is the one which has been read? I understand that this refers to the question of nomination.

The PRESIDENT. That is the only rule on the subject. The Secretary will call the roll.

When California was called:

Mr. HAYMOND of California. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from California.

Mr. HAYMOND. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* The California delegation, whose position is well known here, asks the convention to pass them on the roll call of States for the present.

The PRESIDENT. If there is no objection the request will be granted. [After a pause.] There being none, it is so ordered. The Clerk will proceed with the roll call.

When Connecticut was called:

NAMING OF JOSEPH R. HAWLEY.

Mr. SAMUEL L. WARNER of Connecticut. *Mr. President:* Connecticut presents the name of the Hon. Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Warner of Connecticut presents the name of Joseph R. Hawley.

NAMING OF WALTER Q. GRESHAM.

When Illinois was called:

Mr. LEONARD SWETT of Illinois. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* I have the pleasure of presenting Mr. Swett, of Illinois.

Mr. SWETT. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* This presence recalls a scene enacted in this city twenty-eight years ago. That was the Second National Republican Convention, and the first nomination of Abraham Lincoln. At this inauguration the Republican party first assumed the reins of governmental control. With unimportant interruptions the Democratic party had controlled our national policy for thirty-two years. The country in 1861 stood upon the verge of political and financial ruin, and the sharpest and most deadly conflict of arms ever known succeeded. We have had of Republican rule since then, four years of war and twenty years of peace. The four years of war produced heroes, sacrifices and suffering without parallel, and a reunited country. The twenty years of peace increased the population, internal improvements, manufactories, useful inventions, comforts in homes and the general development of all classes, with a rapidity unequaled in the history of the world within the time named. In the language of Daniel Webster, we may say of this Republican rule, the suffering and the fruits of war, and the unparalleled prosperity of this peace, "The past is at least secure." We have assembled again to select a President for 60,000,000 of free people. Who most in character is the very essence of these people? Who, of all names suggested, will draw support most largely from all classes? Who can best bring together and reunite the broken fragments of our own party? Who by personal courage and sublime confidence in his own convictions, is an ideal leader of the American people? Who most strikingly stands for cosmopolitan American character? These are the questions of the hour addressed to us all. I suggest the name of Walter Q. Gresham of Indiana and Illinois, and invite a thoughtful consideration of some of the reasons why he should be nominated. He was born of sturdy and rugged parents, in Harrison county, Indiana, fifty-seven years ago, and has spent one-third of his life in labor upon a farm. He acquired, by nature and education, a profound belief in the fundamental doctrines of government and the union of the States, "one and inseparable," as taught by the lives and example of Washington and Hamilton, Clay and Webster, Lincoln and Thad. Stevens, and a disbelief in, and an aversion for, the political heresies of John C. Calhoun, Breckenridge, Jefferson Davis, and Lamar—of property in man and the right of secession. He has always been an unwavering and inflexible Republican. One-third of a century ago, he organized the party of Fremont and Dayton in his native county, which consisted, all told, of four people. In 1860, then at the age of twenty-nine, he was elected to the State Legislature at the same time Mr. Lincoln was elected president, from a strong Democratic county, and by the aid of German votes. There he originated and passed a law which authorized Oliver P. Morton, our greatest war governor, to organize and arm, at the expense of the State, any regiment anywhere in the State. We owe the peace

and loyalty of Indiana, at this critical period, to the admirable working of this law and the fact that she was not behind the call of the President one moment in furnishing her quota of men. After performing this service of great value to his State, he selected 1,000 young neighbors and friends, and marched at their head into Kentucky with General Sherman, at the very beginning of the war. These forces aided the loyal element there in holding true to the Union the northern part of that State, while the southern part broke off and went with the rebellion. But for the presence of these troops, the Ohio River would have probably been the dividing line, and Southern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois would have been the first battle ground. He served with Grant at Shiloh and Vicksburg, and was a distinguished figure with Sherman in his march upon Atlanta in 1864. He was frequently promoted for gallant conduct on the battlefield, and was called upon when sharp work was to be done, and finally fell, pierced by a minnie ball, while leading his division into the shot and shell of the enemy at the bloody fight of Leggett's Hill, in the suburbs of Atlanta. Carried to the rear he met Col. Richard S. Tuthill whose presence now adorns the judicial bench of this state, and who was then a commander of batteries of artillery making their way to the front. The scene was one of confusion, of the tramping of horses' hoofs, and the rattling of artillery and caissons dashing into battle. Col. Tuthill turned aside a moment to General Gresham, then bleeding on a stretcher, and said inquiringly, "Are you hurt badly?" The fight was not all out of him yet, and turning his pale face to see who made the inquiry, replied: "You had better hurry your batteries to the front. They are needed there." He was placed in a freight car and hurried to the North. The next day he awoke from a morphine sleep in a dazed condition, and said to a soldier in attendance, "Whose body is that?" pointing to a coffin in the same car with him. "That is the dead body of your commander, General McPherson." Thus the commander of the army and the division commander had mingled their blood upon the red field of Leggett's Hill. Wherever in all the war the battle's wreck lay thickest, there was the manly form of General Gresham, a type of enthusiastic heroism, and an inspiration to the soldier who followed him. But it is not in his military career, dashing and brilliant as that is, that we find the crowning reasons for his nomination. For him "Peace hath her victories, no less renowned than war." After his relations with the army were voluntarily severed, he was called by President Arthur into his cabinet to the office of Postmaster General. Here he greatly promoted the rapid expedition of the mails, shortening materially the time of their transit across the continent. He also aided in reducing the letter, newspaper and parcel postage, thereby saving millions to the public, and encouraging the dissemination of literature and intelligence. He was also the first vigorously to enforce the United States statutes against the abuse of the mails by lottery venders and other swindling schemes, by which the credulous and weak minded were imposed upon and their confidence betrayed. It is, however, in the discharge of his duties as United States judge that the higher and crowning glories of his character appear. The image of Justice among the Greeks was represented as blindfolded, holding the scales balanced in her hand, but unable to see the rank or standing of the parties before her. Judge Gresham has been the living ideal of this Grecian figure. Unmoved by the threatenings of power, he has gone straight on in the line of his duty to the integrity and right of the question under consideration, and has administered justice to the high and low, the rich and the poor, with a steady but impartial hand. The contestants in one of the greatest railroad strikes that has arisen in our country have also been before him. By a wise and happy decision, he administered exact justice to all, prevented the strike from becoming universal, public traffic from being paralyzed, the nation from convulsion, and the most serious damage to an unknown number of individuals. Wherever in all of his life he has touched anything, it has been improved, beautified or adorned. He has always had the happy faculty of quietly doing the right

thing at the right time, and he possesses in his own great character, all the good qualities of the Republican party. Under his leadership the campaign cry will be "Live and let live." There will be no attacks upon capital and no attacks upon labor, but the country will march on, with gigantic strides in settlement, development and growth. The true leveling system will be adopted, of making all men equal before the law, and placing all men's feet on a level. Then the tall man may thank God for his height and the short man must be contented with his shortness. In personal characteristics, in the manner and condition of his candidacy, and in his relations to the Presidential office, Judge Gresham is more like Abraham Lincoln than any other living man. The movement in his behalf, like the movement for Lincoln, is the spontaneous and unorganized action of the people. Like Lincoln, Gresham is not working for the Presidential office. He believes this exalted office should never be sought, and never declined. Like him, too, he believes that causes which tend to great consequences, should be left to work out their results unaided, and that they cannot be materially hastened or impeded, by personal interference. Like Lincoln in character, honest and simple, but robust, fearless in danger, full of justice and of noble heart, he stands out in prominence as an ideal candidate. May I also be pardoned for saying in this august presence that back in 1849, at the age of twenty-four, I first met Abraham Lincoln, he being then forty-one. Ever afterward as I sat at his feet, as Saul of Tarsus sat at the feet of Gamaliel, and was permitted, as we walked together the journey of life, "To lean on his own great arm for support." I watched his thoughtful face when the news first reached him that he had received a large vote for vice-president at Philadelphia when Fremont and Dayton were nominated, and when the thought of great political preferment first took root in his mind. I know from this intimate relation how confidence and sympathy may exist between a great leader and the people without either knowing the other. I can never forget how in moments of great doubt he agonized, watched and listened for tokens of guidance from the common people, as the mariner watches for the sun, to learn where he is and whither he is drifting, through the darkness and mist of the storm. The same sympathy and confidence exist between Gresham and the people that existed between Lincoln and the people. His heart, also, has beaten in sympathy with the sons of toil, for he has labored with them in sunshine and in the cold. He too, has been promoted from their ranks, and knows the taste of poverty, and like them has earned his bread "in the sweat of his face." He has never forgotten their lives of privation and self-denial in their hard struggles for existence. Whether bondmen or freemen, he had that sublime faith in their honesty and patriotism, that like Lincoln he was willing to have his body pierced with bullets in their behalf. The rich, too, have found ample protection and the adjustment of every right in the equipoise of his character. He has always stood with his party for the protection of American labor against foreign competition, and has always believed in fair wages for fair work. He has advocated liberal pensions for the maimed, worn and dependent defenders of the Union. He knows by experience how the rebel bullet tears and hurts, for he himself has been wounded and carried on a stretcher from the field of battle, and has borne the pains and seen the needs of the decrepit and health-broken soldier. We should also not forget that this nation has arrived at that stage of civilization and development, that it has a right to demand common honesty in politics. If a young man happens to acquire the prefix of "Honorable" to his name, he has the right to demand that that shall not be the occasion of explanation and apology ever afterward. The people have a right to demand a higher standard of integrity than that its president shall in his letter of acceptance pledge himself to one term, and then by every official act afterward work for a second nomination, and appeal to them again for a re-election. They have a right to demand that he shall not promise civil service reform with his lips and break every such promise in practice. The

strength of Judge Gresham's candidacy lies in the public belief that he will not do such things, but that he will, if elected, manage public affairs with the same common honesty he has heretofore managed everything. Therefore, under the circumstances and necessities of our party, and without disparaging in the slightest degree the merits of other candidates, I offer to this convention the rarest of opportunities. But nominate Gresham and the people will bear him in triumph on their shoulders to the White House, and to the official seat of Washington, Lincoln, Garfield and Grant. The reins of government, under the inspiration of his leadership, will be taken from those who imperiled its existence, and placed in the hands of those who saved it in its hours of weakness and danger. In behalf of the laboring man, of whose struggles he is the living embodiment; in behalf of capital, whose rights he has guarded and adjusted; in behalf of the soldier, whose garb he has worn with honor; in behalf of patriotism and loyalty, of which he is the shining representative and example, and for the State of Lincoln, Grant and Logan, I nominate as a candidate for the President of the United States, the son of Illinois by adoption, Walter Q. Gresham.

The PRESIDENT. Walter Q. Gresham of Indiana has been placed in nomination. Does the Chair hear a second?

Mr. FRANK F. DAVIS of Minnesota. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. DAVIS. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* We bring no favorite son to this convention. Our choice springs from a nation's spontaneity. Amid the clamor of political strife the cry of faction has too often drowned the voice of the people, but the artifice of which that cry is born gives not to it enduring life, and when the "still, small voice" musters its strength, and to the world proclaims its power, it is the voice of God and cannot be withstood. That voice demands him for whose cause we speak. The generations of the old and the new gather within the walls of this convention. The old were new when they gave Lincoln to a world yearning for freedom's vindication. Their zeal for right beneath his leadership wrought out success. To-day that generation, scarred and worn, but crowned with laurels green as God's green fields, leans on this newer one. Their union is a bond of strength that heralds victory. I point you to his sacred face upon your walls and say, Ye men of yesterday, with grasp fraternal we do clasp your hands and bid you in these solemn counsels and at this hour of crisis give us such another captain. They all are splendid men whose names are called. Pluck not one leaf from any crown. Yet one seems greater than them all; not for a wiser statesmanship or broader mental vision; not from experience that, widening with time, comes from lifelong familiarity with public trust, but for his sterling common sense combined with virtue and integrity, for qualities that made our Lincoln great. His, too, is the divine attribute of courage, blossoming into acts of heroism in field and council. It has marked the man; no greater when it flashed from blade unsheathed beyond the foremost battle line before Atlanta, than when from out the sanctity of the judicial shrine it dared to humble by its word wealth's proudest autocrat, and lift up into light and sunshine labor's dignity. If I were called to paint the picture of an ideal candidate, him would I spread upon the canvas and call him Gresham. If I were called to write the history of the greatest candidate a party ever named I'd write it in two words, Abraham Lincoln; and if challenged to match that with another alike in birth and training, courage, convictions and popular choice, I'd name you Walter Gresham. Give us the man of the people. Such as he are freedom's lawful heritage. This is the Nation's watchword. I hear it amid the murmur of the Northern pines. I hear it in the sighs of heaven that come from harvest-laden prairies waiting the garner's sickle to feed a hungry world, from lands that yearn for Statehood wrongfully denied. I hear it in the thunder of the cloud-capped peaks of Allegheny and Sierra, speaking in tongues of avalanche

down mountain canyon. I hear it in the rush and whirl of marts of commerce, and amid the crash of loom and wheel. It rides upon the wind that blows through the Golden Gate or fans the brow of Liberty upon Manhattan's bay—wherever toil from earth or air or sea brings to the human race its fruits of labor. These are the days of stern debate and lofty counsel for the coming fray. That fray will be no exhibition tournament. It shall parallel the shock of Milton's angel cohorts. Behind us lies a field of conflict dark with disaster and defeat, the brave grow anxious, and the timid faint. Low burn the fires of hope within the breast. The star of faith shines feebly from a heaven dark with clouds and rent with storm. In this our hour of hesitation Gresham shall lift the fallen standard, and marshal anew the broken column. The old, the new unite in him, and this new fight, which we must make for victory, like that of old, will find its earnest of success in his magnetic name. The leader who upon the line of march could yield unasked his saddle to a sick and weary comrade soldier boy, and make his way on foot through storm and mud to field of action, shall be a hero candidate for soldier patriots; and for his utterances from the bench, unmoved by wealth, unawed by power, the browned battalions of labor's knighthood shall swear him fealty. He is sound upon the tariff, sound in financial views, sound for free speech, free ballot, human liberty, and honest toil—sound above all in personal honor, integrity and courage. As knightly daring in the days of old under the cross of Christ overthrew the heathen gods, so shall this knight of modern days smite his monstrous juggernaut that sits serene clothed in "innocuous desuetude," and prates of justice, civil rights, and dignity of public trust, yet still destroys them all. From this convention let his nomination issue forth glad tidings of great joy. The great Northwest will vibrate with his name; 'twill satisfy the East, the South, the West. The doubtful States shall be no longer doubtful. Under his captaincy it will be a question of majority, not of success. See how they rise to greet him in his coming. "Welcome," I hear the cry where sweeps the sounding Oregon. "Welcome," amid the vineclad valleys of the Golden State. "Welcome," from Southland, where men yet strive for freedom bought with blood, but still denied. "Welcome," amid the thunders of Niagara and the woodland breezes of the Thousand Isles. This sentiment for Indiana's soldier-jurist grows like the blossoming harvests of our Western prairies. As silent as the rain from weeping clouds it has fallen on a Nation's heart. New life, new hope, are born. The field whereon our standard fell and hosts dismayed and broken fled, becomes no more than faintest reminiscence. The fears the past awoke fade swift away. New strength, new courage, new inspiration, new blood, new men, proclaim our cause's triumph. Chief representatives of this, the world's grandest party, disappoint not an expectant Nation. For Minnesota I second Walter Gresham's nomination.

The PRESIDENT. Is there any further second?

Mr. JOHN R. LYNCH of Mississippi. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. LYNCH. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* I rise for the purpose of seconding the nomination of a gentleman whose selection by this convention will, in my judgment be equivalent to an election. I refer to that great and gallant soldier, that high toned and honorable Statesman, that pure and incorruptible judge, Walter Q. Gresham of Indiana. I do not mean to say that unless you nominate the man of my choice the party will not be victorious, for I am thoroughly convinced that the nominees of this convention will be successful, whoever they may be. The people of this country are now anxiously awaiting the first opportunity to vote the present Democratic Administration out of power. That grand and glorious little State of Oregon has given the sound already. The question is asked sometimes, "What about Judge Gresham's Republicanism? Is he a faithful, true, tried Republican?" Gentlemen of the convention, permit me to say that Judge Gresham is not a Republican from a

change of heart, for his heart has never been wrong. He is not a Republican from conversion, for he never needed to be converted. He was one of the organizers of the Republican party; one of the men who brought it into existence, stood by it from its infancy to hoary age, and has faithfully supported its candidates from the day of its organization up to the present. Gentlemen, a man to be the leader of the Republican party of Southern Indiana must necessarily have some of the true-blue Republican blood in his veins. Judge Gresham, as the candidate of the Republican party for the Legislature from Harrison county, Indiana, in 1860, was elected by a majority of nearly 100 votes, when the same county gave a majority of over 600 for the Democratic State ticket. As the Republican candidate for Congress in one of the strong Democratic districts of Southern Indiana in 1866, he came within about 1,500 votes of an election in a district in which there was a Democratic majority of over 4,000. From this I think we can infer that he is a man of the people, strong with the people, and if nominated, will be elected. But it is said that in consequence of the fact that he is not presented as the first choice, as the favorite son of his own State, he is not an available man. Gentlemen, I admit that he is not thus presented, and I want to say here and now that if the choice of this convention should happen to fall upon that high-toned, brave, honorable, gallant son of Indiana in the person of Benjamin Harrison, his friends in the State of Indiana, and outside of it, will not be allowed to do more for the success of the ticket than will the friends and supporters of Judge Gresham. Those of you who are familiar with the manner in which the canvass has been conducted in the election of delegates from that State are aware of the fact that the friends and supporters of Walter Q. Gresham were more concerned, more anxious to maintain the unity, the harmony, of the Republican party in Indiana, than they were to secure the election of Gresham delegates. They were determined that there should be no faction, no division, no strife created in that party or in that State by any act or deed on their part. [Cries of "Time."] Gentlemen of the convention—

The PRESIDENT. There will be no limit of time in this convention in either presenting the name or seconding the nomination of any candidate.

Mr. LYNCH. *Mr. President:* I will say very little more. While it is true that he is not presented as the first choice, the favorite son of the State which he honored so long and so well, yet I think the votes of this convention will demonstrate the fact that he is in a great measure at least the favorite son of the United States. His friends, his admirers, his supporters may be found all over the country—from Maine to California, from the gulf to the lakes. At any rate, I am satisfied that should he be nominated our party will be saved. Then, fellow-delegates, what are his achievements? What has he done? What is his record? I can only say in that respect that while it has not been his privilege to serve in either House of Congress, while his name is not associated with the war legislation of the country, while we cannot point to his votes in the House, or in the Senate, yet, when I look at a picture on my left, representing a battlefield, I see a place where Walter Q. Gresham fell in defence of his country, supposed to have been mortally wounded. A brave, a gallant soldier, who worked his way up from poverty; the friend of the laboring man, the friend of all honest men, and I believe and hope he will be the choice of this convention. In conclusion, gentlemen, let me make one more remark. We of the South occupy a delicate position in this convention. We recognize the fact that, in consequence of circumstances which we are unable to control, we perhaps will not be able to materially contribute to the success of the ticket to be nominated here. If you gentlemen from the Northern States, from the doubtful States, were united among yourselves, we of the South would fall in line and help you to nominate your choice, and we would all go home happy; but you are divided, and consequently we are divided. In this convention, at least, there will be no solid South. We come here and find five or six good, upright, honorable.

honest Republicans, candidates for the Presidential nomination. We come in contact with gentlemen from all parts of the country, some telling us that their man is the superior and others that their choice is better than any other man. It is reasonable to suppose that these arguments used by the different gentlemen will influence some of us. I confess that after listening carefully to what all of them have said, my conclusion is that Judge Walter Q. Gresham is the man. I hope I am not mistaken. I ask at your hands a favorable consideration of the candidacy of Judge Gresham.

The PRESIDENT. Is there a further second to the nomination of Judge Gresham? If not, the Secretary will—

Mr. McCALL of Massachusetts. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCALL. *Mr. President:* It gives me pleasure to stand here and say one word in seconding the nomination of Gen. Gresham. I do this because I think that in himself he is a man, and that he has those fine qualities which are necessary to restore the high office of the Presidency to its ancient renown. I do it because I think that he embodies those simple and sublime virtues which were so characteristic of that first immortal President which the Republican party gave to this country, and I do it because I think that his whole career splendidly epitomizes the noblest and truest Republicanism. I do not propose, gentlemen, to detain you with a long speech at this time, but from the day when Gen. Gresham, a stripling, took the stump for John C. Fremont to the day when he, as a member of Gen. Arthur's Cabinet, spoke from the steps of the Sub-Treasury, in the City of New York, he has drawn none but a Republican breath. I think that he is strong with the people of this country. He is not presented as the favorite son of any State, but he comes from the four corners of the Republic, and I believe that he is strong in the hearts of the people, and that he will make a strong candidate to present. Now, gentlemen, I wish to say one word about an objection that is made to Judge Gresham, and that is, that he is supported by the mugwumps. I don't think those gentlemen should be permitted to dictate the nomination of the Republican party. Four years ago when your valiant leader was assailed with all the fury of those gentlemen, you came to his support and hid him in your hearts, and I say that it would have been just as wrong to have deserted Mr. Blaine as for you to sacrifice so excellent a Republican as Judge Gresham, simply because he has received the praise of these men. We should neither make a sacrifice to their fury nor to their praise. There is no question whatever of what the policy of his opponent, Mr. Cleveland, is. It is not civil-service reform, it is not spoils, it is not protection or free trade. Himself is his own star, and that he always follows, no matter over what ground or over what interests of the country he may stumble; but I believe, gentlemen, that, with Judge Gresham as a candidate, with the hold that he has upon the people, with his splendid Republican record, with his record as a soldier, which was never surpassed by any purely soldier candidate in this country, the Republicans have a magnificent opportunity, and, if this convention nominates him, they will next November ratify the choice by his election.

The PRESIDENT. Is there a further second to the nomination of Mr. Gresham? If not, the Secretary will proceed with the roll call.

Mr. RECTOR of Texas. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Texas, Mr. John B. Rector.

Mr. RECTOR. The life and character of Judge Gresham belong to the great Republic. He illustrates in his career, as perhaps no other candidate that will be brought here for your suffrages, at once the scope and blessings of American institutions—that principle in our institutions which enables a

poor boy starting in the blacksmith shop, or upon the farm, to work his way up to the highest positions that can be given by the people of these United States. Toiling on a farm, when he started his career, a poor orphan boy in the southern part of Indiana, with no help but his own good right arm, he fought his way upward, step by step, to the high position he now occupies in the love and confidence, and esteem of the American people. When the war came on, that great test of American institutions, that great trial that was put upon our Constitutional form of government, Judge Gresham was found equal to the occasion. He cast his lot with the Government, and when the shock of battle came, when the men of the South and the men of the North joined in a death grapple, Judge Gresham was there. Look at that battle scene before Atlanta, July 22, 1864 (pointing to a large painting on the wall near the speaker), where the men of the South and the men of the North were joined in deadly conflict; there you find Judge Gresham battling for the institutions of his country; there you find Judge Gresham receiving from his gallant foe the lead which he carries in his body to-day. Give us Judge Gresham for the nominee of this convention, and the people will bear him upon the shields of their love to certain victory. Capital need not be afraid. The business interests of the country will be conserved. A jurist of high ability, a shining light in the Republican party, he is the man that can win.

Mr. JAMES M. GRAYBILL of Kansas. *Mr. President:* I move that this convention take a recess until two o'clock. [Cries of "No."] *

THE PRESIDENT. It has been moved that this convention take a recess until two o'clock.

The motion was not agreed to.

THE PRESIDENT. Is there a further second to the nomination of Mr. Gresham? [After a pause.] Mr. Clerk, call the roll.

NAMING OF BENJAMIN HARRISON.

When Indiana was called:

Mr. RICHARD W. THOMPSON of Indiana. *Mr. President—*

THE PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. THOMPSON. I merely want to make an announcement. The Republican party of Indiana has selected a member of our delegation, the Hon. Albert G. Porter, to present their candidate for the Presidency.

THE PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* Gov. Porter of Indiana.

Mr. PORTER. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* When, in 1880, Roscoe Conkling visited Indiana to take part in the memorable campaign of that year, he was asked on every hand, "How will New York go at the Presidential election?" "Tell me," replied the great orator, "how Indiana will go in October, and then I can tell you how New York will go in November." In October, Indiana's majority of nearly 7,000 for the Republican candidate for Governor informed the country how she would go, and in November New York and the Nation echoed her October voice. Indiana is no longer an October State. Yet now, in 1888, as before in 1880, she seems largely to hold the key to the position. She is always regarded as being a close State; but when the Republican party is thoroughly organized, when it has done the preliminary work of the canvass well, and when its spirit is kindled into flame, Indiana seldom fails to elect the Republican candidates. She has never been better organized for a successful Republican contest than now; the preliminary work has never been more complete and thorough, and the Republican masses seem never to have been more highly

roused and eager for the struggle. Give Gen. Benjamin Harrison your commission to lead them, and they will immediately fall into line and press forward with enthusiastic confidence to victory. The convention that lately met at St. Louis disappointed the Democracy of Indiana by refusing to place an Indiana candidate on their ticket. There is a tide in the affairs of parties, as well as of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune. The present condition of Indiana is the Republican party's opportunity. Why risk shipwreck on any shallows when the full and welcoming sea invites your sails? Benjamin Harrison came to Indiana in 1854 at the age of twenty-one. He came poor in purse, but rich in resolution. No one ever heard him make a first reference to his ancestors. Self-reliant, he mounted the back of prosperity without the aid of a stirrup. The hospitality of his ancestors had given their property to those whom they had served. The core had gone to the people, the rind only to them and their families. He received, indeed, something from them—their talents, their integrity, their fitness for public trusts, and what to some persons would have seemed a misfortune, but to a heart so stout as his was the highest good fortune, he received from them the inestimable legacy of penury. Upon his arrival in the State he entered at once upon the practice of law and immediately achieved success. Amplitude of preparation, a large view of questions, a mind marvelously prompt in yielding up its stores, and so exhaustive in its power of reasoning that no argument that would help his cause was ever found to have been omitted—these gave him rank at once in his profession. In union with these was found a fairness that sought no mean advantages and an integrity that never could be shaken. The young lawyer leaned on nobody's arm for help. Modest but self-confident, his manner seemed to say, "I am an honest tub, standing on its own bottom." It was perceived from the start that in web and woof he was of heroic stuff. While he was engaged in the practice of the law and was rapidly rising to distinction, the great rebellion raised its head to strike down the Union. Relinquishing his profession, its emoluments, and the fame to which it was beckoning him, he yielded to the imperative demand of duty, raising a regiment and receiving from Morton the commission of a Colonel. He marched with Sherman to the sea; he was in the thick of the fight at Resaca and Atlanta, and his gallantry and the efficiency of his well disciplined command were so conspicuous on those fields as to draw from the heroic Hooker, in a letter to the Secretary of War, the highest possible commendations of his industry as a disciplinarian, and skill and intrepidity as a soldier. He was not unknown to the people of Indiana before he entered the army. At a State election they had chosen him to the office of Reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court. His opponents took the office from him while he was serving as a soldier in the field. The people, while he was yet in the field, re-elected him, and on returning home on the disbandment of Sherman's forces he received his commission. On account of his eloquence as a speaker and his extraordinary power as a debater, Gen. Harrison was called upon at an uncommonly early age to take part in the public discussions of the mighty questions that had begun to agitate the country, and was early matched against some of the most prominent speakers of the Democratic party. None who ever felt the point of his blade desired to engage with him again. Possessing oratorical powers of a high order, he has never spoken for mere rhetorical effect. He seems to have remembered the saying of the great Irish orator and patriot, O'Connell, that a good speech is a good thing, but that the verdict is *the* thing. He therefore pierced the core of every question he discussed, and fought to win in every contest in which he engaged. He has taken a part as a public speaker in every Presidential campaign since he came into Indiana, except the one that occurred during his service in the army, and he threw his sword into that. In recognition of his services in the ardent and prolonged struggles of the Republican party for the rights of man and for the restoration and integrity of the Union, the

Republicans in the Legislature of 1881 chose him to be a Senator of the United States. I have not time to enter into any detailed narration of his services in the Senate. His rank was among the highest. The delegates from Dakota will bear witness to the unremitting energy of his efforts to have that Territory admitted as a State into the Union, when, for the crime of being faithful to Republican principles, the Democratic party resolved to keep it out. Everybody will recall his complete exposure of the civil service reform sham in Indiana under the present administration. He possesses all that you should desire in a President—soundness in Republican doctrine, a comprehensive grasp of mind, a calm judgment, firm principle, unquailing courage, and a pure character. The eloquent gentleman from Illinois has commended to your favor another distinguished citizen of Indiana. A State's place in civilization is denoted by the manner in which she treats those who have served her faithfully. I have always honored old historic Massachusetts for the manner in which she cherishes the fame of those who, in whatever department of service, have reflected honor upon the Commonwealth: how she calls the roll with pride; how impatient she becomes when their names are unjustly aspersed or disparaged. I have not come here to disparage that honorable gentleman, brave and just judge, and heroic soldier whom the gentleman from Illinois has commended. If the roll of all of Indiana's sons were called who led in battle or carried the knapsack, she would bid me honor them all. There is no need that I should strive to dwarf others in order that Gen. Benjamin Harrison may stand conspicuous. He stands breast to breast with the foremost of Indiana's soldiers; distinguished also in civic trusts; heroically faithful to public duty; skillful in marshaling men, to the sound of whose bugle they quickly rally and fall into ranks, whom they have followed in fierce canvasses, and more than once to the desperate charge crowned with victory. Standing here on behalf of a man who, disdaining all adventitious helps, has risen to distinction by the force of his own merits, I should regard myself unchivalric did I not recall, at least in brief review, some of the worthy public achievements of his ancestors. Whatever tends to show that a life which has been strong and useful has a foundation in traits that have long clung to the stock from which the man sprang, is in the nature of a guaranty that he may be trusted under all trials. It is something that the public, who are interested in being faithfully served, are entitled to know. We stand here to-day in the imperial city of the Northwest. The name of no family has ever been more identified with the Northwest than the family of Gen. Benjamin Harrison. It is woven into the very fabric of the history of her people. I need only give a passing reference to that sturdy Benjamin Harrison from whom he takes his name, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was Governor of Virginia when the possessions of Virginia embraced the whole of the Northwest. When the Northwest was formed by Congress into a Territory, William Henry Harrison was, first, its Secretary, and afterward its Delegate to Congress. When the Indiana Territory was formed, embracing all the territory of the Northwest except Ohio and a part of Michigan, he was appointed its first Governor. He held commissions as Governor successively from Adams, Jefferson and Madison. He was a man of deeds. While a Delegate in Congress he obtained the passage of a law requiring the sales of public lands to be made in smaller subdivisions than had ever been allowed before, so that for the first time a man of humble means might now buy from his Government a home. The historian McMasters, in his admirable history of the people of the United States, has said with reference to this measure that it did far more the good of the country than even his great victory over the Prophet at Tippecanoe, or his defeat of Tecumseh at the battle of the Thames. He negotiated treaties with the Indians, while Governor, by which their title to 70,000,000 acres of land was extinguished and the land was thus opened for settlement. In a single one of these treaties the Indians

relinquished lands which embrace a third of Illinois and a vast section in southern Wisconsin. He fought the battle of Tippecanoe, and, defeating the plans of the great statesman and warrior, Tecumseh, kept the portals of the West open for the admission of the emigrant, and what, though less shining, was not less welcome to the settlers of the Territory, scanty in means and struggling with difficulties, he procured the passage of laws that made the burdens of taxes lighter upon the poor. The language of the farm and the practice of hospitality were native to him. After the battle of Tippecanoe, when parting with a regiment of his soldiers, he said: "If you ever come to Vincennes you will find a plate, and a knife, and fork at my table, and I assure you that you will never find my door shut and the string of the latch pulled in." And what he promised he faithfully lived up to. We hear of civil service reform as if it were some quite new suggestion. But President Harrison, in a single month that he held office, directed the heads of the several departments to give information to all their officers and agents that partisan interference by them in the popular elections, whether of State officers or the Federal government, or the payment of any contributions or assessments on salaries, or official compensation for party election purposes, would be regarded by him as cause for removal. The old war Governor, the hero of Tippecanoe, having left Indiana in 1813, to enter a larger field of activity, the people did not forget the inestimable services which he had given them, and when, twenty-seven years afterwards, he was a candidate for President of the United States, Indiana, though a Democratic State, gave him a majority of nearly 14,000 votes. He died in a month after he entered upon his great office, but not the memory of his services, which will ever remain fresh and imperishable. And now to-day in Indiana, among a people estimating highly the character and services of Gen. Benjamin Harrison, and holding in affection the memory of "Old Tippecanoe," the latch strings of the people are hospitably out to you, and their doors are waiting to fly open at your touch to let in the joyful air that shall bear upon its wing the message that Benjamin Harrison, their soldier statesman, has been nominated for President of the United States.

Mr. THOMAS J. BROGAN of Tennessee. *Mr. President:* I move, sir, that this convention do now take a recess until three o'clock.

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved by Mr. Brogan of Tennessee that this convention now take a recess until three o'clock.

The motion was agreed to, and at 12:45 P. M. the convention adjourned until the hour mentioned.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention re-assembled pursuant to adjournment, and was called to order at 3:16 P. M.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentlemen be seated and come to order? [After a pause.] Gentlemen of the Convention, when the convention took a recess Gen. Harrison had been placed in nomination for President. Is there a second to the nomination of Gen. Harrison?

Mr. DAVIS of Minnesota. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Minnesota.

THE TICKETS FOR THE VETERANS.

Mr. DAVIS. I rise to a question of privilege.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. Davis, rises to a question of privilege. He will state his question of privilege.

Mr. DAVIS. I have been told during the noon recess by several old soldiers, holding the tickets given to them by the resolution of the convention yesterday, that they have been compelled to accept standing room in the sky gallery. I move, sir, if it be in order, that this convention set aside for their convenience a section which shall embrace at least as many seats as tickets were issued, and if that be not possible, that the holder of any soldier's ticket be entitled to hold any seat, save those upon the platform and those assigned to delegates or alternates, which he may first get and occupy.

The PRESIDENT. That will be impossible.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. HENDERSON. I rise to a question of order. I am informed that the tickets that were issued to the old soldiers were mostly taken up at the door and not returned to them; and I move you, sir, if it is in order at this time—

Mr. PRESIDENT. If there be no objection the gentleman will have leave to make his motion.

Mr. HENDERSON. I ask unanimous consent to submit a motion to the convention.

The PRESIDENT. There being no objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HENDERSON. I would therefore move, Mr. President, that the National Committee correct the error thus made, and issue to these soldiers tickets for those that were thus taken up.

The PRESIDENT. That can be done without a motion. You have heard the motion made by the gentleman from Iowa.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

SECONDING THE NAMING OF BENJAMIN HARRISON.

The PRESIDENT. Does the Chair hear a second to the nomination of Gen. Harrison?

Mr. E. H. TERRELL of Texas. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Texas.

Mr. TERRELL. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* As one of the members of the Texas delegation, supporting the candidacy of Gen. Harrison, the high distinction has been accorded me of briefly seconding his nomination. Indiana is the great pivotal State in the coming contest, and the supreme importance of her fifteen electoral votes must not be ignored by this convention. The distinguished soldier and statesman named here by the Indiana delegation as the choice of their people, and as the man who of all others can absolutely secure the support of that State in the approaching campaign, is one whose past career has been an honor and a glory to the illustrious name which he bears. The acknowledged leader of the Indiana bar, he has adorned it by his learning and eloquence, and honored it by his noble character. A full term in the United States Senate has given him a grasp of public issues, and fitted him for the high duties of statesmanship.

On the great political and economic questions now under discussion, his views are clear and comprehensive, and in full accord with the principles which have been enunciated by this convention. Skilled in debate, forcible in expression, incisive in his logic, fearless in his convictions, his voice has been heard in every political contest for thirty years. Time and again has he demonstrated the highest qualities of leadership, and the firm regard in which he is held by the people. Indiana, the great State that gave the lamented Garfield a plurality of over 6,000, will honor her own illustrious citizen with a majority twice as large. In the prime and vigor of his manhood, free from the entanglements of faction, devoted to the interests and principles of his party; of unquestioned ability, untiring industry, and inflexible moral courage, he stands the peer of any man mentioned for the high office of President, and would command the enthusiastic support of his party in every State of the Union. Mr. President and gentlemen of the convention, Gen. Benjamin Harrison is a man that any delegation in this hall may feel proud to support, bearing a name honorably identified with the civil and military service of the Government from its very birth, conspicuous in his own gallant record as a soldier— [Disorder.]

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman allow the Chair one moment? Gentlemen of the convention, there must be better order, or it will be quite unnecessary for gentlemen presenting the names of the candidates to do so. The object is to be heard, and with the noise in the galleries it is impossible for gentlemen to make themselves heard who are addressing the convention. The Chair respectfully asks the galleries to be more quiet. [To the speaker, "Go on."]

Mr. TERRELL. Combining intellectual force with moral integrity, eminent at the bar, experienced in constructive statesmanship and accomplished in the art of government, harmonious in his relations with all elements of the party, and moreover possessing exceptionally popular strength in the State whose support is absolutely essential to success, it seems to me, fellow Republicans, that the hand of destiny has marked him out as the man to lead us on to victory. The Republicans of a great State that furnished 200,000 soldiers to defend the cause of liberty and union; Republicans whose party zeal has been true as tempered steel, and whose hard-earned victories in the past have shed luster and renown on the Republican party, ask that he be made the choice of this convention. Responding to my own deep sentiment I beg to join in that request, and most heartily indorse and second the nomination of Gen. Harrison.

The PRESIDENT. Does the Chair hear a further second to the nomination of Gen. Harrison?

Mr. GALLINGER of New Hampshire. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New Hampshire.

Mr. GALLINGER. *Mr. President:* After the fitting and eloquent words of the distinguished ex-Governor of Indiana in advocacy of the candidate of my choice before this convention, it is not necessary that I should detain you long. I will say this: That I shall deserve, whether I receive or not, the plaudits of the galleries by endeavoring to observe the time-honored five-minute rule of the National House of Representatives. We are here, gentlemen, in friendly rivalry to nominate not only the candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States, but to nominate the next President and Vice-President of the United States. We are here, so far as I know, with no acrimonious feelings, and with no word of unkindness toward any of the distinguished men whose names will be presented to this convention, but in a spirit of harmony, of good feeling, and of deter-

mination to carry the banner of the Republican party to a glorious victory in November next. Gentlemen, the little State which I in part represent was one of the original States of this Union. New Hampshire has no favorite son to present at this convention. True, New Hampshire has a score of men who, in point of public experience, in point of education and culture, would make an infinitely better President than the man who occupies the Executive chair to-day. New Hampshire is content, so far as this convention is concerned, to modestly point to the laurels of her past. She recalls before this magnificent presence the fact that she gave to this Nation of ours a Levi Woodbury, a John Stark, a Daniel Webster, a Salmon P. Chase, a Horace Greeley, a John P. Hale, a William Pitt Fessenden, a John A. Dix, a Nathaniel B. Baker, and a Zachariah Chandler; and although Massachusetts claimed in his later years the peerless Webster as her own son; although the great State of Ohio took to her arms that magnificent Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase; although New York claimed Horace Greeley; although Iowa did honor to Baker of illustrious memory, and although the great imperial State of Michigan claimed that great man who led the Republican hosts to victory on many a hard fought field—Zachariah Chandler—yet the little State of New Hampshire has the right, before the assembled intelligence of the Republican party of this country, to feel proud of the fact that she gave to the Nation the grand men whose names I have mentioned this moment. New Hampshire gave her electoral vote in 1856, in common with all the other New England States, to that noble man and intrepid leader whose voice was heard from this platform two days ago—Gen. John C. Fremont. And in every quadriennial contest since, New Hampshire has been true to the principles and politics of the Republican party. Her delegates come here to-day to join hands with the delegates from other States, to select from among the illustrious men whose names are presented to this convention a victorious standard bearer for the campaign of 1888. And I say to this convention, that no matter who is nominated, every Republican in the little State of New Hampshire, true to the party and true to the principles of justice, of equality, and of liberty, will rally to the polls to help elect that man President of the United States. But gentlemen, New Hampshire is a close and doubtful State. Her vote is trembling in the balance to-day, with the whole power of the Administration used against the Republican party. Our margin is so small that it can scarcely be estimated, and with two United States Senators to be elected by the Legislature that is to be chosen in November, you must not wonder that I say to you that it is your duty, so far as that little State of mine is concerned, to give to the country the strongest man that can possibly be presented for the suffrages of the people. Projecting myself into the future I see in November next the battle of the ballots in this country. As silently as the snowflakes fall in New England on a winter's day, so silently will the ballots be deposited throughout the North, while in the Southern States the same system of intimidation and fraud, which has prevailed there of late years, will doubtless be continued. If we are to have a solid South, let us also have a solid North. This, in my judgment, can be accomplished if this convention will give us for our standard bearer the man that Indiana has presented; that grand leader on the field of battle, the man who has done credit to himself, his State, and his country in the halls of the United States Senate, and whose public and private life is unspotted and without blemish—Gen. Benjamin Harrison. Under these circumstances we promise to the Republican party of the Nation the electoral vote of New Hampshire. I have but a word more to say. This is a contest unparalleled in the history of the country. We are face to face with our ancient foe—the Democratic party. We have to fight corruption, we have to fight every possible species of bad politics at the ballot box in November next, but if we are true to the principles of our party, if we are true to the spirit that animated the Republicans when they nom-

inated Fremont in 1856 and Lincoln in 1860, we will not fail to achieve a magnificent triumph. Why, look at this grand party of ours. Look at its magnificent record. Look at the men who have carried it to victory in the past—the party of Fremont, of Lincoln, of Grant, of Sherman, of Sheridan; the party of Sumner, of Phillips, of Conkling, of Garfield, of Logan and of Blaine. The party of equality, of justice, of protection, of liberty, and of law; the party that rescued our government from bankruptcy in 1860; the party that beat back that gigantic rebellion; the party that reconstructed the Union, the party that placed its arms under 4,000,000 slaves and lifted them up to the plane of manhood and citizenship. Tell me that that party can be defeated in the coming contest? I answer you, “No;” and when the verdict is rendered at the polls it will be found that my prophecy has not been without truth. I repeat to you, that if you will give to us that grand man that Indiana presents for our standard bearer, the Republican hosts, who have never flinched in battle, will go forward with a determination, with an energy, with a zeal, that will carry everything before them, and will restore to the rightful hands of the Republican party the scepter of power that for four years has been usurped by the hypocritical and mock civil service reform Democracy, which has been masquerading before the people of this country under false pretenses. I ask you this, fellow-delegates, and I promise you in return the votes of the doubtful States of New England, which, added to the vote of the doubtful State of Indiana, will triumphantly elect our ticket. Mr. President, I am proud of an opportunity to second the nomination of so pure and distinguished a statesman as Gen. Harrison, of whose choice by this convention and election by the people, I feel assured.

THE PRESIDENT. Is there a further second to the nomination of Gen. Harrison? If not, the Clerk will call the roll. And now, gentlemen of the convention, when the roll is called, unless a State has a candidate or wishes to place somebody in nomination, you can proceed without making any response. Such has been the custom in the past. Mr. Clerk, call the roll of States.

NAMING OF WILLIAM B. ALLISON.

When Iowa was called:

MR. HENDERSON. *Mr. President:* Iowa has a candidate to present for the consideration of the convention.

MR. HEPBURN of Iowa. *Mr. President—*

THE PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention,* Mr. Hepburn of Iowa.

MR. HEPBURN. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* It is the laudable ambition of every member of this convention that to-day we pursue such a course as to deserve and win success at the end of this campaign. Is there such a course open to our choice? We remember that we enter upon this struggle a beaten party—that we were not beaten for want of numbers, but for want of harmony. We are strong enough to compel a triumph, but it will require the united efforts of us all to clutch it. Is it possible for us to-day to name a candidate for whom all Republicans will vote? If we do, we shall succeed. If we fail to name such an one our flag goes down in defeat before the organized appetite for spoils and its allies. The candidate of this convention must be of spotless character, and with unblemished political record. He must be a man in whose armor of integrity there is no flaw or crevice for the lodgment of censure or calumny. He must be a man versed in the public business, schooled in the public service, fitted for the high office to which we consecrate him by broad experience and observation. He must be a man of affairs. The Republican party is one of deeds as well as of doctrines—results no less than lofty sentiments—Its just pride and crowning glory is to be found in the long record of what it

has accomplished. It loves liberty, and it creates free States. It loves mankind, and it strikes the shackles from the bond, and makes freemen. It loves equality, and it places the ballot in the hands of the humble and bids him stand unabashed by the side of him who is the strongest. It loves the flag and the union of the States, and it builds navies, it calls into being vast armies, and tramples rebellion under its conquering feet. It sympathizes with the struggling poor, and it gems the prairie with a million happy prosperous homesteads. It feels the dignity of labor, and it protects the Nation's industries, and the factory and the forge are erected, the children are schooled and prosperity smiles on every home. It loves honesty, and it pays the National debt. It is filled with an exalted sense of justice, and in mercy, after the sword is sheathed, it restores its prostrate foe to the high station of untrammelled citizenship. It is a party of lofty sentiment, and it preserves the National credit, fills the National Treasury with abundant revenue, and gives the Nation almost two billions of currency, the equivalent of gold. It is indeed a party in which ennobling sentiments abound, but they have been followed by grand achievements, as in the economy of God fulfillment follows prophesy. Have we among our number some one who in his public service has been a contributor to this rehearsal of Republican indorsements? Some one who in the legislation of this generation has aided in writing this record? Some one whose recorded votes show that, upon all questions that for a quarter of a century have tried the courage and tested the wisdom of patriotic men, he has been upon the right side—the right side as time has determined the right in the honest conviction of the Republican party of this day? Gentlemen, the State of Iowa bids me name to you this man—fit to be your candidate—William B. Allison of Iowa. Of all living men he is the one we most do honor. Iowa asks his selection. It is the prayer of that State that has been more true to Republicanism than all others that have been truest. All others have sometimes wavered; Iowa never! In all others at some time in your history some part of your ticket has met defeat. In Iowa, never. In twenty-four years of consecutive victory no man has been inducted into a State office or been accredited to the National Senate who did not follow your flag and march in your column. Fortunately for our candidate, in the Republic we recognize no rights of pedigree or ancestry. There is no primogeniture nor entail in the honors of the State, save those of worth and genius. In these he is richly endowed. He was called to the public service in the early days of 1861. The times needed high courage, hopefulness, integrity, practical common sense, and unlimited capacity for work. His early life and experience had taught him that these qualities were the antidote for the rigors of lowly birth and humble fortune. He determined to deserve much at the hands of the people, and they, recognizing the value of his services, have been honored by his presence in the Congress for more than twenty-five years. Twenty-five years of most eventful history, and every page of the legislative portion of the record William B. Allison has helped to write. It is in these records that you will find the attestation of his worth. When he entered the Congress he recognized the perils of the situation—a continent at war, human liberty, man's capacity for self-government, the issues. He knew that it was only by the use of all the resources of the Nation that success could be won. So we find him in the legislation of that day aiding, by marshaling the men, and granting the treasures of the Nation with unstinted hand, to meet all the requisitions of the Commander-in-Chief. And when peace was won we find him striving on all occasions to pay, so far as payment can be made, the just claims of the heroes, mutilated and war-worn, who by imperishable deeds had saved the State. When he came into public life the country was reaping the fruits that followed that woeful experiment, the tariff of 1846. The conditions had not changed for the better from those a little earlier described by President Buchanan in an annual message, when he said: "We have

possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, our country at this moment is in a deplorable condition. In the midst of unsurpassed plenty, in all the productions of agriculture, and in all the elements of National wealth, we find our manufactories suspended, our public works retarded, our private enterprises abandoned, and thousand of useful laborers thrown out of employment and reduced to want. The revenue of the government, which is chiefly derived from duties on imports from abroad, has been greatly reduced. Under the circumstances a loan may be required before the close of your present session. But this although deeply to be regretted, would prove to be only a slight misfortune when compared with the suffering and distress prevailing among the people." This picture of the languishing industries would seem to be dark enough, but the condition was aggravated by the fact that the eight hundred millions of gold yielded by California had been sent abroad to pay for the imported necessities of life that should have been produced at home, and the country was thus without a currency. In the protective legislation of that era was laid the foundation of that growth in wealth and prosperity that is the wonder of the nations. Believing to the uttermost, that the American citizen who labors is entitled to better compensation than was elsewhere paid the laborer—believing that this people ought to be independent of all markets save our own for necessities that we could produce—he became a champion for the protection of American labor and American industries. He has been a constant, unwavering friend of that policy to this day, and finds in that policy the hope for that public quiet and individual contentment that is alone enjoyed where the industries of a nation are diversified, and all the people are satisfactorily employed; and that alone gives promise of stable government. He stands on the line of tariff defence in the Northwest. If you drive us from that line by your nomination to-day, we go in utter hopeless rout, beaten by the strategy of the campaign before the battle opens. Your patience will not permit me to state in detail the important measures to which he aided in giving form. The constitutional amendments, one and all, he aided in framing; the currency legislation, and those laws of honor that preserved the National credit; the resumption of specie payment; the silver coinage act; the stoppage of Chinese importation, and all other legislative efforts approved by the Republican party of to-day—Allison's hand, his genius, his industry, aided in securing to us. We of Iowa know that in here naming our friend we place him in generous rivalry with most illustrious names. John Sherman, of ripe experience, sagacious methods and honest purposes. Ben Harrison, the worthy son of an ancestry renowned for worth. Gresham, the soldier, the statesman, the just judge; varied has been the character, but never varying the pure quality of his extended service. Alger, who has no enemies save his country's enemies, and who wins the love of men, whether he leads them in the fierce shock of battle or guides them in the quiet walks of peace. New Jersey's son, cultured, eloquent, wise. How contentedly we could all follow him as our leader. Rusk, fearless in duty, the clamor of the mob has no fears for his inflexible soul, and Ingalls—how the affections of my old comrades flow toward him as their champion, who never falters in his strife to secure redemption of the pledges made to the boys who wore the blue. The candidate I have named, we of Iowa commend to you. A man of that calm pose of mind who seeks the methods of a judicious conservatism, and yet who has on all occasions the courage to do the right. Who excites no anger, and has no enemies. Who is sagacious, conservative, versed in the details of public business; whose integrity is above the reach of calumny. Who has the respect and confidence and kindly regard of all who know him, and on whose candidacy all classes of Republicans can unite, and, so uniting, he will lead a harmonious party to a satisfying victory. We can not tell you of all that would be done were he to direct the administration of affairs:

but were he so empowered we could tell you some things that would not be done by him. You would not find in his letter of acceptance an able argument against the fitness of a Presidential incumbent for a second term, followed by years of persistent and unscrupulous effort to secure a second term. You would not find in his official utterances uncounted pledges for civil service reform, and then long years of constant prostitution of the civil service to all the viler uses of partisanship. You would not find him striving to destroy the silver coinage of the Nation, nor to retire the greenbacks so dear to the people. Nor yet to strike down the manufacturing interests of the country in behalf of our old enemy and our present commercial rival. You would not find him usurping the functions of a co-ordinate branch of the government, and hundreds of times thwarting the legislative will by a reckless and wanton use of the veto power that is shameful in view of the traditions of the Republic. You would not find him sneering at the old veterans, nor heaping gratuitous insults upon them, nor yet belittling and minimizing their service, nor refusing to permit a grateful people to show their gratitude. You would not find him filling the representative places of honor abroad with men who have no just conception of what this Government is, who know nothing of the indissoluble cohesion of these States, and whose only claim to recognition is to be found in partisan service. You would not find him returning rebel flags, those honored trophies of grand victories, to rebel archives. You would not find him paltering about home rule in Ireland, and then consenting to that partisan conspiracy, justified only by the footpad's logic, that disfranchises 600,000 free American citizens, retains them in territorial vassalage, and keeps the name of Dakota from the shield that designates a State. You would not find him contentedly and complacently accepting the fruits of that organized system of violence, fraud, and outrage, that practically disfranchises three-fourths of a million of Southern voters, thwarts the popular will, makes a Presidential election a travesty, transfers the political power to an unscrupulous minority, and works pregnant wrong to the political rights of every honest voter in this land. But you would always find him true to country and the principles of our party. Wise in determining the better course, courageous in pursuing it, honest in the administration of public affairs, calm, deliberative, conservative, kind and honest, giving the country an administration that would meet the demand, and secure the benediction of a contented people.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* The Hon. William B. Allison of Iowa is now in nomination. Does the Chair hear a second to that nomination?

Mr. BENJAMIN M. BOSWORTH of Rhode Island. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Bosworth of Rhode Island.

Mr. BOSWORTH. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I rise to second the nomination of the Hon. William B. Allison of Iowa. Rhode Island has no favorite son to present to this convention to-day. She has no candidate whose nomination is necessary to render certain her Republicanism. Whoever from among the splendid galaxy of candidates who have been and shall be presented shall receive the nomination of this convention, will, in November next, receive her four electoral votes. Whatever name this convention shall write upon the Republican banner shall be written upon the great Republican heart of Rhode Island, and burning there, shall lead us on to victory. But, while what I have said is true of the little State I have the honor in part to represent, I realize that, in many of the larger and more important States, the question of the availability of a candidate is of the utmost importance. We all know how doubtful some of our States are, and how necessary it is to render as certainly Republican as possible those doubtful States. Upon us as the chosen representatives of a great people

rests the responsible duty of not only making such a choice of candidates as shall redeem those States, but such also as shall commend itself to the judgment of the American people in all the States. It is not a question alone of who best and most certainly can secure the electoral vote of our glorious Empire State; it is not a question alone of what candidate can bring New Jersey into the Republican ranks, or who can place Connecticut in the column of Republican States. It is not a question alone of who can best lead the magnificent Republican hosts of Indiana on to victory. The question is larger and broader than all these. It is National; it is not local. The great question embracing all others is, Who is it, that, secure in the love and confidence of the American people, can most surely touch the public heart and thus insure success, not only in one but in all the doubtful States? Who will best represent as our standard-bearer those elements of character which will enable us to say, We present to you, citizens of the grandest Republic this world has ever known, a candidate for your suffrages who is worthy of the support of free and honest men; who in all his long public career has never been suspected of doing a mean or dishonest act; who is familiar with the great public and financial issues now demanding attention; who believes in the American system of protection to home industries; who is the friend of labor; who knows no North, no South; who has the confidence of all the people of this great land, irrespective of party, as a conservative, safe, and careful statesman, and who believes, with a faith outlasting the erratic philosophy of those men who affect to despise, but who always vote with the Democratic party, in all the glorious principles of Republicanism. Such a candidate is William B. Allison. Let us remember as delegates assembled here, that in the excitement attendant upon a gathering of this kind the judgment is easily led astray. And let us all remember that far away from this great city, in the different cities of the Union, on the farms, in our schools, in our workshops, our places of business, are serious men awaiting our action and who will pass a critical judgment upon it. Behind and beyond the marching men that fill these streets, the pageantry of this occasion, the music, the shouts of excited admirers of different candidates, lies the sober judgment of the American people. Let us appeal to it by nominating a candidate who will not antagonize the warring factions in any State, whose ability and long public service entitle him to our grateful consideration, and who will stand as the representative of that great issue of protection—an issue which overshadows all others, and which should remain as the great and vital issue during this campaign. I see to the left of me the emblem of my beloved State. Above the anchor is the word "Hope," and above that I seem to see another, which is at once its blossom and its fruit. Anchored on the principles which we have to-day put forth as our platform, and with Allison to lead us on, the success of the Republican party in November is not a hope—it is a reality. Rhode Island extends her greetings to the great West, and esteems it a favor to second the nomination of Iowa's great statesman—the Hon. William B. Allison.

The PRESIDENT. Is there a further second to the nomination of Mr. Allison? [After a pause.] If not, the Clerk will call the roll. [After a pause.] Call the roll.

NAMING OF RUSSELL A. ALGER.

When Michigan was called:

Mr. HERR of Michigan. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Herr of Michigan.

Mr. HERR. I rise merely to state that Michigan has a candidate, and that he will be presented by Mr. Robert E. Fraser of Detroit.

Mr. FRASER of Michigan. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Fraser of Michigan.

Mr. FRASER. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* Michigan comes into a Republican convention for the first time in its history to ask of that convention a favor. Michigan has always proved true to the Republican party, and Michigan always intends to prove true to that organization in any political battle which may be fought. We find the Republican party to-day out of power for the first time in its history. Heretofore, during all the battles that you have fought, during all the great contests in which you have been engaged, Michigan has been modest in her demands of the Republican party; but when we find this party out of power, when we find the Democratic party controlling this Nation, we do not stop to argue by what means or methods that party got there, but we come here to provide for you the ways and means of turning that party out of power. As long as everything was going along smoothly with the Republican party Michigan had nothing to ask, but now, when you need help, we come here to offer you the man who will lead you to victory in this campaign. And I propose to tell you the reasons why. In the first place, gentlemen of the convention, it becomes necessary that you should select from the large number of candidates that are named here the most available one to fight this campaign with. He must, as has been described by the gentlemen, be strong in all the States alike; he must be strong alike with the soldier and the civilian; with the rich man and with the poor man; with the white man and with the black man. I propose to offer you in behalf of Michigan, for your careful and candid consideration, such a gentleman. I believe, Mr. President, that we are here as a deliberative body of men. I am glad to see the enthusiasm that is manifested by this large assemblage of people in behalf of the gentlemen whose names have been and will be presented to this convention. Michigan has no charges to bring against any of them. We know nothing against them, and we have tried to find nothing against them. They are Republicans all, they have been true to the Republican party, and I ask on behalf of Michigan here a careful consideration of the merits of all these gentlemen, and I hope each of them will receive his full measure of praise. And in presenting to you our candidate I ask nothing but a fair consideration for him in a Republican convention. These gentlemen, who have already been named, we have nothing to say against, and we believe that what has been said about them is true; but the availability of the man you shall place in nomination is a serious matter for you to consider. And right here at the outset I say to you that he of whom I speak will supply to you strength from all the quarters that I have named. The rich man will trust him, for he is a man of business and affairs, and his honor among these men has been and always will be unquestioned. If you think that he is not a friend of the poor, come with me to the city of Detroit, where he lives; enter with me into the poor man's home—aye, into the very abode of misery—and there mention the name of our candidate, and you will find that next to their God, among the poor people of Michigan, the name of Gen. Russell A. Alger is most honored. It is not for me, gentlemen of the convention, to detail to you all the history of this man's life. I said to you a minute ago that he would receive the vote not only of the rich but of the poor. There is a large element in the Republican party which is entitled to your consideration. It goes without saying that the soldiers of the Republic are entitled to consideration in a Republican convention. Gentlemen, many of you, like myself, remember the time when we were lying at home in our beds, with our heads resting upon our downy pillows, with our wives and children safe around us, how these brave men marched to the front and stood between us and a relentless enemy. You remember when this country was in all this trouble, and the sound of arms was heard all through the Southern bor-

der, how we looked down to the South and thought of these men who were then protecting us. Our hearts went out to them. We aided them all we could. And when some of them in the strength of their manhood were stricken down, their blood enriching the Southern soil, there was no wife to wipe their clammy foreheads; there was no loving child to close their eyes in death; they had no sweet voiced choir to chant their requiem; the only kindness they received was from a comrade-in-arms, and their only requiem was the shrieking of a hostile shell. These men are entitled to some consideration, and wherever there is a soldier in this country, wherever there is a man that loves brave deeds and daring acts, the name of Russell A. Alger is known and honored. I say to you, gentlemen of the convention, without fear of contradiction, that there is no soldier in this Nation that is better beloved by the rank and file of the Grand Army of the Republic than the man whose name I have mentioned. I need not tell you of his daring deeds. His bravery is written upon the blood-stained pages of his country's history. His acts of courage and bravery are familiar themes at the camp-fires of the men who have left those scenes behind them. I can say to you now that these soldiers are not to be with us long. The statesman is always with us. The politician will always be here, and always wanting office. But it will not be long, gentlemen of the convention, before these brave defenders of the Nation will all have passed away. Let us honor them while we can. Let us remember what they have done for us when we are in a position to remember it, and when their names are presented for your consideration. I believe that they have a greater hold upon your hearts than the men who took no part in the great struggle that freed the slave and saved the Union. The professions of this country, and particularly the professions of the law, have been for all time honored by candidates for the Presidency. The business men of this Nation have never had a candidate. I present to you a business man. This is to be a business man's campaign. If we are to fight this battle on the line of the protective tariff, let the lawyers look up the fees after the battle, but let the business men do the fighting now. I present to you a business man who has not his superior in all this great country of ours. When he returned from the war he was poor, without a dollar, having entered the service of his country at 24. At 28 he was a Brigadier-General in the army of the United States, made so by gallant and brave conduct on the field of battle on the recommendation of Gen. Philip H. Sheridan. This man had exhibited as great skill in the selection of men as he shows to-day in his business interests. It was at his request that the Governor of Michigan gave to Philip H. Sheridan his first commission. He was the bearer of this commission, and it was because of Gen. Alger's skill and ability to select men that Sheridan was given the opportunity of to-day being honored as one of the greatest soldiers of the world. I say he is a business man, and how did he acquire this business habit? How did he acquire a competency such as he possesses to-day? Simply by pursuing a perfectly legitimate course. He has acquired not a dollar by any improper or objectionable means, but by simply following the pure business idea that had taken possession of him he gradually accumulated a large amount of property; but his property is always in motion, coming in and going out, and every soldier knows it. The State of Michigan knows it. The poor people of our State know it, and wherever a man needs it the hand of Gen. Alger is open always to assist him. This man of business, I say, has the confidence of the business people of this country. He has no superior, and this being a business man's campaign, and they being required to fight this battle, why should not a business man be nominated? I then, gentlemen of this convention, backed by the entire delegation from the State of Michigan, backed by every Republican from Michigan in this house and in this city, backed by every Republican we left behind us in the State of Michigan—by this authority I nominate as a candidate for President of the United

States, Russell A. Alger. I propose to state here and now, well weighing and knowing the force of every word I utter, and in calm deliberation, this proposition: That no Republican in the State of Michigan, that no Democratic newspaper in the State of Michigan, that no Democrat who cares anything for his reputation in the State of Michigan will say to you, either in public or private, that he believes that Gen. Alger is capable of a dishonorable act. I say to you with equal deliberation that if any such charge should possibly be made, if any man could be so base as to make it, the whole State of Michigan, Democrat and Republican alike, would rise up in rebellion. A gallant soldier, a faithful friend, a man whom everybody who knows honors, and to know is to love. Urging his name here, not for political purposes, not for the purpose of pushing him into power, but backed by an affection deep down in our hearts, we ask of you serious consideration of this question. I would to God that some one else had been assigned to this position. I would that some of the great men that Michigan has produced, that the Republican party has known and has always been glad to hear, were in this presence to discharge this duty. If it were not for the love I bear this man, if it were not for the love that moves my tongue I would not dare to stand here in the presence of this august body and try to urge the claims of any one. But the affection that we all have for him, the duty that has been assigned to me, which I would not shirk if I could, makes a weak man strong—aye, it would make a dumb man eloquent. I would, I say, that this duty had been assigned to somebody greater than I. I can remember a man who would have discharged it well, to whom you would have listened with attention and believed what he said, for when the country was in trouble, and the Democrats sought to take away from us our President, you turned to him for information, and he cut the Gordian knot. Would to God that old Zach Chandler was here to plead Michigan's cause to-day. It has been said by some, and believed, that the power is given to reach across that river that we all must pass, and commune with the spirits of the dead. I would that some great power would give to me the authority to summon from that field the spirit of the dead that has gone before. I would call here, into your presence upon the platform, the spirit of America's greatest volunteer general. I would stand him here by my side and when we all, with tears in our eyes and uncovered heads, were gazing upon that saintly form, I would ask him if I have spoken to you anything but plain, unvarnished words of truth. I would ask of him if I have said aught but what his experience has proved true. In the death of Gen. John A. Logan, Gov. Alger lost a most cherished friend. I would ask him to tell you of this man's kind heart, of his capacity to grasp great questions, of his brave deeds. I would ask him to tell you if he ever forgot a friend, or if he ever struck an enemy a cruel or needless blow. I would ask him to tell you if, when the friend had died and gone to that bourne whence no traveler returns, the friendship of Gen. Alger did not last and cling to those he had left behind him. I can say no more eloquent words to you than these; I can inspire your hearts with no greater theme for thought than to quote to you the words of the widow of John A. Logan, in speaking of Gen. Alger, which words should be written in your hearts. Would that some infinite power would enable me to write them upon the sky so that all men might read them. She said of him, "A man who has proved true to his friends, can be trusted by his country."

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* Gen. Russell A. Alger is placed in nomination. Is there a second?

Mr. CHARLES J. NOYES of Massachusetts. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. NOYES. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* It strikes my fancy how exceedingly appropriate it is that we have decked this vast hall with the emblem of Republicanism, for against the snuff-rag of Democracy

we have displayed the stars and stripes, and every great human right and interest that that banner represents to-day on land and sea, the Republican party writes in its platform. And wherever there stands a voter in this contest from now to November who believes that the American flag is the grandest that floats in the civilized world; who believes that the American laborer is entitled to protection against the laborer in any section of the world; who believes that American institutions are more sacred and American markets more to be protected by an American Congress and an American President than those of any other land; who believes that the American sailor ought to float everywhere safely under the blue heaven of God, and under the protection of the stars and stripes, he will be with us in this conflict. It is now only for us to say to whose hands shall this day be committed that great standard of Republicanism to be carried successfully at the election in November. And as I believe that the American people, when at the ballot box exercising the grandest privilege with which man has ever been endowed, shall select from the nominees of the parties in this country the man to be their President, they will judge him by those qualities of head and heart that make him most truly a typical American. Twenty-four long years ago, longer than many a man at majority to-day can remember, except as history, meeting in this great city of the West, and about to launch its bark upon the political waters, the Republican party turned to a man as its standard bearer who then best represented American character and American manhood. They did not seek him in the office of the attorney at law, however richly he was endowed, because he was a lawyer. They did not select him because, perchance, he had served awhile in the American Congress, but they selected Abraham Lincoln more and above all because in his matchless intellect, that had been tested in this State against one of the greatest debaters that America ever knew, and in the warm pulsations of a generous heart, he combined the two great qualities that make a splendid President: And so believing, fellow delegates, to-day that the gentleman presented her as a candidate by the great State of Michigan combines in happy harmony those great characteristics of mind, and courage, and heart that make a candidate who is likely to be selected by the American people, I rise with great pleasure to second the nomination of Gen. Russell A. Alger. Do you ask a soldier? Read the history of that awful fight, and you find upon its brightest pages such a career as is matched by few men mentioned in the history of the Rebellion. Do you ask a man of administrative and business ability? A man who, coming from the army, took one of the noblest women as a wife that ever sanctified and graced an American home, and went into the wilds of Michigan to make them blossom as a rose; a man with courage to leave all the enjoyments of the city, all the improvements of civilized life, because with foresight and sagacity he saw there a great business enterprise that might be developed for the benefit of his country as well as himself, is a man of matchless courage for this contest. And when you talk of protection, who knows better what protection means to the laboring man than one who comes up from that class himself; and, walking daily with his employes in the commonest duties of common life, does not look upon them as employes, but marches side by side as with a brother walking with his fellow-men. Talk of the uses of wealth in a country like ours? I say the accumulation of wealth is a grand thing when it is honestly accumulated, and, when the wealth comes, the man is not exhausted and does not disappear in the vortex. There is no nobler thing than to build up a fortune under the elastic influence of our free institutions, where it is done by honest industry and business methods such as have characterized the life and career of this ex-Governor of Michigan. Now, is he competent to lead this party in the coming contest? When Michigan wanted some one to take the State from the Democrats they selected Gen. Alger, and from the day of his nomination the battle was practically won. I wish that some other one were here to second the nomination of such a man, whose character is so typical of all that is grand and noble and truly Ameri-

can. If we could call to-day from his sick bed the grand General of the American armies beside whom this Nation has stood with tearful interest to know whether he should fight the last battle this time successfully or not, and his lips could part and tell you of the generosity of this man, there would be no question about the glorious use to which wealth can be put. And so, Mr. President, at this stage in the proceedings, not desirous of wearying the patience of this body, already overtaxed, in a brief word I want to extend from Massachusetts, as far as I am concerned—from a State that since the Puritans landed upon its shores has learned to honor and esteem true manhood and true womanhood everywhere,—the right hand of fellowship to the great Northwest that has sprung so largely from her loins. Why, they tell us that you must take a man from a doubtful State. I say better take a man who shall make all the States anything but doubtful. They tell us that we must have a man of long public record. The Republican party has cradled in its prolific lap many of the grandest men this Nation has ever produced, and we are so rich to-day in material we scarcely know how to select; but let me say to this convention that oftentimes the most glorious public record has its weakness as well as its strength, and, like the Roman gladiator who went into the arena always to come off conqueror, he often came off, though victor, with battered armor and helmet. And so that may not always be an element of strength. But when you find a man whose record has given sure proof of his ability, when you find a man whose political contests have demonstrated his strength as a candidate, when you come to the American people presenting them a character that can never be assailed, a character that needs bring no blush to any manly or womanly cheek, and ask them to make him their first and representative gentleman, in my judgment, recording their vote in November, they will do so.

The PRESIDENT. Is there another second to the nomination of Gen. Alger?

Mr. PATRICK EGAN of Nebraska. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Patrick Egan of Nebraska.

Mr. EGAN. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* After the splendid addresses we have listened to, it is not without hesitation that I come before this convention, this magnificent gathering of the chosen representatives of that grand Republican party which has ever been pre-eminently the party of American progress, the champion of American liberty, the conservator of American rights, and the guardian of American honor. I do so in order to discharge what I deem a duty, to second the nomination made by my friend from Michigan of a candidate for the highest office in the gift of 60,000,000 free people, the proudest position in the world to-day, the President of this glorious Republic. Every true and loyal citizen of this land, whether native or foreign born, should desire and demand that the man to be elected to that high office should be a true and thorough American nationalist. Because of the struggles which most of us of foreign birth have been obliged to maintain for freedom and nationality in our respective motherlands, this question of the nationality of this, the land of our adoption, comes home to us with, perhaps, more force than to many of our fellow citizens. We should all desire to see nominated by this convention a man who can be relied upon to promote American commerce and American industry, manufacturing and agricultural—one who will protect American labor, American rights, and American citizenship; one who will maintain American dignity at home and abroad; one who will defend American honor; and, should ever the necessity arise, who will know how to fittingly resent every indignity to our glorious American flag. I believe, and I think I voice the sentiment of no inconsiderable number of good Republicans as well as of many who, while not strictly allied with the Republican party, are sterling protectionists, that in Gen. Russell A. Alger, the gallant soldier, the successful merchant, the man of broad executive capacity, the brave true-hearted, broad-gauge, typical American nationalist, we

can find just such a man. I therefore cordially and heartily second the nomination of Gen. Alger in the earnest hope that he will receive the indorsement of this convention, and, with the firm belief that, when nominated, he will, with that indomitable courage, dash, perseverance and good luck that have ever characterized his undertakings in war and in commerce as in politics, carry the flag of his party and his cause to a glorious victory.

The PRESIDENT. Is there a further second to the nomination of Gen. Alger?

Mr. L. G. ESTES of North Carolina. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. ESTES. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I come forward to second the nomination of Gen. Alger, and desire to speak briefly of him as a soldier, for it was as such that I knew him. It was my privilege to order him into action on many a field of battle, and a more gallant soldier and more chivalrous gentleman never drew a sabre. Alger never hesitated, he never faltered. But whoever knew a Michigan soldier to falter? They were not built that way. They came from good old New England stock, and that's what's the matter with them. The soldiers love that gallant chief of four-score battlefields. Custer honored him as he honored no other soldier under him. Kilpatrick gave him the post of danger, and Sheridan said, "Nobly done, Alger." He had the confidence of President Lincoln after he was wounded, second to that of no man on the American continent to my personal knowledge, and you, gentlemen, give him your confidence, and the people at the polls next November will ratify it overwhelmingly. We believe you are going to do it. We can hear it in the air; it is music to us. We can hear it whizzing about our ears as whistled the bullets at Monterey [Va.], when, at the head of the Michigan cavalry, Alger charged up the pass and carried it, and took from Ewell 1,600 prisoners and 800 wagons. Gentlemen, we were patriotic soldiers a quarter of a century ago. Twenty-five years ago, on the Fourth of July (we did not have any fireworks with us that night) we learned that Gen. Lee and his army, down South, had neglected for three years to read the Declaration of Independence, and so we sent up our compliments to Gen. Ewell, to Longstreet and Lee at the mouth of six batteries of artillery, and Gen. Alger read the Declaration of Independence in the light of the burning of 1,600 wagons. Gentlemen of the convention, we ask of you as soldiers to give us Alger. It is a soldier's year, and now what's the matter with Alger? [Cries of "He's all right."] Of course he's all right. We all know that. Give us Alger, and, when November rolls around, we will hoist the colors of Custer and charge as we did at Gettysburg and Five Forks, and ride over into the enemy's camp and receive a second surrender of the Democratic party as we did at Appomattox Court House.

The PRESIDENT. If there is no further second the Clerk will call the roll [After a pause.] The Clerk will call the roll if there is no further second.

Mr. L. F. EGGERS of Arizona. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. EGGERS. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I desire to say only a word as to my choice in the selection of a candidate. [Disorder.]

The PRESIDENT. Wait one moment. The galleries will have to keep order. Col. Eggers has the floor.

Mr. EGGERS. If you will but for a moment listen to the Great West we will endeavor to indicate to you why we have a choice. It is absolutely necessary that this convention make no mistake in the selection of the man who is to head the ticket of the Republican party. Gentlemen, this is the second time in my career that I have occupied a seat in the Republican convention of this

Nation. It is not the first time that my voice has been heard upon the rostrum throughout this country for that great and gallant party. I hope it will not be the last one. It has been said that the Republican party is dead. I say to-day that, if it is, it is the most lively corpse I ever saw. I desire to say, gentlemen, that in the selection of a nominee to cast my vote for, I have endeavored to look among the favored sons of the States. I came here with no choice, but, looking the ground over, seeing the men, reading their past careers, looking at the different records that will be read in the coming campaign, I was convinced that the convention should choose a man who will be a favorite with the soldier and with the poor laboring man; both will have to be combined. In that respect Gen. Russell A. Alger stands second to none. By his ability he has carved his way from poverty and obscurity to the position he occupies to-day. Not a working politician, not seeking promotion at every convention, not asking for laurels, but he comes here with an indorsement from the Great West, and from the different portions of this Nation, that must and will be recognized by an honest convention. It is not right, it is not proper, that we should endeavor to ignore any one. Every portion of this great country should be recognized. I say, then, and all I have to say is, that I thoroughly indorse and second the nomination of Gen. Russell A. Alger.

The PRESIDENT. Is there a further second to the nomination of Gen. Alger? [There was no response.] The clerk will proceed with the roll call.

NAMING OF CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

When New York was called:

Mr. FRANK HISCOCK of New York. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Senator Hiscock of New York.

Mr. HISCOCK. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* The united Republican party of the State of New York, is represented here to-day, and by the unanimous voice of that party, through its seventy-two delegates, I am instructed to present for your consideration its choice for Presidential nominee. Gentlemen, let me tell you what that united and harmonious party means to the country. In my opinion, with every Republican voting in New York, next November we shall gain a grand Republican victory, and the thirty-six Electoral votes of the Empire State will be cast for the nominees of this convention. We have no more factional differences in New York that exist elsewhere; but, upon a vote of nearly a million and a half, where the parties are so nearly equal in strength as there, a little apathy, a little friction, a little of the bitterness of faction might cause defeat. Now all friction is allayed, all bitterness is removed, and unanimously, enthusiastically, we are marching against the Democratic mugwump combine to overwhelm it and defeat President Cleveland, and to restore the Government of the country to the party that preserved—yes, created—it. Gentlemen have said but little here about doubtful States. We should not leave them out of our calculations. With one exception, the States presenting candidates are not doubtful. Let me call your attention to this fact, that if we win this year it will be against the solid South, as compact as when Kansas was to be appropriated to slavery, or as when the Nation was to be destroyed; for I tell you that whatever fraud, and outrage, and violence even to murder, can accomplish, may be counted upon to return the Presidential Electors from the Southern States for the Democratic candidates. Democratic leaders openly proclaim this purpose, and, with these conditions, the contest is to be in and over New York. I would not discourage any one, but, confronting the overwhelming responsibilities of this occasion, I must frankly state the situation and the potential reasons why New York should name the Presidential candidate. We must have the vote of New York in this election, and equally with us the Democ-

racy concedes that the result must be determined there. Gentlemen, the contest will be bitter, the fiercest waged since the war. Republicans, farmers, mechanics, have had enough of Democratic mal-administration; the business interests have had enough of constant threatening; and with unnecessary disturbance, accomplishing nothing; enough of futile attempts to reduce the surplus and enough of a constantly contracting currency. New York, outside its large city, is more strongly Republican than any New England State. From our valleys, from our mountains, from our farms, forests, and mines, and from our shops the people are rallying, and will gather irresistibly to the support of our candidate. Labor in New York City, as elsewhere, has become frightened at the base betrayal of its market to foreign capital by the Democracy; and its sturdy blows will be delivered for our side in this vital contest. Democracy, entrenched in power, with its trained band of office holders, with its free-trade organizations, with its unlimited supply of money, with its unbounded capacity for fraud, will not yield without the most bitter and desperate struggle known in our late politics. It will help us to name the candidate, and I assure you we shall need the force of all "the sentiment" we can command. We propose a candidate whose name will be an inspiration to our country. His name is dear to us all. His counsel has led us and will guide us, his eloquence has electrified and will continue to inspire us. His broad and statesmanlike utterances have long commanded the respect of the people—not of New York alone, but wherever heard or read. As Chief Magistrate of the Republic his superb abilities, his matchless executive equipment, his thorough knowledge of affairs, his broad comprehension of public interests and the Nation's capacities, his perfect integrity, his justness and consideration of the rights of men, his fidelity to Republican principles, would assure an administration promotive of national development and progress. I do not begin here, nor shall I be compelled to make elsewhere if he shall be nominated, a defensive campaign. It is true his business relations have been urged against him. If the most brilliant career and achievements as a business man known in our country, where so many markedly successful men may be noted, are just cause of criticism, then he merits it, for I do admit his success has been phenomenal and his achievements unsurpassed; and I may add also that his life has been signally pure and stainless. Yes, he is the President of a great railroad corporation, and there is not a farmer, freighter, mechanic, or common laborer in New York who will vote against him for that. As his life has been above reproach, so, in the management of the vast business interests under his control, he has gained the confidence of and holds the respect of all our people. I have told you that the laborers, the wage-workers, were to be on our side in this contest. They will not be repelled by the candidate we propose, but, such as has been his service add fidelity to them, as to all interests intrusted to him, and so true and helpful a friend and counselor he has proved himself, that they will rally to his standard and make his election sure. As their candidate, and as the choice of the Republicans of New York, I present for nomination by this convention, as the Republican candidate for President of the United States, Chauncey M. Depew.

The PRESIDENT. Chauncey M. Depew is in nomination.

Mr. G. G. HARTLEY of Minnesota. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. HARTLEY. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of this Convention:* Minnesota seconds the nomination of Chauncey M. Depew. Carry New York and the remainder of your doubtful States and don't afraid of the Grangers of the Northwest. Minnesota will give Mr. Depew from 30,000 to 50,000 majority. I come from the largest Granger district in that State. I come from the largest Granger district in the Northwest. That district I pledge you for at least 15,000 majority. It is only one of the five districts of the State of Minnesota.

The PRESIDENT. Is there a further second to the nomination of Mr. Depew? [After a pause.] The Clerk will call the roll.

NAMING OF JOHN SHERMAN.

When Ohio was called:

Mr. D. H. HASTINGS of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Gen. Hastings of Pennsylvania.

Mr. HASTINGS. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* Pennsylvania is opposed to Grover Cleveland and to a continuance of his administration. Her electoral vote will be cast for the nominees of this convention. Pennsylvania has never faltered in her devotion to Republican principles, and will not falter now. Her metropolis was the cradle of American liberty, and the Republican party's birth and baptism were both on Pennsylvania's soil. With her the fundamental and elementary principles of Republicanism have always been held sacred as the charter of her liberties, and the memory of her dead soldiers. Of this her majorities are proof—majorities unequaled in the sisterhood of States—cast for Lincoln, for Grant, for Hayes, for Garfield, and for her well beloved son, James G. Blaine. Pennsylvania comes to this convention, and with great unanimity asks you to nominate a standard-bearer who will represent the principles, the traditions, and the brightest hopes and aspirations of the Republican party; a man whose name will stand for its integrity, its doctrines, and its matchless history; a man who will execute the laws and vindicate the honor of the Nation, whose very personality will be "a sword in the hands of honest freemen, wherewith to drive from place and power" a party which holds the reins of national government by fortuitous circumstance and against the true intent and honest desire of a majority of the Nation's sovereigns. This convention recognizes that the campaign before us finds the common enemy intrenched in the seats of national power, with the prestige of victory, the support of a solid South, the influence of public patronage, and an increasing appetite for office, to give it encouragement. But the country is tired of shams, double dealing and mediocrity. We have seen a chief executive who proclaimed his belief that the President's office should be limited to a single term, eagerly clutching at the nomination for a second. His promised reforms of the civil service have resulted in the prostitution of his great office for the narrowest partisan purposes. Professing sympathy for the welfare of wage earners and established industries, he has forced upon his party a policy which, if successful, would be ruinous alike to both. Forbidding political activity in his subordinates, he has allowed them everywhere to use the public service for the advancement of his own personal political aggrandizement. He has inaugurated and fostered a diplomatic policy hostile to the interests and the dignity of the American people. He whom I shall nominate to you needs no introduction. His career, his character, his manhood and his illustrious achievements are a part of the Nation's history. The people know him by heart. Those whom I represent, and who ask his nomination at your hands, point you to a grand career, beginning with those patriots who rocked the cradle of Republicanism; to a man who has been in the forefront of every battle for his party, who has been its counsel, its champion, its strong right arm; whose name is a tower of strength, and who was never defeated for any office for which he was nominated. Those who believe that he who has rendered the most and the best public service is entitled to consideration; who believe that experience in statesmanship is a pre-requisite to high public preferment; that it is not a disqualification to have actively and honorably participated in a generation of thrilling and stupendous events—events more vital to humanity and liberty than were ever crowded into an equal period

of the world's history; who have seen the danger and folly of placing inexperience and mediocrity in high places, have made him their choice. The freemen, waiting for the welcome day when there will be no longer a solid South; the true soldiers of both sides who bravely and loyally accepted the results of war; they who are waiting for the dawn of that new day when the right of suffrage dare not be denied to any man, white or black; when honest elections shall triumph over intimidation and tissue ballots, and a purified franchise shall "preserve the jewel of liberty in the house hold of its friend;" they who are still waiting until the true gospel of protection to man and to the fruit of his toil shall be preached in myriad schoolhouses south of that political equator called Mason and Dixon's line; waiting for the infusion of that spirit which brings from mountain and valley the blessings of comfort, refinement, and patriotism; that industry which opens new and profitable channels of trade and commerce; which builds railroads running north and south as well as east and west; which recognizes political meridians or longitude as well as parallels of latitude; they who believe with him that honest and intelligent immigration should be welcomed, but that impassable barriers should be erected on the Pacific coast against the hordes of heathen invasion—all these have found in him their consistent friend and steadfast champion. That grand army of men who followed Grant and Sherman and Sheridan, the widows and orphans of their comrades, and thousands who believe a soldier's honorable discharge is no disqualification in civil life, and thousands more who loved their country, and those who served it, will welcome him as their choice. They who deserve well of their country, who believe the English language so copious that a hundred pension vetoes might be written without insulting patriotism and loyalty, will rally to his standard. He was the soldiers' friend in war, and he has been their constant friend in peace. He stood by the side of Lincoln and the army from the first days of Sumter until another Sherman marched from Atlanta to the sea, and peace came on golden wings. War and finance comprise much of the history of nations. A people who gave 1,000,000 soldiers to the Republic found the man to sustain them and their country's credit in the darkest hours. Our financial policy was as victorious as our armies. Its inspiration, responding to every need of war, proved equal to every demand of patriotism, until at last, hand in hand, peace and prosperity, twin children of liberty, gladdened the hearts of reunited people. The statesmanship of resumption, his crowning success, unequaled in any time or country, has placed his name upon the lips of gratitude throughout the land. Do you want his record? Read the history and the statutes of the country for the last thirty years. A broken Union restored and made stronger; a race of men emancipated; a system of free public schools extended to every State; a bonded debt—the price of the Nation's life—reduced from \$2,200,000,000 to less than \$1,100,000,000; the annual burden of interest reduced from \$150,000,000 to less than \$50,000,000; a public credit made firm as the everlasting hills; a system of protection to American industries imbedded in our legislation and consistently supported as a wise public policy. These are a few of the great achievements of the Republican party, and while every other candidate before this convention has contributed a full share of honorable, patriotic, and meritorious service, no man has become, of the whole splendid record, a more inseparable part than he whom I shall name. My countrymen, the central issue of this campaign is an American policy for the whole American people, at home and abroad. Before it all else sinks to insignificance. What though our system of currency be the best in the world? It is the achievement of Republicanism. What though secession and slavery are gone forever? They were washed away in Union blood. What if the questions of reconstruction, of national credit and public faith have been resolved in favor of the right? They are stars in the party's crown. What though increasing pensions make grateful hearts and smooth the pathways of the Nation's brave defenders? Every

dollar of it bears the stamp of Republican approval. What though Republican honesty and foresight swell the Federal Treasury wherewith to liquidate a Nation's debt? No question of surplus should arise until that debt be paid. But it is of supremest moment that the toiling millions, the bone and sinew of the land, shall not, by shuffling cant or sentimental fallacy, be made victims of that false system of political economy which tends to beggary. We welcome the issue—protection or free trade. Let the sovereign freemen in the next election say whether the only Republic founded on the rock of freedom, blessed with every gift of nature, crowned with imperial power, enriched by willing hands of honest toil, peaceful, prosperous and homogenous, shall be dethroned, degraded, pauperized by a party and a policy of war with the very genius of our national existence. "With malice toward none, with charity for all," let the battle lines which ran east and west be now formed from north to south, advancing to seaboard, there to protect the homes and firesides, the peace and prosperity of the Nation; and let him who has served so long, so ably, and so faithfully, be placed in command of the victorious column. Make him our standard-bearer, and every principle for which the party has battled, every triumph which it has achieved, will be represented in our leader. Nominate him, and there will be no sophistry, no fallacy so plausible as to divert the intelligence and common sense of the people from the vital issue. Nominate him, and a sense of security, of safety, and of confidence in the future will crystallize into triumph and victory. I nominate the patriot, the statesman, the honest man—John Sherman.

The PRESIDENT. Senator John Sherman of Ohio is placed in nomination.

Mr. FORAKER of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen of the convention, Gov. Foraker.

Mr. FORAKER. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* Ohio is sometimes like New York. She occasionally comes to a National Republican Convention divided as to her choice for the Presidency, and sometimes she comes united. She has so come on this occasion. Her forty-six delegates are here to speak as one man. And it is at their bidding, on their behalf and in their name, that I take this platform to second the nomination that has just been made. Not so, however, because John Sherman is a citizen of our State. Knowing him as we do, we should support him with the same unanimity, the same zeal, and with the same determination and integrity of purpose, no matter from what section he might hail. For we know and claim for him that which you, gentlemen of New York, and gentlemen of all the other States, must recognize and concede—that he is not so much a citizen of any one State, as a citizen, in the highest sense of the word, of all the States of this Union. His name and fame fill the whole land, and brighten every page of American history that has been written since he entered public life. Nominate him, and you need not waste any time on biographical sketches. When you recall what has been said from this platform to-day you can appreciate the value of that advantage. He is long since familiarly known to every State and Territory. He is the immediate friend and acquaintance of all classes and conditions of our people, high and low, rich and poor, white and black, native and foreign born, just as it was written in our platform, as it was read from that desk to-day. All alike know and honor him, because all alike have a common part and a common pride in his illustrious achievements. But no more do they honor him for his distinguished services to his country than, as it was well said by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, because of the exalted character and purity of his private life. He is in the highest sense of the word a typical representative of the very best American life, American citizenship, and American statesmanship. Gen. Hastings well said he would not repeat his record to you from this platform. If he were to detain you until he could do so we would

not get a standard-bearer until after the next term of the Presidency should commence. It covers all there is of Republicanism. It commenced before the party commenced, and it has gone continually on from that moment until this. There is not a question—and has not been in thirty years—affecting the American people, internally or externally, that John Sherman has not dealt with. And how? In such a way as to command the unbounded confidence, not only of the business interest, but of every other kind of interest in the United States. I have not heard of any breezes wafting sighs for his nomination as was the case with another gentleman, but I have heard, as you have heard, a Macedonian call coming up for him from every section of the United States. But John Sherman is something more than a good citizen and a great Statesman, something more in the sense that we want to have something more in the candidate whom we are to nominate to-day. I am getting a little bit particular about this matter. I want a Republican this time. I want one of the kind that we talked about on this platform last night. I want a man who is not only a Republican from the top of his head to the soles of his feet, but who has been one all his life. I don't mean to insinuate anybody has not been that who has been named here, but I do want to impress upon you that John Sherman is all of that. He has ever been ready, no matter how much personal disappointment might be involved, to support the platform and the nominee of the convention. He never sulks; he never strays away into bad company. On the contrary, he is always in line and ready for duty. Yea, he is always on duty, and that too at the very fore front. For where the fight is thickest, there he always delights to lead, and a leader he is—a natural born leader. He belongs to a family of leaders. He is a brother of that grand old, heroic leader, so dear to the hearts of every man who wore the blue, who split the Jeff Davis wing of the Democratic party wide open when he marched in triumph from Atlanta to the sea. Put your banner into the hands of John Sherman and let him do a similar job for you now. He will not only carry it to victory, but he will give the country the benefit of that victory. Not in any narrow, bigoted sense; not, certainly, by a resort to such pusillanimous methods as those known under the name and guise of "offensive partisanship." Not, either, by a cowardly assassination of individual character, the method that seems so dear to our over-righteous mugwump friends; but he will do it in a manly and courageous way, administering our public affairs by Republican agencies according to Republican principles. He will uphold the pledge with which we commenced our platform—namely: That the Constitution and the laws of this country shall be enforced everywhere throughout our borders. [A voice—"Even in South Carolina."] Yes, even in South Carolina. We are just aching up in Ohio to get a man into the Presidential chair, who will have courage enough to vindicate the rights of the Republicans of South Carolina. Why should we not, my friends? What is the use of talking about how you are going to reduce the surplus or anything else, until you have first settled it that, when the argument is concluded, the people shall be allowed to express the conclusions they have reached? Yes, John Sherman is a Republican who will see to it that American citizens are protected in the enjoyment and the exercise of their rights of citizenship wheresoever the flag may float. He will uphold and enforce the wise and patriotic policy of a protective tariff. His aim and ambition, and policy and affections, if you please, will be National. They will take in South Carolina, and we will make it a decent place even for Republicans to live—yes, under the beneficent guidance of his administration, the whole South will be given an opportunity to develop her resources, build up her industrial pursuits, and, under such provisions as those proposed by the Blair bill, educate her children, until they have been brought abreast, in the march of progress, in the development of wealth and power, with her sister States of the Union. And then, when we are all abreast, there will be no rivalries

such as have existed heretofore, but, under the blessings of a common prosperity, this wicked spirit of sectionalism, that the present copperhead administration has revived, will be overthrown and destroyed, and the South, bound to the North, and every other section of the country, in the bonds of prosperity, which are ever stronger than any that can be forged by constitutional provision or legislative enactment, will be started with us on the march to a destiny that is greater and grander than any language can describe. If, therefore, high personal character, long tried and capable statesmanship, unfaltering and unswerving devotion to the principles of Republicanism, as you have announced them here, coupled with a guarantee of success at the polls in November, to be followed by such magnificent results as I have indicated, are commendations to your favor, nominate John Sherman, not of Ohio, but of the United States. He will be popular everywhere, except only in England. The reason he will not be popular there is that the combination made at St. Louis was put on a free trade platform, to march under the banner of that same old bandana that we knew so well in the war time, when it meant only Copperhead disloyalty, but which now means only British free trade. But the day the old bandana was nominated the people of Ohio, thinking they foresaw the nomination of John Sherman, raised a flag ever enthusiastically beloved by the loyal people of this country, of every State, and they said it should be our banner in the approaching campaign as an offset to the old bandana. Give us Sherman and this flag, and victory is ours.

THE PRESIDENT. Is there a further second to the nomination of Senator Sherman?

MR. JOHN M. LANGSTON of Virginia. *Mr. President—*

THE PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. LANGSTON. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am so related to a large class in the population of our country, so largely benefited by every word and every deed that distinguishes the history and the character of John Sherman, that I will not let this occasion pass without bringing the testimony of that great class before you to-day, here in this august presence, in favor of his nomination to the Presidency of the United States. I have not only the honor of living in the Old Dominion, and representing in part on the floor of this convention the people of the old Commonwealth—the Commonwealth that used to be the mother of Presidents and the mother of Statesmen—but in that State, situated as I am, I have the honor of representing the men and women and the boys and the girls that the Republican party turned from things into men and women and American citizens. And you will recognize with me the fact that though then, Lincoln was our leader, and Chase our counselor, and Seward and Edwards their support, John Sherman, in the House of Representatives, was the man who was engaged in laboring as legislator in our behalf. And while I stand on Southern soil, a citizen of the old Commonwealth, permitted under God in this brighter day of our freedom in this country to represent the negro race in part, and the white largely, in a body like this, when the name of Sherman is pronounced in connection with the Presidency, I shall leap to discharge my duty to second that proposition. Gentlemen have told you how great he is and grand, what a patriot he is and what a statesman, how loaded he is along all his arms, across his shoulders, all over his back with the broken shackles fallen from the limbs of American slaves, the eternal marks of honor of his manly deeds. Seven millions of negroes to-day in this country ask you to nominate John Sherman to the Presidency of the United States. All the poor white men in the South, so long denied schoolhouses, so long denied spelling books, so utterly abandoned to ignorance, and poverty, and degradation—the substratum of society beneath the negro in the days of slavery—looking up to you as to the sun, ask you to-

day to nominate John Sherman that he may aid now in their redemption with the negro. Do you want to make your candidate National? Would you carry New York? Would you carry Connecticut? Would you carry New Jersey? Would you carry the Pacific coast? Would you carry the central portions of our country? And would you add to the certainty of your victory by the carrying of old Virginia and North Carolina? Alabama? Tennessee? And the proud little State of flowers—Florida? Would you carry these States? If so, give us that paragon of American statesmen, John Sherman, and we will unite Wise and Mahone in Virginia, and carry that old Commonwealth with us to victory, and, as she leads on the confines of our freedom the States farther south that I have named, marching to the music of "Hail, Columbia," on the day that shall mark his election, shall be found no longer doubtful. Southern States, giving always it may be through force and fraud their electoral votes to the Democratic party, shall be hailed on their voting eve as Republican States, having cast their votes for John Sherman. Let me tell you, gentlemen of the convention, that the name of John Sherman is a wonderful thing in the South to-day. It is a tower of strength to the negro, the poor white man and the Republicans in the South, too. And now, in the name of all the citizens of my State, Republicans and true, in the name of North Carolina, in the name of Alabama, in the name of Tennessee, in the name of the loyal South, white and black, aspiring, longing to be protected, defended, that they may exercise a free ballot and have it counted, I arise to second the nomination of this citizen of Ohio, now so grand a citizen of our entire republic, John Sherman.

Mr. JOHN C. DARCEY of North Carolina. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. DARCEY. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I rise here also as the representative in part of one of the States of the South to second the nomination of that distinguished gentleman, the representative of the Republican party in this Nation, the Honorable John Sherman of Ohio. His name is a household word, in the South especially, and it is so because under all circumstances he has ever been true to that section. When it was a question as to whether or not ample protection should be given to the voters in the South, John Sherman was always found in the forefront in advocating the amplest protection to them. And now, as some recognition of our regard and our gratitude, we come here to do what we can to aid him in reaching that position, where he can be of essential benefit in meting out to us the protection that will make it possible for a vote in the South to be as safe, and counted as fairly, as in Ohio. Gentlemen of the convention, we know the record of John Sherman. We know it to be the record of the Republican party. If the Republican party has been right since its organization, John Sherman has been right. If the Republican party has been wrong, he has been equally wrong. Every principle of every platform that you have adopted he has stood upon. Whenever you have named a candidate at any time since the party was organized, he has been loyal in support of that candidate. And now, after his loyalty, after he has proven such a true and firm friend of the party under all circumstances, and has done as much to make it successful in all the campaigns since its organization, except perhaps that wanderer on the hills of Scotland to-day—with that single exception he stands without a peer in the Republican party—give him to us, and we promise you that you will have as good a chance of carrying North Carolina this year, on the issue of protection and the abolition of the tax on tobacco, as you have of carrying New Jersey. I will not detain you, gentlemen. He has been true to us. His record is as pure as that of any other statesman. Grand in the past, true to the principles of his party at the present, prepared for the duties and responsibilities of the future—name him, and on the day of election, when the result has

been announced in the precincts all over this Nation, the electric wires will carry the glorious news from one end of the country to the other, that the principles for which we fought have triumphed, that the Republican party has been restored to power, and that the enemy of the Nation who has had control of it during these four years has been voted out for at least twenty-five years longer.

NAMING OF EDWIN H. FITLER.

When Pennsylvania was called:

Mr. CHARLES EMORY SMITH of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Smith of Pennsylvania.

Mr. SMITH. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* My distinguished friend, Gen. Hastings, has spoken most eloquently for a portion of the delegation from Pennsylvania. I am here to speak for another part. My words shall be few, and I trust to the point. Our State, the greatest of Republican commonwealths; our candidate, foremost among the eminent business representatives who have been the architects of her Republican greatness and of her material grandeur; Pennsylvania is chief in Republicanism, because she is chief in the garnered fruits of Republican policy. Her thriving labor and her varied industries; the music of her myriad spindles and the fires of her flaming forges; the rewards of her teeming farms and the wealth of her lavish forests—a majestic empire in herself—all testify to the virtue and efficacy of American protection. Pennsylvania has no interest which is not equally shared by every other section. Pennsylvania asks nothing which is not equally for the glory and prosperity of Iowa, and Indiana, and Minnesota. Pennsylvania wants no policy which is not equally suited to the great farms of the Northwest, whose rich products need a home market, and to the mineral wealth of the New South, whose boundless resources need a new development. She believes that her policy and yours, broad, liberal and progressive in its spirit, adapting itself to changing conditions, but ever maintaining the bulwark of protection, is the foundation of American greatness and independence. Under this banner and under the prince of leaders in 1884 she gave more than 80,000 majority. Under this flag in 1888 she will lead the magnificent column of victory with more than 100,000 majority. Whoever in this brilliant constellation of stars shall be chosen to guide your destiny, she will loyally follow him. But among her own sons she presents one who is the peer of any leader, and invites your serious and deliberate consideration to the wisdom of his choice. Our candidate is the highest type of the best Republicanism, and the best progress and prosperity of Pennsylvania. What Abbot Lawrence was to Boston, what Alexander Stewart was to New York, what Marshall Field is in a business way to the magnificent Chicago of to-day, the man I am about to name is to Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, and you will recognize it when I speak the name of Edwin H. Fitler. Do you ask of his patriotic record? Go back to the days that tried men's souls, when the gallant defenders of the Republic from all the North and East marched through Philadelphia on their way to uphold the imperiled flag of our country, determined that not a star should be erased nor a single stripe sullied; and when the great Union League—noble parent of all similar patriotic organizations of the land—opened its arms, extended its welcome, and bade its hearty godspeed on the sacred and glorious mission, then, as now, and through all the intervening years, Edwin H. Fitler has been its master spirit. Do you ask of his Republican service? Go back, my old and cherished friends, of New York, my Republican friends of New Jersey, of Ohio and Indiana, of Delaware and Maryland, through the checkered story of your hard fought campaigns, when to Pennsylvania you sent your Macedonian cry, "Come

over and help us," and remember that Edwin H. Fitler was always at the front. Do you ask of his administrative capacity and fitness for the great office of President? Let our public history answer. Two years ago the most important municipal act ever passed in this country ordained a new system of government for the city of Philadelphia, founded upon the model of the Federal Government. So impressed were the people with the importance of intrusting this great work to the right hands, they stepped beyond all the ordinary methods of selection. The business men of the entire city came together and constituted a committee of fifty. The great Union League constituted a committee of twenty-five. These bodies met the representatives of the Republican organization, and out of a list of the most conspicuous and best qualified citizens they unanimously chose Mr. Fitler. And since the Democratic party has found a President in a Mayor's chair, without seeking to dwarf our candidate by any comparison unjust to him, may I not say that the Republican party may well meet and match and beat a little Mayor with a truly big Mayor? An employer who never had a difference with his employes, a Republican who never faltered in sunshine or in storm, a leader who would be equally available as a candidate, and sure as a President; on behalf, and in the name of a portion of the delegation from Pennsylvania, I present to this convention the name of Edwin H. Fitler.

THE PRESIDENT. Is there a second to the nomination of Mr. Fitler of Pennsylvania?

Mr. BAYNE of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Bayne of Pennsylvania.

Mr. BAYNE. I had intended to make a motion to take a recess until tomorrow at 10 o'clock [Cries of "No"], but at the suggestion of friends I will not do so.

The PRESIDENT. Call the roll.

NAMING OF JEREMIAH M. RUSK.

When Wisconsin was called at 7:10 P. M.

Mr. JOHN C. SPOONER of Wisconsin. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Senator Spooner of Wisconsin.

Mr. SPOONER. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* It is hard to attempt to wrestle with a cyclone, but it is my duty to do it. Fully mindful of the disadvantage on this occasion, which lies in the fact that Wisconsin is last in the roll call of States, I turn for courage to that other fact that her stalwart and splendid Republicanism has placed her and keeps her always well up toward the head of the column when the fighting is on. From the day when the second National Republican Convention presented for the suffrages of the people the names of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin, down to the fateful year 1884, when, under the superb and inspiring leadership of James G. Blaine and of John A. Logan, dead, alas! but never to be forgotten, the Republican party met unexpected and undeserved defeat, Wisconsin has never failed you, or justly given you one moment of solicitude. To-day, for the first time in all these years of unbroken fealty, she invokes for the name and merit of one of her own loved and trusted leaders your thoughtful consideration. Happily for the party to whose fortunes we are all devoted I am not able, with good warrant of truth, to urge in advocacy of your adoption of her choice that you will thereby turn a doubtful into a certain State, for, without hesitation, I dare to declare in this great presence, that to the nominee of this convention, whatever his name shall be, and from whatever State he shall come, will be given at the appointed time the electoral vote of Wisconsin, as usual. I ought also to say that you sadly under-estimate the quality of our patriotism if there shall gain lodgment

for a moment here the belief that we trifle with this convention, in this crisis of the party's life and of the country's good, by urging upon its notice a name simply by way of compliment to a favorite son. Those for whom I speak deem this an hour for wise counsel and deliberate judgment in the interest of the people, not for compliment to any man. They agree that he who is to lead this great party in the campaign upon which we now enter, must be chosen, not because his State asks it, not because his friends demand it, not because he wants it, but because and only because the people want and need him. The order of the impending conflict is to be quite new to us. The beating of the long roll is not to summon us, as hitherto, from our tents to repel attack. The bugle notes which call us into action will sound the advance. Those who lead us are to head a storming party against a foe alert and prepared to receive our onset, strongly entrenched behind works which they have been long building. The rank and file of the Republican party look trustfully to this convention for wisdom, and they will tolerate no mistakes. They demand for leaders those who have walked the mountain ranges in full view of men; who have kept their feet out from the swamps and the bogs of life; whose careers afford no ambush ground for the enemy; who are strong in the robust and attractive qualities of leadership; men who came from the ranks of the people; who have borne the burdens of life common to the people; men whose adherence to the principles of the party has been "without variableness or shadow of turning;" men whom the people may cheerfully and without mental or moral protest follow to the end, for what they are and for what they have done, and for what they may be reasonably expected to do.

Tall men; sun-crowned, who live above the fog

In public duty and in private thinking.

Wisconsin sends you such a man. Is it against him that he does not come from a doubtful State? I deny that fidelity to Republican principles has undergone such deterioration as to diminish the availability of one's candidacy in proportion as the unyielding Republicanism of the State in which he finds his home has placed her above suspicion of defection. If in this I claim too much; if the voice of Wisconsin must fall upon unwilling ears because of the steadfastness of her political faith, so be it; but "by the same token," your candidate should not come from Maine, or Pennsylvania, or Ohio, or Illinois, or Michigan, or Iowa. Holding, therefore, to the highest standard of party duty, and demanding the subordination of all personal ambition to party welfare, bowing in advance to the decree of this convention, the Republicans of Wisconsin, with enthusiastic unanimity, have instructed their delegation to name to you as their choice for the first place, one who, by a long life of conspicuous public service in divers fields of effort, has proven his right to stand the peer of any man in stainless character, in patriotic devotion to the best interests of the country, in political sagacity, in unerring judgment of men, in heroic courage—many times shown in the rush and whirl of battle—and in extraordinary executive capacity. His name is not unfamiliar to the country. It is Jeremiah M. Rusk, the honored governor of Wisconsin. Gov. Rusk possesses what seems in these days to be considered by many a fundamental element of eligibility to such a candidacy; he was born in the State of *Ohio*! He spent his youth and young manhood in the rough but disciplinary work of the farm. Over three decades ago he sought a home in one of the newer counties of Wisconsin. Rich in nothing but brain, and brawn, and principle, and honorable ambition, accustomed to hardship, and not ashamed to labor, he cheerfully mounted the driver's seat of a frontier stage-coach, as Lincoln, in early life, went out from the rude cabin of his father with the axe upon his shoulder to split rails the long day through, and as Garfield sought and followed the tow-path of the canal, thence through a life of high endeavor, to enter the portals of the White House. [Confusion, and cry of "Time."]

Mr. GREEN of Nebraska. Mr. President, there is a great deal of confusion among the delegates in the back part of the room, and it seems to me, as a matter of courtesy, that we ought to keep quiet and listen to the speaker.

The PRESIDENT. A very good idea.

Mr. SPOONER. Gentlemen, the man for whom I speak here under great disadvantage to a wearied convention fought for three years "mid shot and shell and saber stroke" for you and your homes, and never called "Time;" he would have been fighting yet if the enemy had not surrendered. And I, therefore, feel that I have a right under the circumstances, disagreeable as it is, to bespeak your quiet attention for a few moments while I present his case to you. It is testified by those who knew our young Ohioan in those days that he never wandered from the road, or upset the coach. Never an office seeker, he drew to himself from the outset the confidence of his neighbors, and was chosen by them to various county positions. Like one now conspicuous in public life, in no good quality or attainment his peer, he held and discharged the duties of the office of Sheriff of his county, but, lest prejudice arise from this similarity of career, perhaps I ought to say that *capital punishment had then been abolished in Wisconsin!* When the fearful cloud which had been so long gathering in our political sky burst upon the country with the fury of a tempest; when that flag was no longer sacred from the assaults of treason; when the Union—the source of all our strength and prosperity and hope—was to struggle for its life, he answered the call of Lincoln, and, leaving those who were dearer than aught else on earth but his country, he found straightway the front, and there rode again and again, calm and intrepid, on bloody fields, where the missiles of the enemy "were weaving the air with lines of death and danger" above him and about him; and he turned homeward his face only when the angel of peace gave the glad command "Right about," and he saw the flag under whose folds he had marched and fought with Sherman to the sea, the emblem of a union redeemed and regenerated by patriot valor and blood, "with a star for every State, and a State for every star," and, under God's blessing, the only flag ever again to float upon the breeze as the ensign of our people. Loved by those whom he had led, honored and trusted by those whom he had served, he marched back with the star of a General upon his shoulder, well-earned in the hell of battle, to give again into the keeping of his State, stained and tattered, but glorified by battle names never to be forgotten, the standard which he had borne with him to the front. After serving with remarkable financial ability as Bank Controller of the State, the banner Republican district of Wisconsin sent him to the halls of the National Congress. There for six years he rendered faithful, patriotic and able service to the district and to the country. In the Forty-third Congress he served as Chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and, as in that day, both in the Congress and at the White House, the pension was held a debt of honor, to be cheerfully paid, he was able to render to the surviving soldiers of the Union army, and to the widows and orphans of the dead, a service which they have not forgotten or ceased to appreciate. With the expiration of his present term, the unprecedented honor will be his of having served as Governor of his State for seven consecutive years. He has so borne himself in every detail of duty in this high office as to win the confidence and respect of his constituency, regardless of party lines, and as to endear himself to every man throughout the country who has the brain to discern and the heart to appreciate that the only sure guaranty of our liberties is in the prompt and strict enforcement of the law. It will be well and long remembered to the honor of this man that when insidious and dangerous elements in our midst, wearied of sapping in secret the foundations of our

social fabric, came boldly into the sunlight with the red flag of anarchy, when men shrank back affrighted at the horrid sight of death in Chicago's streets, when the cry went up from the metropolis of Wisconsin to the chamber of the Executive for the protection which well-executed law throws alike around the rich man's palace and the poor man's home, it found there no timorous, vacillating demagogue to whisper honeyed words into the ears of a mob, but a man, with clear eye to discover his duty, and the strength of purpose to discharge it. Tender and sympathetic as a woman's, he yet met emergency with a hand of iron, and, with the universal commendation which his acts evoked, he gave it to be understood at home and beyond the seas that this is a Nation of *law*; that this people has the strength and the will to purge itself of hostile forces, and that neither anarchy, communism, nor any kindred abomination can find a permanent, prosperous abiding place in this land of ours. The comrade of labor from his youth up, the favorite of the farmer, because himself a farmer, with a just sense of property rights, but never the ally or tool of monopoly, his career would successfully challenge the confidence of every deserving class. Take him, gentlemen of the convention, for your leader and the Republican party of Wisconsin bids me pledge you, that when the fierce white light of the campaign shall beat upon him it will disclose no weakness in his armor, no spot upon his shield, and when our victory shall have been won you will have installed in the White House once again an American President in favor of protecting American labor and upbuilding American industries, of enforcing to the full extent of executive power the constitutional right of a free ballot and a fair count; who knows that wise liberality is the only true economy, and that the truest statesmanship, as well as the highest patriotism, is to strengthen and dignify one's own Nation. Gentlemen of the convention, I know how kind it has been in you to listen to me under the circumstances. I thank you with all my heart for your courtesy.

The PRESIDENT. Gov. Rusk of Wisconsin is in nomination. Is there a second? [After a pause.] The Clerk will call the roll of the Territories.

At the conclusion of the roll call:

The PRESIDENT. That is the end of the roll call.

Mr. MILLER of New York. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

Mr. MILLER. I rise to make a motion at the request of the friends of all the candidates who have now been presented to this convention, and it is this: That this convention do now adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow.

The motion was agreed to, and at 7:25 P. M. the convention adjourned until 11 A. M. Friday, June 22, 1888.

FOURTH DAY.

FRIDAY, June 22, 1888.

The convention met pursuant to adjournment, and was called to order at 11:05 A. M. by the President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. [Mr. Frank Hiscock of New York in the Chair.] The first proceeding in the convention will be a prayer by the Rev. Dr. John H. Worcester of this city.

PRAYER BY THE REV. J. H. WORCESTER.

The Rev. JOHN H. WORCESTER offered the following prayer:

Let us pray. Lord God of hosts who holdest the destinies of nations in Thine hand; without whose favor we cannot prosper; before whose frown we cannot stand; we praise Thee for Thy signal favor to this Nation through all its history, for the heritage which Thou has given us, for the way by which Thou hast led us, for the chastisements with which Thou hast disciplined us, for the deliverances which Thou hast granted us, and for the human instruments through whose wisdom, courage, and self-sacrifice those deliverances have come. To-day, Lord, our God, be with us, as He was with our Father. Guide Thou the destinies of this Nation in days to come. Still further purge us from iniquity, exalt us in righteousness, and make our trust now and evermore to be only in Thee. Guide Thou the work of this day. May the spirit that rules this hour be not a spirit of narrow partisanship, but of broad patriotism. May unworthy motives and selfish ambitions have no place here. May there be no doing of evil that good may come. May there be a sense of responsibility to Thee, to whom all must give account, and may the righteousness that exalteth a Nation be conspicuously honored in the methods of this convention, and in its choice. May it please the Almighty God, who directest the minds of men, to direct the minds of men this day, as they shall propose men for the suffrages of a great people, that those thus set forth may be men after Thine own heart, eminent in wisdom, spotless in character, worthy to be exalted to the high dignity and to bear the great responsibility of the highest office in the gift of this Nation; and may the final outcome of all that is here done be the furtherance of truth, of justice, of freedom, of equal rights, of stable government, of peace within and without, and above all, the greater glory of Thy most holy name, which we ask through Jesus Christ, our Lord. AMEN.

BALLOTING FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The regular order of business is the call of the roll of States for the selection of a candidate for President. The Secretary will proceed with the call.

Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts. *Mr. President:* Let the rule be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It has been suggested by Senator Hoar of Massachusetts that the rule be read. Will the Secretary read Rule 7?

Reading Clerk LANNING read as follows:

In making the nominations for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it appears at the close of any roll call that any candidate has received a majority of all the votes to which the convention is entitled, the President of the convention shall announce the question to be, "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" But if no candidate shall have received such majority the Chair shall direct the vote to be taken again, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes; and when any State has announced its vote it shall so stand, unless in case of numerical error.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* In all cases where a State is divided in its choice of a candidate, whenever the first announcement has been made of any votes in that delegation for any particular candidate, no other candidate will be named from that State until the Secretary has called back the name of the candidate already presented, to know that his tally is right. The Secretary will now proceed with the call.

During the call of the roll:

When California was called:

Mr. HAYMOND of California. California casts her 16 votes for James G. Blaine. [Disorder.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The convention will be in order. The Secretary will proceed with the roll call.

After Colorado had been called:

Mr. HERR of Michigan. The Secretary neglected to call back the vote of Colorado. Some of us could not hear it.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Colorado, Gresham 3, Harrison 2, Allison 1.

When Florida was called:

A DELEGATE. We want the vote of Colorado.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman will repeat the vote of Colorado.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Allison 1, Gresham 3, Harrison 2. [Disorder.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The convention will be in order. The Chairman of the delegation from Florida will again announce the vote of that State.

Mr. W. M. LEDWITH of Florida. 1 for Harrison, 4 for Sherman, and 3 for Fittler.

When Georgia was called:

A DELEGATE from Michigan. Will the Secretary call the vote of Florida again, so we can all understand it?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The convention must be in order. It is very desirable that delegates hear the vote as announced, and it will save time in repeating it upon the call, if the convention will be in order while the vote is being announced.

Mr. BAYNE of Pennsylvania. I suggest that the Clerk repeat the vote when announced.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Do you desire to have it repeated twice?

Mr. BAYNE. I desire the clerk to repeat the vote after it shall have been given.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no objection that way will be pursued.. Some gentleman has asked to have one vote already delivered, repeated. What State?

A DELEGATE. Florida.

ANOTHER DELEGATE. Delaware.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Florida, 3 for Fitler, 1 for Harrison, and 4 for Sherman.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Now then, he will repeat the vote of Delaware. Gentlemen will not add to the confusion while the vote is being announced.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Delaware, 6 for Harrison.

The Reading Clerk announced the vote of Georgia as given by the Chairman of the delegation: Sherman 20, Gresham 1, Lincoln 1, Harrison 2.

Mr. E. A. BUCK of Georgia. There are only 23 votes in the convention from Georgia. I made a mistake in announcing one vote, and I repeat the vote: Gresham 1, Lincoln 1, Harrison 2, Sherman 19.

When Kansas was called:

Mr. OSBORN of Kansas. In obedience to the unanimous, or almost unanimous wish of the Republicans of Kansas, 17 of her 18 delegates cast their votes for the Hon. John J. Ingalls. One delegate who is instructed for Mr. Blaine, desires that I shall so announce his vote.

When Kentucky was called, there was much disorder.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair appeals to the galleries and to the convention that during the call of any State absolute silence should be maintained. It is necessary that the Clerk shall correctly receive the vote of the State, and for the convention to understand it.

When Louisiana was called:

Mr. KELLOGG of Louisiana. Louisiana casts 8 votes for Sherman, 2 for Gresham, 2 for Allison, 2 for Alger, 1 for Depew, and 1 for Harrison.

Mr. L. P. SMITH of Louisiana. I rise for a poll of the vote of these gentlemen. [Cries of "No."]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the right of the gentleman from Louisiana, and the polling will be proceeded with.

The vote was as follows:

Sherman—William Pitt Kellogg, P. T. Herwig, P. B. S. Pinchback, James Lewis, C. B. Darrall, William Harper, A. H. Leonard, John E. Breaux, Napoleon Lastrapes—9.

Allison—Henry C. Minor, George Gell, David Young—3.

Alger—L. P. Smith, Thos. W. Wickham—2.

Gresham—Andrew Hero, Jr.—1.

Depew—Henry C. Warmoth—1.

Mr. KELLOGG. For the information of the delegation and of the convention, I request that the name of the gentleman who asked for the polling of vote of this delegation be announced.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Well, that depends upon the delegate himself, or upon any gentleman who chooses to announce it. The Chair did not understand his name.

Mr. KELLOGG. Louis P. Smith. I now ask for whom Louis P. Smith voted.

Mr. SMITH. Russell A. Alger.

When the vote of Maine was announced, there was confusion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. I must appeal to the convention to maintain order until the final announcement of the vote of a State.

After the announcement of the vote of Maryland:

The PRESIDING OFFICER. I again appeal to the galleries to refrain from any expression until the final announcement of the vote of a State.

When Minnesota was called:

Mr. JAMES O'BRIEN of Minnesota. Minnesota casts 1 for Alger, 2 for Depew, and 11 for Gresham.

Mr. STEENERSON of Minnesota. I except to that, and ask that a vote of the delegation be taken.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair did not understand the gentleman.

Mr. STEENERSON. I except to the announcement of the vote of Minnesota, and ask that the roll be called.

Reading Clerk LANNING called the roll, and the vote was as follows:

Gresham—Frank F. Davis, Joel P. Heatwole, C. G. Edwards, James O'Brien, George B. Edgerton, M. N. Leland, H. J. Miller, Peter Johnson, W. J. Feaney, C. L. Lewis, H. Steenerson—11.

Depew—G. G. Hartley, M. S. Chandler—2.

Alger—R. B. Langdon—1.

When Missouri was called:

Mr. FILLEY of Missouri. Sherman 6, Alger 6, Harrison 3, Gresham 11, Allison 3, Blaine 2.

Mr. HESS of Missouri. I ask for the polling of the vote.

Mr. FILLEY. I will repeat the vote: Sherman 6, Alger 6, Harrison 3, Gresham 11, Allison 3, Blaine 1, Depew 2.

Mr. HESS. That is all right. I wave my demand for a call.

When North Carolina was called:

Mr. JAMES H. HARRIS of North Carolina. Harrison 1, Depew 1, Blaine 1, Alger 2, John Sherman, 15.

A DELEGATE. I object. There are two votes for Gresham here.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Harris] will repeat the vote of that State.

Mr. HARRIS. Harrison 1, Depew 1, Gresham 2, Blaine 1, Alger 2, Sherman 15.

The DELEGATE. All right.

When the vote of Oregon was announced it could not be heard.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentlemen will have to announce the vote again, and in a louder tone of voice.

Mr. J. W. CUSICK of Oregon. 4 for Gresham, 2 for Harrison, 1 for Blaine.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. You cannot do that. You have only 6 votes. [Laughter.] The convention will be in order. The gentleman has announced a surplus of votes. [Laughter.]

Mr. CUSICK. Gresham 4, Harrison 1, Blaine 1.

When Pennsylvania was called:

Mr. QUAY of Pennsylvania. Blaine 1, Russell A. Alger 1, William Walter Phelps 3, Chauncey M. Depew 8, Edwin A. Fittler 16, Sherman 31.

Mr. WILLIAM FLINN of Pennsylvania. I ask for a poll of the Pennsylvania vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll. Each delegate, as his name is called, will rise and announce his vote.

Reading Clerk LANNING called the roll.

When the name of J. Merrill Linn was called:

Mr. QUAY. Mr. Linn is not in the convention at present, having stepped out.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is his alternate here?

Mr. QUAY. He is present for him, and will be here in a minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Call his name.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Rufus Elder.

Mr. ELDER. Sherman.

The vote was as follows:

Sherman—D. H. Hastings, B. F. Gilkeson, Joseph Bosler, Augustus M. High, W. J. Whitehouse, S. J. M. McCarrell, E. M. Woomer, William N. Reynolds, Thomas B. Boyd, William K. Jones, Ellery P. Ingham, Rufus Elder, Samuel S. Woods, George S. Schmidt, George T. Swank, C. M. Watson, C. L. Magee, William Flinn, Thomas M. Bayne, Peter Walter, Jr., George M. Von Bonnhorst, John P. Moore, W. C. Thompson, William Kyle, William B. Roberts, S. A. Davenport, H. H. Cumings, J. W. Cochran, Archibald B. Kelly—29.

Fittler—William R. Leeds, H. H. Bingham, Edward S. Stuart, David H. Lane, Hamilton Disston, Henry Clay, John Hunter, James McManes, Charles A. Porter, David Martin, Thomas W. South, Isaac Johnson, Louis R. Walters, Frank Reeder, Franklin H. Hersch, Francis Shroder, S. M. Seldonridge, Hugh Young, 18.

Phelps—M. S. Quay, Thomas C. Walton, Joseph A. Scranton, Edward P. Kingsbury, D. D. Phillips—5.

Depew—Henry W. Oliver, D. A. Beckley, Charles H. Mullin, William M. Henry, J. H. Hagerty—5.

Blaine—Edwin S. Osborne, William S. Hammond—2.

Alger—L. C. Darte—1.

When South Carolina was called:

Mr. W. F. MEYERS of South Carolina. Ingalls 1, Fittler 2, Depew 1, Alger 3, Sherman 11.

Mr. F. L. HICKS of South Carolina. I doubt the vote from South Carolina, and request that the delegation be polled.

Reading Clerk LANNING called the roll, and the result was as follows:

Sherman—W. F. Meyers, W. N. Taft, Robert Smalls, J. M. Freeman, Paris Simkins, J. R. Talbot, F. A. Saxton, Z. E. Walker, E. H. Deas, T. B. Johnston, G. E. Herriott—11.

Alger—Fred Nix, Jr., F. L. Hicks, C. C. Levy—3.

Fitler—E. M. Brayton, T. J. Tuomey—2.

Depew—E. A. Webster—1.

Ingalls—P. F. Oliver—1.

When Tennessee was called:

Mr. GEORGE MANEY of Tennessee. Allison 1, Harrison 1, Depew 2, Blaine 4, Sherman 7, Alger 9.

Mr. A. A. TAYLOR of Tennessee. I ask for a poll of the vote. [Disorder.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair again appeals to the convention. The confusion made by the galleries simply delays the proceedings. What does the gentleman desire?

Mr. TAYLOR. A poll of the vote of Tennessee.

Reading Clerk LANNING called the roll, and when the name of Mr. Taylor was reached:

Mr. TAYLOR. I rise to a question of privilege.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman will state his question of privilege.

Mr. TAYLOR. As a delegate from Tennessee I am here under most positive instructions, and, in accordance with these instructions, therefore, cast a vote for James G. Blaine.

Mr. TAFT of South Carolina. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. What is the point of order?

Mr. TAFT. My point of order is that the gentleman stated no question of privilege, and therefore violated the rules of this convention.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman did not state a question of privilege and did violate the rules of the convention, and I hope it will not be repeated.

The vote was as follows:

Alger—Samuel A. McElwee, George Maney, G. W. Hill, W. N. Hoge, C. E. Stanley, C. Beatty, W. J. Lyle, Thomas J. Brogan, H. L. W. Cheatham—9.

Sherman—L. C. Houk, Eugene S. Priest, R. S. Montgomery, J. B. Bosley, A. M. Hughes, Jr., W. H. H. Butler, John E. McCall—7.

Blaine—Newton Hacker, W. W. Woodruff, A. A. Taylor—3.

Depew—S. N. Williams, Isham F. Norris—2.

Gresham—G. W. Winstead—1.

Allison—R. R. Butler—1.

Harrison—J. C. Dougherty—1.

When the vote of Texas was announced there was disorder.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman [Mr. Rector] will have to repeat the vote. I again appeal to the galleries not to interrupt the roll call.

Mr. RECTOR repeated the vote.

When Virginia was called:

Mr. S. BROWN ALLEN of Virginia. I ask that the delegation from Virginia be polled.

Reading Clerk LANNING called the roll.

There was no response, or at least none was heard, when the name of Winfield Scott was called, and the Reading Clerk called the name of the alternate, William E. Sims, and the response was "Alger."

Mr. WISE of Virginia. William E. Sims is an alternate, but he is absent.

Reading Clerk LANNING. He voted for Mr. Scott.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary did not hear the response of Mr. Scott, and therefore called the name of the alternate.

Mr. WISE. It is Winfield Scott that will vote now.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Winfield Scott.

Mr. SCOTT. Alger.

When the name of Mr. Riddleberger was called:

Mr. RIDDLEBERGER. I would like to vote for Blaine if he were in nomination, but under the circumstances I vote for Allison.

When the name of H. W. Williams was called, there was no response.

Mr. WISE. He is absent, and his alternate will vote for him.

Reading Clerk LANNING. J. W. C. Bryant.

Mr. BRYANT. Harrison.

The vote was as follows:

Sherman—William Mahone, John G. Watts, S. Brown Allen, A. W. Harris, O. D. Foster, E. D. Lee, John S. Wise, Charles Gee, John M. Langston, M. B. Wood, W. A. French—11.

Harrison—Patrick O'Connor, George W. Jackson, Y. T. Brown, John A. Frazier, J. W. C. Bryant—5.

Alger—Winfield Scott, J. H. Pedigo, D. F. Houston—3.

Allison—Harry Libby, H. H. Riddleberger, John F. Lewis—3.

Gresham—O. E. Hine—1.

Rusk—Morgan Treat—1.

When Dakota was called:

Mr. MOODY of Dakota. Allison 1, Rusk 1, Gresham 1, Harrison 1, Sherman 1, Alger 1, Fitler 1, Depew 2, Phelps 1. [Laughter.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The convention will be in order.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Alger 1, Fitler 2, Gresham 1, Harrison 1, Rusk 1, Sherman 1, Blaine 1, Phelps—

Mr. MOODY. There is a mistake in the call.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Alger 1, Allison 1, Depew 2, Fitler 1, Gresham 1, Phelps 1, Sherman 1, Rusk 1.

A DELEGATE from Dakota. Harrison 1.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Harrison 1.

A DELEGATE from Dakota. I call for a poll. [Cries of "No, no."]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The vote of Dakota will again be announced.

Mr. MOODY. The gentleman seems to have a grievance. One vote is changed from Phelps to Hawley. Otherwise it is satisfactory.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is the poll of the State still insisted upon, the vote having been changed? [Cries of "No, no. Go on."]

The call for a poll was not renewed.

At the conclusion of the call of States:

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will now announce the vote. The convention will be in order.

Reading Clerk LANNING announced the vote as follows:

Whole number of votes.....	831
Necessary to a choice	416
Sherman	229
Gresham	107
Depew	99
Alger	84
Harrison	85
Allison	72
Blaine	35
Ingalls	28
Phelps	25
Rusk	25
Fittler	24
Hawley	13
Lincoln	3
McKinley	2

THE FIRST BALLOT.

The ballot in detail was as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES	VOTES	ALGER	ALLISON	DEPEW	FITLER	GRESHAM	HARRISON	HAWLEY	INGALLS	PHELPS	RUSK	SHERMAN	BLAINE	LINCOLN	McKINLEY
Alabama	20	6		1			1					12			
Arkansas	14					1	1		10			2			
California	16												16		
Colorado	6		1			3	2								
Connecticut	12							12							
Delaware	6						6								
Florida	8				3		1					4			
Georgia	24					1	2					19		1	
Illinois	44					44									
Indiana	30					1	29								
Iowa	26		26												
Kansas	18								17				1		
Kentucky	26	4		1		5	4					12			
Louisiana	16	2	3	1	1	1						9			
Maine	12	3	2	3		1	2					1			
Maryland	16		2	1	1	1	5					5			
Massachusetts	28	6	2	1		2	4					2	2	2	
Michigan	26	26													
Minnesota	14	1		2		11									
Mississippi	18			1		3						14			
Missouri	32	6	3	2		11	3					6	1		
Nebraska	10	12	3			1					1	3			
Nevada	6	3	3												
New Hampshire	8			4			4								

STATES AND TERRITORIES	VOTES	ALGER	ALLISON	DEFEW	FITLER	GRESHAM	HARRISON	HAWLEY	INGALLS	PHELPS	RUSK	SHERMAN	BLAINE	LINCOLN	McKINLEY
New Jersey	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	...	...	...	...	...
New York	72	...	...	71	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	1	...	...
North Carolina	22	2	...	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Ohio	46	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	46	...	...	...
Oregon	6	...	...	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Pennsylvania	60	1	...	5	18	...	...	...	...	5	...	29	2	...	...
Rhode Island	8	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Carolina	18	3	...	1	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	11	...	...	...
Tennessee	24	9	1	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	7	3	...	...
Texas	26	2	7	...	...	5	1	...	...	1	...	7	1	...	2
Vermont	8	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Virginia	34	3	3	...	...	1	5	...	...	...	1	11	...	...	...
West Virginia	12	1	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	5	2	...	...
Wisconsin	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	...	...	...	...
Arizona	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dakota	10	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	...	...	1	1	2	...	...
District of Columbia	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Idaho	2	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Montana	2	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Mexico	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Utah	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Washington	6	...	1	...	...	3	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Wyoming	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	832	84	72	99	24	107	85	13	28	25	25	229	35	3	2

The PRESIDING OFFICER. No candidate having received a majority of the votes, the Clerk will again call the roll of States.

Reading Clerk STONE. Alabama. [Disorder.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The convention must be in order. The Secretary cannot proceed with the roll call until the convention is in order.

Reading Clerk STONE again called Alabama, but there was no response.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The State of Alabama has been called. [Disorder.] The convention will be in order.

Mr. SMITH of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Mr. Smith of Pennsylvania.

Mr. SMITH. Before the convention enters upon the second ballot I desire to say a single word.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman can proceed only by the unanimous consent of the convention.

SEVERAL DELEGATES. I object.

Mr. SMITH. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, for the purpose of withdrawing a name. [Cries of "No, no."]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that the gentleman desires to withdraw from before the convention the name of one of the candidates who has been voted for.

SEVERAL DELEGATES. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair hopes there will be no objection.

Mr. SMITH. *Mr. President*: Grateful for the very complimentary support given to the candidate of a portion of the Pennsylvania delegation, and on their behalf expressing their thanks to the delegates from the other States

who have done him the honor to vote for him, I now withdraw the name of Edwin H. Fittler of Pennsylvania. [Confusion.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The convention will be in order.

Mr. WARNER of Alabama. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. WARNER. Will the Chair announce the name of the candidate withdrawn?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Mr. Fittler of Pennsylvania.

When Kentucky was called:

Mr. WILLSON of Kentucky. I will ask to have Kentucky polled. There is a mistake in the count—one vote that we cannot account for.

Reading Clerk STONE called the roll of delegates.

When the name of William O. Bradley was called there was no response and Reading Clerk Stone called his alternate, Hugh Mulholland, Jr., who also failed to respond.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is his alternate present.

Mr. WILLSON. I had his [Mr. Bradley's] vote for Alger, and he has gone out.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no objection his vote will be recorded as stated by the Chairman of the delegation.

When the name of Andrew Thompson was called:

Mr. WILLSON. He is not here.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the alternate give his name to the Chair?

Mr. JOHN W. SAYERS of Kentucky. John Sayers.

Reading Clerk STONE. For whom does he vote?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will he announce his vote?

Mr. SAYERS. Alger.

The vote was as follows:

Sherman—George M. Thomas, E. U. Fordyce, A. E. Willson, W. P. Hampton, John M. Wilson, John P. Ernst, Louis Lebus, John Bennett, John W. Langley, G. L. Kirkpatrick, E. A. Hobson—11.

Gresham—John W. Lewis, N. S. Allison, Ed. W. Glass, W. S. Taylor, Wm. Cassius Goodloe, W. W. Patterson—6.

Alger—William O. Bradley, John W. Sayers, Charles M. Pendleton—3.

Blaine—George Denny, W. J. Deboe, W. W. Jones—3.

Harrison—George W. Jolly, Logan McKee—2.

Depew—W. A. Warford—1.

Reading Clerk STONE. Alger 3, Depew 1, Gresham 6, Harrison 2, Sherman 11, Blaine 3. [Disorder.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The vote of Kentucky will again be announced, and the Chair again appeals to the convention to be in order.

Reading Clerk STONE announced the vote as directed.

When South Carolina was called:

Mr. MEYERS. Depew 1, Harrison 1, Alger 8, Sherman 8.

Mr. HICKS of South Carolina. I ask that the vote of the delegation be polled.

Reading Clerk STONE called the roll, and the vote was as follows:

Sherman—W. F. Meyers, W. N. Taft, Robert Smalls, J. M. Freeman, Paris Simpkins, J. R. Tolbert, Z. E. Walker, E. H. Deas, T. B. Johnston—9.

Alger—E. M. Brayton, Fred Nix, Jr., F. L. Hicks, P. F. Oliver, F. A. Saxton, C. C. Levy, G. E. Herriott—7.

Depew—E. A. Webster, T. J. Tuomey—2.

Reading Clerk STONE. South Carolina 18, Alger 7, Depew 2, Harrison 1, Sherman 9.

A DELEGATE. That is wrong.

Reading Clerk STONE. South Carolina 18, Alger 7, Depew 2, Sherman 9.

When Virginia was called:

Mr. ALLEN of Virginia. I ask for a call of the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The roll of the delegates of Virginia will be called, and the convention will be in order.

When the name of Mr. Pedigo was called there was no response.

Mr. WISE of Virginia. Mr. Sims is his alternate.

Reading Clerk STONE. Wm. E. Sims.

Mr. SIMS. Alger.

The vote was as follows:

Sherman—William Mahone, John G. Watts, S. Brown Allen, A. W. Harris, O. D. Foster, F. D. Lee, John S. Wise, Charles Gee, John M. Langston, M. B. Wood, W. A. French—11.

Harrison—Patrick O. Connor, Morgan Treat, Y. T. Brown, J. A. Frazier, H. W. Williams—5.

Alger—Winfield Scott, W. E. Sims, D. F. Houston, George W. Jackson—4.

Allison—Harry Libby, H. H. Riddleberger, John F. Lewis—3.

Gresham—O. E. Hine—1.

At the conclusion of the call of the States:

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The convention will be in order to receive the result of the vote.

Reading Clerk STONE announced the result, as follows:

Whole number	830
Necessary to a choice	416
<i>Sherman</i>	249
<i>Alger</i>	116
<i>Gresham</i>	108
<i>Depew</i>	99
<i>Harrison</i>	91
<i>Allison</i>	75
<i>Blaine</i>	33
<i>Rusk</i>	20
<i>Phelps</i>	18
<i>Ingalls</i>	16
<i>Lincoln</i>	2
<i>McKinley</i>	3

THE SECOND BALLOT.

The ballot in detail was as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES	VOTES	ALGER	ALLISON	DEPEW	GRESHAM	HARRISON	INGALLS	PHELPS	RUSK	SHERMAN	BLAINE	LINCOLN	MCKINLEY
Alabama	19	7	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	11	...	...	...
Arkansas	14	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
California	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	...	...
Colorado	6	...	1	...	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Connecticut	12	1	4	6	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Delaware	6	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Florida	8	3	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	4	...	...	...
Georgia	24	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	19	...	1	...
Illinois	44	...	...	...	44	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indiana	30	...	...	...	2	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Iowa	26	...	26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kansas	13	...	...	...	...	...	16	...	...	...	1	...	1
Kentucky	26	3	...	1	6	2	...	...	...	11	3	...	...
Louisiana	16	3	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...
Maine	12	3	2	3	1	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Maryland	16	...	...	...	1	6	...	...	...	6	...	...	...
Massachusetts	28	7	1	1	2	5	...	...	...	9	2	...	1
Michigan	26	26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Minnesota	14	1	...	2	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mississippi	18	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...
Missouri	32	10	1	2	9	3	...	...	...	6	1	...	...
Nebraska	10	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	...
Nevada	6	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Hampshire	8	...	...	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Jersey	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	...	...	...	...	...
New York	72	...	...	71	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
North Carolina	22	4	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	15	1	...	...
Ohio	46	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	46	...	...	...
Oregon	6	...	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Pennsylvania	60	2	...	1	...	4	...	...	...	53	...	...	...
Rhode Island	8	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Carolina	18	7	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...
Tennessee	24	8	3	1	1	2	...	...	...	7	2	...	...
Texas	26	3	8	...	5	1	...	...	...	6	1	...	1
Vermont	8	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Virginia	24	4	3	...	1	5	...	...	...	11	...	...	...
West Virginia	12	1	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	5	2	...	...
Wisconsin	22	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	19	...	...	...	...
Arizona	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dakota	10	...	1	2	2	3	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
District of Columbia	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
Idaho	2	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Montana	2	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Mexico	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Utah	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Washington	6	1	1	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wyoming	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Totals	832	116	75	99	108	91	16	18	20	249	33	2	3

The PRESIDING OFFICER. No candidate having received a majority of the votes, the Secretary will again call the roll. [After a pause.] The convention will now be in order, and the roll call will be proceeded with.

Reading Clerk BALLARD called the roll.

When Georgia was called:

Mr. BUCK of Georgia. Lincoln 1, Harrison 2, Gresham 2, Sherman 18.

Mr. W. A. PLEDGER of Georgia. *Mr. President:* I ask for a poll of the vote. I would like very much to have the vote of my State polled.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be polled.

A DELEGATE from Minnesota. I rise to a point of order. If I understand Rule 8 correctly, the gentleman is not entitled to a poll of the delegation unless he takes exception to the announcement made by the Chairman.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is assumed that he does when he asks for a poll of the State.

Mr. PLEDGER. I withdraw the demand.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The demand is withdrawn.

Reading Clerk BALLARD. Georgia 24 votes; Gresham 2, Harrison 2, Sherman 18, Lincoln 1.

Mr. BUCK. That is right.

When Pennsylvania was called:

Mr. QUAY of Pennsylvania. Depew 1, Alger 1 Harrison 5, Sherman 53.

Mr. ISAAC JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. I call for the polling of the Pennsylvania vote. [Cries of "No," and disorder.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The convention will be in order. The Secretary will call the roll.

Reading Clerk BALLARD called the roll, and the vote was as follows:

Sherman—M. S. Quay, D. H. Hastings, Henry W. Oliver, Wm. R. Leeds, H. H. Bingham, Edwin S. Stuart, David H. Lane, Hamilton Disston, Henry Clay, John Hunter, James McManes, Charles A. Porter, David Martin, Thomas W. South, B. F. Gilkeson, Joseph Bosler, Frank Reeder, Thomas C. Walton, Augustus M. High, Joseph A. Scranton, Edward P. Kingsbury, Edwin S. Osborne, D. D. Phillips, W. J. Whitehouse, S. J. M. McCarrell, E. M. Woomer, William N. Reynolds, Thomas B. Boyd, William K. Jones, Ellery P. Ingham, D. A. Beckley, J. Merrill Linn, Samuel S. Woods, George S. Schmidt, Charles H. Mullin, William S. Hammond, George T. Swank, William M. Henry, C. M. Watson, C. L. Magee, William Flinn, Thomas M. Bayne, Peter Walter, Jr., George M. Von Bonnhorst, John P. Moore, W. C. Thompson, William Kile, William B. Roberts, S. A. Davenport, H. H. Cumings, J. W. Cochran, J. H. Hagerty, Archibald N. Kelly—53.

Harrison—Isaac Johnson, Louis R. Walters, Franklin H. Hersh, Francis Shroder, S. M. Seldomridge—5.

Alger—L. C. Darte.—1.

Depew—Hugh Young.—1.

When Texas was called:

Mr. N. W. CUNEY of Texas. I ask that the delegation be polled.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the gentleman object to or challenge the vote on the ground of incorrectness as rendered by the Chairman?

Mr. CUNEY. I do not think it is correct, and ask for the calling of the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair asks if it is challenged on the ground of incorrectness.

Mr. CUNEY. Yes.

Reading Clerk BALLARD called the roll.

There was no response to the name of J. P. Alexander.

Mr. RECTOR of Texas. He is absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is his alternate here?

Reading Clerk BALLARD called A. L. Dodson, the alternate, and there was no response.

The vote was as follows:

Sherman—C. M. Ferguson, Webster Flanagan, Samuel J. Wright, John S. Coffey, H. C. Ferguson, W. H. Blunt—6.

Allison—N. W. Cuney, M. A. Baker, Joshua Houston, Alexander Asbury. A. J. Johnson, M. M. Rogers, E. W. Morton—7.

Gresham—John B. Rector, A. J. Rosenthal, C. F. Alterman, J. C. De Gress, R. F. Campbell—5.

Alger—J. W. Hearne, H. M. Spaulding—2.

Blaine—George W. Burkitt, L. B. Fish, W. F. Crawford—3.

McKinley—R. B. Rentfro—1.

Harrison—E. H. Terrell—1.

When Virginia was called:

Mr. WISE of Virginia. I ask for the call of the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Virginia. For what purpose?

Mr. H. O. FAIRCHILD of Wisconsin. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. *Mr. President*, I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. There can be no polling of the vote under the rule until the vote has been announced by the Chairman, and an exception to the count has been taken.

Mr. WISE. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. WISE. *Mr. President*: I quite agree with the propriety of the gentleman's suggestion, and with a view to that it has been our effort to select some gentleman who should speak for this delegation as Chairman. We have, however, been unable to get a united meeting of the twenty-four delegates, and to avoid the unpleasantness of contention we call immediately for the poll of the vote. [Laughter.] I ask for unanimous consent that that method shall be pursued as the shortest and most satisfactory.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Virginia asks for unanimous consent to have a roll call of the State of Virginia. The Chair submits to the convention that it will save time if it is had. The Chair hears no objection. The Secretary will call the roll.

Reading Clerk BALLARD called the roll.

There was no response to the name of J. H. Pedigo.

Mr. WISE. He is not present; call his alternate.

Reading Clerk BALLARD. Wm. E. Sims.

Mr. SIMS. Alger.

There was no response to the name of H. W. Williams.

Mr. WISE. He is not here. His alternate is Mr. Bryant.

Reading Clerk BALLARD. J. W. C. Bryant.

STATES AND TERRITORIES	VOTES	ALGER	ALLISON	DEWEY	GRESHAM	HARRISON	PHELPS	RUSK	SHERMAN	BLAINE	LINCOLN	McKINLEY	MILLER
Minnesota	14	1	...	12	11	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	...
Mississippi	18	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Missouri	32	11	12	12	9	12	...	...	4	12	...	...	...
Nebraska	10	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...
Nevada	6	4	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Hampshire	8	...	...	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Jersey	18	...	4	1	...	4	4	...	2	...	...	3	...
New York	72	...	...	71	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
North Carolina	22	5	...	...	...	1	1	...	15	...	...	...	...
Ohio	46	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	46	...	...	...	...
Oregon	6	...	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Pennsylvania	60	1	...	1	...	5	...	...	53	...	...	...	...
Rhode Island	8	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Carolina	18	11	...	...	...	1	...	...	6	...	...	...	...
Tennessee	24	9	3	1	1	...	...	...	7	3	...	...	...
Texas	26	2	7	...	5	1	...	...	6	3	...	1	...
Vermont	8	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Virginia	24	4	3	...	...	5	...	...	10	...	...	...	...
West Virginia	12	1	...	...	2	1	...	...	5	2	...	1	...
Wisconsin	22	...	...	...	4	1	...	16	1	...	...	...	...
Arizona	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dakota	10	...	1	1	3	3	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
District of Columbia	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Idaho	2	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Montana	2	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Mexico	12	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Utah	12	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Washington	6	1	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wyoming	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Totals	832	122	88	91	123	94	5	16	244	35	2	8	2

Mr. MILLER of New York. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes Senator Miller of New York. [Confusion.]

A DELEGATE. *Mr. President*—

ANOTHER DELEGATE. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair has already recognized Senator Miller of New York.

Mr. MILLER. *Mr. President*: At the request of a large number of delegates with whom I have consulted, I now move that this convention take a recess until 7 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to, and at 1:59 P. M. the convention took a recess until the hour named in the motion.

EVENING SESSION.

The convention reassembled at 7 P. M. and was called to order at 7:11.

The PRESIDENT. The convention will come to order.

After music by the band:

Mr. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW of New York. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

MR. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW WITHDRAWS HIS NAME.

Mr. DEPEW. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I came here as a delegate-at-large from the State of New York, neither expecting nor desiring to appear in this convention or before it in any other capacity. After my arrival the representatives of New York, by a unanimous vote, presented my name to this convention. It was done for State reasons, in the belief that, because it was the only time since the organization of the Republican party that all divisions could be healed and all interests united in the Empire State, it would secure in that Commonwealth the triumph of the ticket. Under these conditions, personal consideration and opinions could have no possible weight. Since then a discussion has arisen which has convinced me that my vocation and association will raise questions in hitherto sure Republican States which may enable the enemy to obscure the great issue of the future industrial prosperity of the country which, unless it can be obscured in some way, will surely win us success this fall. The delegation had voted to continue in this support so long as ballots were to be taken, but, under the circumstances, after a most earnest and prayerful consideration, I came to the conclusion that no personal considerations, no State reasons, could stand for a moment in the way of the general success of the party all over this country, or could be permitted to threaten the integrity of the party in any Commonwealth which had been hitherto Republican. In our own State, by wise laws, and the wiser submission to them by the railroad companies, the railway problem has been so completely settled that it has disappeared from our politics; but I believe that there are communities where it is still so acute that there may be danger in having it presented directly or indirectly. Under these circumstances, and after your votes this morning, I called upon the delegation from my own State and requested them to release me from further service in this capacity. They have consented, and my only excuse in appearing here is to give the reason for their action, for the appearance of my name, and to express my heartfelt thanks to the gentlemen from the States and Territories who have honored me with their suffrages. The causes which have led to this action on the part of the State of New York, now that this judgment has been arrived at, will leave no heart-burnings among the Republicans of that State. The delegation will go home to a constituency which was unanimous to find it unanimous in the support of whoever may be the nominee of this convention.

Mr. WISE of Virginia. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. JAMES R. HALLOWELL of Kansas in the chair.) Mr. Wise of Virginia.

Mr. WISE. Allow me to interrupt the proceedings for a moment. Virginia was delayed in sending in the name of committeemen by the division growing out of the contest. The majority of the delegation instruct me to announce as the Chairman of the delegation, John S. Wise; member of the National Committee, James P. Brady; and the committee to notify the nominees, the Hon. Harry Libby.

Mr. HASTINGS of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. HASTINGS. I am authorized and directed to make the motion, inasmuch as the central point to be gained as the result of our action is unity and harmony and a cordial agreeing upon the nominee of this convention, which will surely take place, as it will be for the best interests of this convention, and for the best interest of the party and the country, and there-

fore, sir, I do now move that we adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning [Cries of "No"], and upon that motion I ask that the roll of States be called. [Cries of "No."]

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. I second the motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are you authorized to demand that by your State?

Mr. HASTINGS. I am authorized by the unanimous vote of Pennsylvania to make the motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is it seconded by any other State?

Mr. GREEN of Nebraska. In behalf of a number of delegates sitting around me, who cordially indorse the sentiments of the mover of the resolution to adjourn, I second the motion.

Mr. FILLEY of Missouri. In behalf of the majority of the Missouri delegation I second the motion.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. In behalf of the delegation from the State of Iowa, unanimously expressed, I second the motion.

Mr. BULLA of North Carolina. In behalf of the majority of the North Carolina delegation I second the motion to adjourn.

Mr. ADAM E. KING of Maryland. In behalf of the majority of the Maryland delegation I cordially second the motion to adjourn.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A sufficient number of States having seconded the motion to adjourn, the roll will now be called. The Clerk will call the roll. Those in favor of adjournment when the State is called will say aye; those opposed, no. [Confusion and disorder.] The galleries must preserve order. The Clerk will proceed to call the roll.

When Arkansas was called, there was more disorder.

Mr. GREEN of Nebraska. It is impossible for us to hear in this part of the hall.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We will not proceed with the roll call until order is restored. The galleries are requested to preserve order.

A DELEGATE. Those back here do not know what the roll is being called on.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On a motion to adjourn.

The DELEGATE. To what time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning. The Clerk will proceed.

When Colorado was called, there was disorder.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We must have order. It is impossible to proceed with this roll call without it.

When New York was called.

Mr. DEPEW of New York. Ayes 9. Noes 63.

Mr. JOHN D. LAWSON of New York. I ask that the vote of New York be polled.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Clerk will call the roll of the delegates from New York.

Reading Clerk MARTIN called the roll.

There was no response to the name of M. J. Dady.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. How does the gentleman vote?

Mr. DEPEW. He is not here. Call his alternate.

Reading Clerk MARTIN. Henry E. Townsend.

Mr. DEPEW. He is absent.

There was no response when the name of Sheridan Shook was called.

Mr. DEPEW. Call his alternate.

Reading Clerk MARTIN. Robert A. Greacen.

Mr. GRAECEN. No.

The vote resulted as follows:

Ayes—T. L. Woodruff, W. J. Taylor, Arthur E. Bateman, Stephen B. French, John D. Lawson, John F. Plummer, Joseph Mullin, John M. Bailey, R. W. Thompson, H. H. Warner—10.

Noes—Frank Hiscock, Warner Miller, James H. Platt, Jesse Johnson, John J. O'Brien, John R. Nugent, Alfred R. Whitney, Robert A. Greacen, Donald McLean, James W. Husted, H. J. Sarles, Obed Wheeler, Marvin D. Wheeler, James S. Smart, J. A. Quackenbush, John A. Sleicher, Jas. P. Angersinger, David A. Wells, L. W. Emerson, George M. Gleason, S. R. Campbell, Henry A. Phillips, David Wilber, Hobart Krum, Francis Hendricks, Edward Keator, Stephen C. Millard, Chauncey M. Depew, Thomas C. Platt, W. S. Cogswell, G. W. Harman, Theodore B. Willis, Chas. Engert, Lewis E. Nicot, George B. Deane, Charles N. Taintor, George Hilliard, Robert R. Hamilton, Fred S. Gibbs, Solon B. Smith, John McClave, W. H. Robertson, Charles St. John, Jr., Louis F. Payne, Jacob Lefever, Cyrus B. Martin, George B. Sloan, John H. Camp, J. S. Fassett, John W. Dwight, Stephen T. Hoyt, J. F. Parkhurst, John B. Hamilton, L. N. Humphrey, H. F. Tarbox, O. G. Warren, John Laughlin, Harvey F. Gaskell, John B. Weber, Frank W. Higgins, Jerome B. Fisher—61.

Reading Clerk MARTIN. *Ayes* 10. *Noes* 61.

When Texas was called there was great confusion, many of the delegates being on their feet.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Gentlemen will take their seats. Let us have order. This convention has not adjourned.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. *Mr. President*: I rise to a question of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman will please state the question of order.

Mr. DAVIS. The question of order is that, in the event the ayes have it, Col. Ingersoll be invited to address this convention.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman is out of order. The Clerk will proceed with the call of the roll. Gentlemen must observe order. [Continued confusion.] Let us have order until we get through with this roll call.

At the conclusion of the roll call:

Mr. KING of Maryland. *Mr. President*: Before the vote is announced I desire to state that there is a misapprehension with reference to the vote of Maryland, and to ask permission to correct that vote. The vote of Maryland stands 8 ayes and 8 noes.

The vote had been announced as 12 ayes and 3 noes; so the correction was made.

Mr. FESSENDEN of Connecticut. *Mr. President:* I miscalled the vote—8 ayes and 4 noes. It is just the opposite—4 ayes, 8 noes.

The correction was made.

Mr. JACKSON of Alabama. *Mr. President:* I wish to correct the vote of Alabama. It is 19 ayes and 1 no.

The original announcement was 20 ayes, and the correction was made.

Reading Clerk MARTIN announced the result to be:

Ayes	531
Noes	287

The vote in detail was as follows:

States and Territories.	Votes, Ayes, Noes.			States and Territories.	Votes, Ayes, Noes		
Alabama	20	19	1	New Jersey	18	7	11
Arkansas	14	14	..	New York	72	10	61
California	16	16	..	North Carolina	22	19	3
Colorado	6	6	..	Ohio	46	46	..
Connecticut	12	4	8	Oregon	6	3	2
Delaware	6	..	6	Pennsylvania	60	50	10
Florida	8	3	4	Rhode Island	8	8	..
Georgia	24	21	1	South Carolina	18	12	6
Illinois	44	30	12	Tennessee	24	15	7
Indiana	30	..	30	Texas	26	11	12
Iowa	26	26	..	Vermont	8	..	8
Kansas	18	18	..	Virginia	24	10	13
Kentucky	26	14	10	West Virginia	12	7	5
Louisiana	16	16	..	Wisconsin	22	..	22
Maine	12	12	..	Arizona	2	2	..
Maryland	16	8	8	Dakota	10	..	10
Massachusetts	28	21	7	District of Columbia	2	2	..
Michigan	26	25	1	Idaho	2	2	..
Minnesota	14	10	4	Montana	2	2	..
Mississippi	18	18	..	New Mexico	2	..	2
Missouri	32	21	11	Utah	2	2	..
Nebraska	10	10	..	Washington	6	3	3
Nevada	6	6	..	Wyoming	2	2	..
New Hampshire	8	..	8				
				Totals	832	531	287

The PRESIDING OFFICER [at 8:14 P. M.]. The majority of this convention having voted to adjourn, the convention stands adjourned until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

FIFTH DAY.

SATURDAY June 23, 1888.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment, and was called to order at 10:08 A. M., by the President.

The PRESIDENT. The Convention will come to order. [After a pause.] Senator Miller of New York will preside.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Convention will be in order. Bishop Fallows of the city of Chicago, will now open with prayer.

PRAYER BY BISHOP SAMUEL FALLOWS.

Bishop FALLOWS offered prayer as follows:

Let us pray. O, eternal God, our Heavenly Father, by Thy merciful providence we are brought to this present hour in our individual and national life. We pray Thee to multiply Thy blessings upon our country east and west, north and south, securing equal rights to all, equal and exact justice to all, that thus peace, prosperity, and continual progress may be enjoyed. Let Thy blessing rest upon Thy servant the President of the United States, and all in authority. Let Thy richest blessings rest upon the beloved General of our armies, to whom so many of us are peculiarly bound by the unspeakably precious ties of comradeship. Graciously grant him, we pray Thee, another Winchester in his struggle for life. Let Thy blessing rest upon our homes, the foundation of the Republic, hallowing and protecting them from every foe; upon the love which binds together husband and wife, and father and mother and children. Let Thy blessing rest upon our schools, making them nurseries of a high morality and a pure patriotism. Let Thy blessing rest upon our workshops, sanctifying them by the presence of the divine Christ of Nazareth, who did not disdain to be called a carpenter's son, and whose hands, holy, harmless, undefiled, engaged in earthly toil, and who, though now seated upon the throne of His everlasting glory, is human still. We pray Thee to unite more firmly in our country justly requited labor to intelligence, to personal dignity, to virtue, to honor; and those, O God, whom Thou hast joined together, let no man put asunder. Let Thy blessing rest upon all our churches, standing as they do to express the glorious truth of the fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man. All these blessings we ask now to rest upon us, but especially do we pray, O Heavenly Father, that at this critical hour in the proceedings of this Convention, Thy blessing of supreme wisdom may be given to these Thy servants. Save them from all error and ignorance, from pride and prejudice, from passion and discord. May the men they shall select to stand for the principles which compact this great party together be men of clean hands and pure hearts, serving God and working righteousness, and the name of Him in whose most perfect form of words we sum up all our petitions, shall have the praise

forever. Our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever. AMEN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Convention will be in order. The regular order of business is the calling of the roll by the Clerk.

Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. LEWIS. I rise to a question of privilege.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman will state the question of privilege.

Mr. LEWIS. Yesterday the Kentucky delegation was polled. I see that all the newspapers of this city report me this morning as having voted for Alger on the last ballot. I voted for Mr. Gresham on that ballot, as I did on the other two ballots taken yesterday. I desire to have the Secretary consult the original record to see whether or not my vote is properly recorded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The correction will be made by the official stenographer. We cannot look up the record now, but we will see that the correction is made. The Clerk will proceed with the call of the roll.

When Connecticut was called:

A DELEGATE from Texas. I rise to a question of privilege.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Texas rises to a question of privilege. He will state it.

The DELEGATE. There is so much confusion around here that I do hope the delegates will be quiet.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. We would like to have the vote of Colorado repeated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be repeated. The Chair calls upon the delegates to be as quiet as possible, so that all may hear the result as announced. The vote of Colorado will be repeated.

Reading Clerk BALLARD. Colorado 6; Allison 2, Gresham 3, Harrison 1.

When the vote of Connecticut was announced, there was one for Wm. McKinley, Jr., of Ohio.

MR. MCKINLEY WITHDRAWS HIS NAME.

Mr. MCKINLEY of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. MCKINLEY. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am here as one of the chosen representatives of my State. I am here by resolution of the Republican State Convention of Ohio commanding me to vote for John Sherman, and to use every worthy endeavor to accomplish his nomination. I accepted the trust because my heart and my judgment approved of the letter, and the spirit, and the purpose of that resolution. Some of the delegates in this convention have been pleased to give me their votes. I am not insensible of the honor which they would do me, or of the confidence

which their action implies, but I cannot with honor longer remain silent. I cannot, gentlemen of this convention, consistently, with the credit of the State whose credentials I bear, and which has trusted me—I cannot consistently, with honorable fidelity to John Sherman, who has trusted me in his cause with his confidence; and above all, I cannot with my sense of personal integrity, permit my name to be used in this convention. I would not respect myself if I could find it in my heart to say, to do, or to permit any one else to say or do that which would give currency even to a suspicion that I was disloyal to the State which I love, or wavered in my devotion to the chief of her choice and to the chief of mine. I do request, gentlemen of this convention, aye, I demand, that no delegate in this convention who does not want to cast reflection upon me shall cast a further ballot for me.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Clerk will proceed with the call of the roll. When Kentucky was called:

MR. WILLSON of Kentucky. One delegate is absent now, Mr. W. A. Harford. I ask that the alternate be called. We cannot reach him in the convention. The alternate on your record. I haven't the name. It is on your record.

Reading Clerk BALLARD. H. C. Metcalf.

Some one said, "Harrison."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The alternate, if present, will rise in his place. Votes cannot be cast here unless we know that they are genuine. If the alternate is in this room he will arise and announce his vote. Let him come forward to the delegation. [Voices: "He is coming."]

MR. WILLSON. Mr. Harford is present now, and casts his vote for Harrison, which makes Harrison 6, and gets the vote straight.

When New York was called:

MR. DEPEW of New York. Harrison 59, Blaine 8, Alger 4, Sherman 1.

MR. LAWSON of New York. I ask that the New York vote be polled.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The vote of the delegates from New York will now be polled.

When the name of Arthur E. Bateman was called:

MR. DEPEW. He is absent, and his alternate is also absent.

When the name of George Hilliard was called, there was considerable disorder.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair must request all persons in this convention to remain quiet while the roll is being called. You are delaying the business of the convention very greatly. (To the Reading Clerk.) Proceed.

There was no response to the name of Sheridan Shook.

MR. DEPEW. Call his alternate.

Reading Clerk BALLARD, Robert A. Greacen.

MR. GREACEN. Blaine.

There was no response when the name of Solon B. Smith was called.

MR. DEPEW. Mr. Smith is absent. Call his alternate.

Reading Clerk BALLARD. John H. Gunner.

MR. GUNNER. Blaine.

When the name of George West was called:

Mr. JAMES P. ANGERSINGER. Mr. West is absent. I am his alternate. Reading Clerk BALLARD. James P. Angersinger.

Mr. ANGERSINGER. Harrison.

When the name of John Laughlin was called:

Mr. LAUGHLIN. *Mr. President:* I came here this morning intending to vote for Mr. Depew until a nomination was made, but at his urgent request I refrain from doing so, and believing with the majority of our delegation that, next to New York, Indiana is the most important, I vote for Harrison.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman is out of order.

The result of the vote was as follows:

Harrison—Frank Hiscock, Chauncey M. Depew, Warner Miller, Thomas C. Platt, Jas. H. Platt, William S. Cogswell, T. L. Woodruff, Jesse Johnson, M. J. Dady, Theodore B. Willis, Chas. Engert, Louis E. Nicot, Charles N. Taintor, Alfred R. Whitney, Robert R. Hamilton, John F. Plummer, Donald McLean, William H. Robertson, James W. Husted, Charles St. John, Jr., H. J. Sarles, Louis F. Payne, Obed Wheeler, Jacob Lefever, M. D. Wheeler, J. S. Smart, John A. Quackenbush, John M. Bailey, John A. Sleicher, Jas. P. Angersinger, David A. Wells, Robert W. Thompson, L. W. Emerson, George M. Gleason, Joseph Mullin, Samuel R. Campbell, Henry A. Phillips, David Wilbur, Hobart Krum, Francis Hendricks, Edward Keator, Stephen C. Millard, Cyrus B. Martin, George B. Sloan, John H. Camp, J. S. Fassett, John W. Dwight, J. F. Parkhurst, John B. Hamilton, H. H. Warner, L. N. Humphrey, H. F. Tarbox, O. G. Warren, John Laughlin, Harvey F. Gaskill, John B. Weber, Frank W. Higgins, Jerome B. Fisher—58.

Blaine—W. J. Taylor, George B. Deane, John J. O'Brien, John R. Nugent, Robert A. Graecen, Fred S. Gibbs, John H. Gunner, Stephen T. Hoyt—8.

Alger—Stephen B. French, George Hilliard, John McClave—3.

Allison—Granville W. Harman—1.

Sherman—John D. Lawson—1.

When North Carolina was called:

Mr. JAS. H. HARRIS of North Carolina. Gresham 1, Harrison 2, Alger 6, Sherman 13.

Mr. D. C. PEARSON of North Carolina. I demand a poll of the vote of North Carolina.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Has the Chairman of the delegation finished declaring the vote?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Upon what ground does the gentleman demand a poll?

Mr. PEARSON. I object to it, sir.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman cannot object unless he objects to it upon the ground that it has not been correctly stated.

Mr. PEARSON. I doubt the accuracy of the vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All right, then, the vote will be polled.

After Mr. Pearson's name was called:

Mr. JAS. H. HARRIS. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We will have this vote announced. That is the order of business.

Mr. HARRIS. The Clerk failed to call the delegates from the last—the ninth district.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. What are the names?

Mr. HARRIS. The delegates are J. Wylie Shook and G. W. Crawford.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. According to the roll here prepared by the National Committee, there are only eight districts in North Carolina.

A DELEGATE from North Carolina. There are nine.

Mr. HARRIS. Then the National Committee do not know what the number of districts in that State is. [Laughter.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All right. We have another roll here that gives it.

Mr. HARRIS. What?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is a corrected roll which gives the Ninth District. What are the names?

Mr. HARRIS. J. W. Shook and G. W. Crawford.

Reading Clerk BALLARD. J. W. Shook.

Mr. SHOOK. Alger.

Reading Clerk BALLARD. G. W. Crawford.

Mr. Crawford's answer was not heard.

A DELEGATE from Michigan. How did the Secretary announce that last vote?

Reading Clerk BALLARD. How did Mr. Crawford vote?

Mr. CRAWFORD. For Harrison.

The result of the poll was as follows:

Sherman—John C. Darcey, Hugh Cole, R. L. Parrott, O. J. Spears, George T. Wassom, J. C. L. Harris, W. A. Pattillo, D. L. Russell, J. W. Gordon, J. J. Mott, G. M. Bulla, T. J. Dula, D. C. Pearson—13.

Alger—Thomas N. Cooper, James H. Harris, C. M. Bernard, L. G. Estes, J. H. Williamson, J. W. Shook—6.

Harrison—Elihu A. White, G. W. Crawford—2.

Gresham—J. A. Hoskins—1.

When the State of Virginia was called:

Mr. WISE. Please call the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The roll of the Virginia delegates will be called.

When the name of S. Brown Allen was called:

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If delegates will rise the Clerk will hear the responses much more readily.

There was no response to the name of J. H. Pedigo.

Mr. WISE. Mr. Sims, the alternate, is present.

Reading Clerk BALLARD. W. E. Sims.

Mr. SIMS. Alger.

When the name of H. W. Williams was called.

Mr. WISE. His alternate is present.

Reading Clerk BALLARD. J. W. C. Bryant.

Mr. BRYANT. Harrison.

The result of the poll was as follows:

Sherman—William Mahone, John G. Watts, S. Brown Allen, A. W. Harris, O. D. Foster, F. D. Lee, Charles Gee, John M. Langston, M. B. Wood, W. A. French—10.

Harrison—Patrick O'Connor, John S. Wise, Morgan Treat, D. F. Houston, O. E. Hine, Y. T. Brown, J. A. Frazier, J. W. C. Bryant—8.

Alger—Winfield Scott, W. E. Sims, George W. Jackson—3.

Allison—Harry Libby, H. H. Riddleberger, John F. Lewis—3.

At the conclusion of the roll call:

Mr. JACKSON of Alabama. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. JACKSON. There was an error in the casting of the vote of Alabama. I ask that the Chair call the roll. [Disorder.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair cannot hear. Wait until the convention comes to order.

Mr. JACKSON. I ask to have the roll of Alabama called.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is not certain that that can be done. What is the error in Alabama? Let it be stated. The Chair cannot permit the call again, if it proposed to change the vote, as the rules are directly against it. If there has been a mistake in the count it can be corrected, but not otherwise.

Mr. JACKSON. I will state to the Chair, if the Chair is willing, that one delegate upon leaving the hall stated to me how to put down his vote. I forgot it after finishing the call of the roll, and his alternate called another name. So there was an error, and if there is any fault it is mine.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is no error in the delegate voting as he saw fit, and whatever vote his alternate cast must stand. It cannot be changed until the next roll call.

Mr. JACKSON. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman is out of order. No business is in order until the result of this ballot is declared.

Mr. JACKSON. I will state, Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman is out of order, and will take his seat.

Mr. ALBERT BOYD of Alabama. *Mr. President*: If I vote for one man, and the Chairman casts it for another, can it not be corrected?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman is out of order. The Clerk will announce the result of the ballot.

Reading Clerk BALLARD announced the result as follows:

Whole number	828
Necessary to a choice	415
Sherman	235
Harrison	216
Alger	135
Gresham	98

Allison	88
Blaine	42
McKinley	11
Lincoln	1
Foraker	1
Frederick Douglass	1

THE FOURTH BALLOT.

The ballot in detail was as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES	VOTES	ALGER	ALLISON	GRESHAM	HARRISON	SHERMAN	BLAINE	LINCOLN	MCKINLEY	FORAKER	DOUGLAS
Alabama	20	10			1	8					
Arkansas	14	14									
California	16						16				
Colorado	6		2	3	1						
Connecticut	12	1	6	4					1		
Delaware	6			1	5						
Florida	8	4				2					
Georgia	24			1		19		1			
Illinois	44			41							
Indiana	30				30						
Iowa	26		26								
Kansas	18			3	8		5				
Kentucky	26	3	2	2	6	10	1			1	1
Louisiana	16	3	3			9					
Maine	12	3	4	1	2	2					
Maryland	16				8	6					
Massachusetts	28	8	2	1	8	7			2		
Michigan	26	26									
Minnesota	14	2		5	7						
Mississippi	18					14	1				
Missouri	32	13	1	11	3	2	1				
Nebraska	10	2	5			3					
Nevada	6	4	2								
New Hampshire	8	1	1	1	5						
New Jersey	18		3	2	7	2			4		
New York	72	3	1		58	1	8				
North Carolina	22	6		1	2	13					
Ohio	46					46					
Oregon	6			4	1		1				
Pennsylvania	60				7	53					
Rhode Island	8		8								
South Carolina	18	10			2	6					
Tennessee	24	9	1		2	8	4				
Texas	26	3	9	3	1	7	1		2		
Vermont	8				8						
Virginia	24	3	3		8	10					
West Virginia	12	1		2	3	2	2		2		
Wisconsin	22			2	20						
Arizona	2	2									
Dakota	10		3	1	4	2					
District of Columbia	2						2				
Idaho	2	1			1						
Montana	2		1	1							
New Mexico	2	1				1					
Utah	2		2								
Washington	6	2		3	1						
Wyoming	2					2					
Totals	832	135	88	98	216	235	42	1	11	1	1

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority not having voted for any candidate, the Clerk will again call the roll. [Disorder.] The convention will be

in order and the delegates will take their seats. The Clerk will call the roll.

During the announcement of the vote of Connecticut there was considerable disorder in the galleries.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair must insist upon order. We will not proceed with the calling of this roll unless we have order. The Clerk cannot hear, and the delegates cannot hear the votes as announced.

When Missouri was called:

Mr. FILLEY. Only 31 votes, one delegate being absent.

When New York was called:

Mr. DEFEW. Will you pass New York for a moment? There is nothing except a mistake in the count; that is all.

The PRESIDING OFFICER [to the Reading Clerk]. Pause for them.

Mr. HERR of Michigan. *Mr. President:* Can the Clerk go on?

Mr. Depew, having finished the count, announced the vote.

When Tennessee was called.

Mr. MANEY of Tennessee. Tennessee asks to be passed for a moment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The convention will have to wait for Tennessee; we cannot go on.

Mr. MANEY. The list is not perfected.

About two minutes thereafter the vote was announced.

When Virginia was called:

Mr. WISE. Call the roll.

Reading Clerk LANNING called the roll.

There was no response to the name of H. W. Williams.

Mr. WISE. His alternate, Mr. Bryant, is present.

Reading Clerk LANNING. J. W. C. Bryant.

Mr. BRYANT. Harrison.

At the conclusion of the roll call:

Mr. WISE. Before the vote is announced—one of the delegates from the Sixth District intended to vote for Alger, and it was called Harrison.

Reading Clerk LANNING. George W. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Alger.

The result of the poll was as follows:

Sherman—William Mahone, John G. Watts, S. Brown Allen, A. W. Harris, O. D. Foster, F. D. Lee, Charles Gee, John M. Langston, M. B. Wood, W. A. French—10.

Harrison—Patrick O'Connor, John S. Wise, W. F. Houston, O. E. Hine, Y. T. Brown, J. W. C. Bryant—6.

Allison—Harry Libby, H. H. Riddleberger, John F. Lewis—3.

Alger—Winfield Scott, J. H. Pedigo, George W. Jackson—3.

Blaine—Morgan Treat, J. A. Frazier—2.

Mr. GREEN of Nebraska. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Clerk will proceed with the call.

At the conclusion of the call, Reading Clerk LANNING announced the result as follows:

Whole number	827
Necessary to a choice.....	414
Sherman	224
Harrison	212
Alger	143
Allison	99
Gresham	87
Blaine	48
McKinley	14

THE FIFTH BALLOT.

The ballot in detail was as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES	VOTES	ALGER	ALLISON	GRESHAM	HARRISON	SHERMAN	BLAINE	McKINLEY
Alabama	20	8	...	...	12	9	1	...
Arkansas	14	14	...	...	...	...	...	...
California	16	...	...	...	...	...	16	...
Colorado	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...
Connecticut	12	2	6	3	...	...	...	1
Delaware	6	...	1	1	2	...	1	...
Florida	9	5	...	...	1	2	...	...
Georgia	24	...	...	1	...	20	...	...
Illinois	44	...	41	...	...	...	...	...
Indiana	30	...	...	1	29	...	...	...
Iowa	26	...	26	...	...	...	...	...
Kansas	18	...	12	3	8	...	4	1
Kentucky	26	8	...	12	8	7	1	...
Louisiana	16	3	12	12	...	9	...	...
Maine	12	3	5	1	2	1	...	...
Maryland	16	...	4	...	6	6	...	...
Massachusetts	28	4	3	1	10	5	4	1
Michigan	26	26	...	...	...	...	...	...
Minnesota	14	3	...	3	7	...	1	...
Mississippi	18	...	...	...	...	15	1	...
Missouri	32	14	1	10	2	1	2	1
Nebraska	10	2	5	...	...	3	...	...
Nevada	6	4	2	...	...	...	...	...
New Hampshire	8	...	...	...	8	...	...	...
New Jersey	18	...	5	2	4	1	...	6
New York	72	5	1	...	58	1	6	...
North Carolina	22	9	...	...	12	11	...	...
Ohio	46	...	...	...	...	46	...	...
Oregon	6	...	...	4	1	...	1	...
Pennsylvania	60	...	...	...	7	53	...	...
Rhode Island	8	...	8	...	...	...	...	...
South Carolina	18	10	...	...	2	6	...	...
Tennessee	24	10	1	...	2	5	4	...
Texas	26	2	11	3	2	7	...	1
Vermont	8	...	...	...	8	...	...	...
Virginia	24	3	3	...	6	10	2	...
West Virginia	12	2	...	...	3	2	2	3
Wisconsin	22	...	...	2	20	...	...	...
Arizona	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dakota	10	...	3	1	5	1	...	...
District of Columbia	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
Idaho	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
Montana	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
New Mexico	2	1	...	...	...	1	...	...
Utah	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
Washington	6	3	...	2	1	...	...	...
Wyoming	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
Totals	832	143	99	87	212	224	48	14

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority not having voted for any candidate, the Clerk will again call the roll.

Mr. FOSTER of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Ohio, Gov. Foster.

Mr. FOSTER. I move you, sir—[Disorder.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Gentlemen of the convention will please be in order.

Mr. FOSTER. I move you, sir, that the convention now take a recess until 4 o'clock. [Cries of "No, no."]

Mr. DUFFIELD of Michigan. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. DUFFIELD. I second the motion for a recess until 4 o'clock.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It has been moved and seconded that the convention take a recess until 4 o'clock this afternoon.

A DELEGATE. Let us have a vote by States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is the convention ready for the question? [Confusion and disorder.] No vote will be had until order is restored, and until delegates have the privilege of demanding the call of the roll if they desire it. It can be had in the proper way. [Cries of "Call the roll."] The roll call has not been properly demanded.

Mr. SEWELL of New Jersey. On behalf of the New Jersey delegation I demand a call of the States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the gentleman demand it on behalf of his State

Mr. SEWELL. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The State of New Jersey demands a roll call by States. Is that demand seconded?

Mr. W. P. HUBBARD of West Virginia. West Virginia seconds the call of the roll by States.

Mr. GREEN of Nebraska. Nebraska seconds the call.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The demand has been seconded by the proper number of States, and the roll will be called. The question is whether the convention shall now take a recess until 4 o'clock.

Reading Clerk STONE proceeded to call the roll.

When Florida was reached, there was much disorder.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Clerk will not proceed with the calling of the roll until order is restored. The delegates will take their seats. The Sergeant-at-Arms will proceed into the aisles and see that the delegates take their seats. No further business will be done until this order is observed. [After a pause.] The Clerk will proceed with the call.

Reading Clerk STONE called to Missouri, when the call was suspended, owing to the confusion, the vote being as follows:

States and Territories.	Votes. Ayes. Noes.			States and Territories.	Votes. Ayes. Noes.		
Alabama	20	19	1	Delaware	6	5	..
Arkansas	14	14	..	Florida	8	8	..
California	16	16	..	Georgia	24	23	..
Colorado	6	6	..	Illinois	44	33	11
Connecticut	12	12	..	Indiana	30	28	2

States and Territories.	Votes.	Ayes.	Noes.	States and Territories.	Votes.	Ayes.	Noes.
Iowa	26	26	..	Massachusetts	28	22	6
Kansas	18	18	..	Michigan	26	26	..
Kentucky	26	17	9	Minnesota	14	13	1
Louisiana	16	16	..	Mississippi	18	18	..
Maine	12	12	..	Missouri	32	26	5
Maryland	16	14	2				

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is impossible for the Clerk to hear the responses, and if this convention proposes to adjourn at all, it will first have to come to order. The Chair appeals to the delegates to take their seats. The confusion is rather upon the floor of the convention by the delegates themselves, than in the galleries. If the Sergeant-at-Arms will do their duty, as I have ordered them to do, and clear the aisles, we can proceed.

Mr. SEWELL of New Jersey. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. SEWELL. As it is quite apparent that the majority of this convention desires to adjourn at present, I ask leave to withdraw the demand for the call of the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from New Jersey asks unanimous consent to withdraw the demand for the call of the roll. Is there any objection [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The question now is, will this convention take a recess until 4 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to, and at 12:01 P. M. the convention took a recess until the hour stated.

EVENING SESSION.

The convention met pursuant to adjournment, and was called to order at 4:10 P. M.

The PRESIDENT. The convention will come to order.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Alabama.

The PRESIDENT. Wait a moment. The Sergeant-at-Arms will see that gentleman take their seats.

Sergeant-at-Arms FITZ SIMONS. The Chair requests that the gentlemen of the convention take their seats.

The PRESIDENT. And that the audience keep quiet during roll call.

Sergeant-at-Arms FITZ SIMONS. That the galleries and the guests keep absolute quiet while the roll is being called.

Mr. KING of Maryland. I move that this convention adjourn without ballot until 11 o'clock Monday morning. [Cries of "No."]

The PRESIDENT. It is moved that this convention adjourn until Monday morning at 11 o'clock.

Mr. KING. Without ballot.

Mr. SPAULDING of Michigan. Is that motion seconded?

The PRESIDENT. It does not require a second, but the Clerk will call the roll. The Chair will not assume the responsibility of adjourning this convention at any time after balloting begins. If the convention desires, it can take a vote by division, and then it can be seen how the vote stands.

Mr. FORAKER of Ohio. Ohio calls for a vote by ballot on this motion.

The PRESIDENT. There can be a call of States. What States demand it? A DELEGATE from Kansas. Kansas as well as Ohio.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Is this motion to adjourn to Monday morning at 11 o'clock?

The PRESIDENT. It is.

Mr. HENDERSON. Iowa also seconds the demand.

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will call the roll. The question is: Shall this convention now adjourn until Monday morning at 11 o'clock? [Cries of "No, no," and "Yes, yes."] Those in favor of adjourning when the Clerk calls their State, will say aye; those opposed to adjourning will say no. The Clerk will call the roll on the question of adjournment.

Reading Clerk LANNING called Alabama again. [Disorder.]

The PRESIDENT. The Sergeant-at-Arms will see that gentlemen take their seats.

Sergeant-at-Arms FITZ SIMONS. The Chair directs that gentlemen take their seats while the roll is being called.

When Illinois was called:

Mr. CHAS. B. FARWELL of Illinois. Illinois asks to be passed for a moment.

At the conclusion of the call, Illinois was called again.

Mr. FARWELL. Ayes, 37; noes, 7.

Mr. WARNER of Alabama. I desire to ask if the Chair has any information as to railroad tickets which expire today—whether they will be good any longer.

A DELEGATE. I desire the Chair to state whether railroad tickets which expire to-day will be extended.

The PRESIDENT. The National Committee will attend to that. [Confusion and disorder.]

Sergeant-at-Arms FITZ SIMONS. The galleries will be in order for an announcement. The Chair desires me to announce that the last coupon on the fifth day's ticket will serve for entrance and secure seats Monday morning if an adjournment is obtained. Delegates' tickets will be honored as usual. All proper passes remain good until the end of the sessions. The National Committee will attend to the extension of the railroad tickets.

Mr. HAYMOND of California. *Mr. President—*

Secretary CLISBEE. Let me say to the convention that all tickets issued by the railroad companies will be honored until the day of the adjournment of the convention and one day after, by order of the Central Traffic Association.

Mr. HAYMOND. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from California.

Mr. HAYMOND. Upon this side of the house we all voted for an adjournment, supposing we did it at the request of New York—

The PRESIDENT. All debate is out of order. Announce the vote.

Reading Clerk LANNING did so as follows. Ayes, 492; noes, 320.

The vote in detail was:

States and Territories.	Votes. Ayes. Noes.			States and Territories.	Votes. Ayes. Noes.		
Alabama	20	16	4	New York	72	..	72
Arkansas	14	14	..	North Carolina	22	12	10
California	16	16	..	Ohio	46	38	8
Colorado	6	6	..	Oregon	6	..	6
Connecticut	12	6	5	Pennsylvania	60	55	5
Delaware	6	2	4	Rhode Island	8	6	2
Florida	8	8	..	South Carolina	18	18	..
Georgia	24	22	1	Tennessee	24	17	4
Illinois	44	37	7	Texas	26	26	..
Indiana	30	..	30	Vermont	8	..	8
Iowa	26	26	..	Virginia	24	10	14
Kansas	18	18	..	West Virginia	12	1	9
Kentucky	26	4	16	Wisconsin	22	4	18
Louisiana	16	16	..	Arizona	2	2	..
Maine	12	12	..	Dakota	10	..	10
Maryland	16	14	2	District of Columbia....	2	2	..
Massachusetts	28	14	12	Idaho	2	..	2
Michigan	26	..	26	Montana	2	2	..
Minnesota	14	..	14	New Mexico	2	..	2
Mississippi	18	14	3	Utah	2	2	..
Missouri	32	15	13	Washington Territory....	6	2	4
Nebraska	10	10	..	Wyoming	2	..	2
Nevada	6	6	..				
New Hampshire	8	1	7	Total	832	492	320
New Jersey	18	18	..				

The PRESIDENT. I declare the convention adjourned until 11 o'clock Monday morning.

So at 4:26 P. M. the convention adjourned until 11 o'clock A. M. Monday, June 25, 1888.

SIXTH DAY.

MONDAY, June, 25, 1888.

The convention met pursuant to adjournment, and was called to order at 11:07 A. M.

The PRESIDENT. The convention will come to order. [After a pause.] The convention will listen to a prayer by the Rev. Dr. Arthur Edwards of Chicago.

PRAYER BY THE REV. DR. ARTHUR EDWARDS.

Dr. EDWARDS offered prayer as follows:

Let us pray. O Lord, Our Heavenly Father, we worship Thee this morning that in Thy tenderness Thou hast performed again the miracle of waking this world, and waking us from sleep and renewing to us the blessings of life; and therefore this morning instinctively we turn to Thee in adoration and worship for all the good that has come into our lives. We thank Thee, our Father, that Thou hast sent us into this world upon a divine errand; that we may be conscious of our discipleship; that we may know that we are Thy children, and that, if we have wandered from Thee, by simply coming back and calling thee Father, Thou wilt fold us in Thine arms and give us Thine eternal blessing. We ask Thee to forgive us our sins; to forget our wanderings; to bring us back to full allegiance; and may we be conscious that Thy smile is upon us this morning. We ask Thy blessing upon this convention. Be in the heart of every delegate. Be in the heart of every visitor, and let Thy spirit go backward to the homes of these delegates, and may the lives and the health of their families be precious in Thy sight. We pray Thee, our Father, too, that Thy richest blessing may be upon the President and all the officers of this convention. May Thy spirit be in the hearts of Kings, of Emperors, and Presidents, and be in the Cabinet of the Nation, and so may we worshipping Thee, and being loyal to Thy truth, be lifted upward, and may this lower kingdom assimilate more and more to the upper and better kingdom toward which, we trust, we are all traveling to-day. Be in the business of the assembly this day. And be Thou greater than human wisdom. Be Thou strength to the weak. May we all be guided by Thy spirit, and may we feel that being Thy servants we are entitled to Thy blessing, and having that blessing may we be exalted in every moment of this day. And when our life work is done, may we in the comfort of God and of His Son be brought with great confidence into that upper and greater convention, and may we look upon God's face in peace, and there will we worship Thee forever and ever. AMEN.

RAILROAD TICKETS.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* You will listen to two dispatches, or two letters, relating to the transportation of delegates home, in which we are all interested.

Reading Clerk STONE read the following letter:

CHICAGO, June 23, 1888.—*The Hon. B. F. Jones, Chairman Republican National Committee, Chicago*—DEAR SIR: In consequence of the convention continuing in session beyond Saturday, June 23, a majority of the Chicago lines, members of the Central Traffic Association and Chicago East Bound Passenger Committee, have agreed to extend the National Republican Convention tickets one day after the adjournment of your National Convention. This work will be done at the principal offices of the various lines leading East and South from Chicago. Kindly give this information to the convention, that tickets may be extended before parties take the train, as tickets that expire on the 23d inst. will not be honored unless this extension is made by the proper officer of the line over which the ticket reads. Very respectfully,

GEORGE H. DANIELS.
Vice-Chairman.

The PRESIDENT. There is another communication on the same subject. Reading Clerk STONE read the communication as follows:

OFFICE OF CHICAGO & ALTON RAILWAY COMPANY, CHICAGO, June 25.—*Chairman of the Republican National Convention*—DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure to advise you that this line has instructed its conductors that tickets to Chicago and return sold on account of the Republican National Convention must be honored to and including one day following the date of adjournment of your convention. General passenger and ticket agents of connecting lines have also been requested to make similar provisions for their coupons or other tickets to all points West and Southwest. For further information those holding tickets over this line are respectfully requested to call at the city ticket office of the Chicago and Alton Railway Company, 89 South Clark street. You will kindly give this such publicity as in your good judgment may seem necessary.

Yours truly,

JAMES C. CHARLTON.

Mr. D. F. HOUSTON of Virginia. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. HOUSTON. I desire to offer a resolution regulating the further balloting of this convention, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman state the nature of the resolution?

Mr. HOUSTON. I will read it:

That in the result of a ballot no vote shall be counted for a candidate who has not been regularly placed in nomination before such ballot is commenced. [Cries of "No."]

The PRESIDENT. The resolution is out of order.

TELEGRAMS FROM JAMES G. BLAINE.

Mr. BOUTELLE of Maine. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine.

Mr. BOUTELLE. *Mr. President*—

Mr. HAYMOND of California. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from California will state his point of order.

Mr. HAYMOND. My point of order is that nothing is in order now except a call of the roll, and if that is not in order I want to make a speech for Mr. Blaine when he is being betrayed in the camp of his friends.

The PRESIDENT. The point of order made by the gentleman from California is well taken, but it was understood by the Chair that the gentleman from Maine [Mr. Boutelle], rose to a question of privilege of the same nature as that to which the gentleman from New York [Mr. Depew], and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McKinley], rose day before yesterday, and therefore, the Chair took the liberty to recognize the gentleman from Maine [Mr. Boutelle], who will now state his question of privilege.

Mr. BOUTELLE. *Mr. President:* I find myself somewhat embarrassed in being thrown even into a semblance of antagonism to the representatives of that delegation from the great Pacific slope, who have come here manifesting such a devotion to a chieftain whose banner I have followed with pride and affection, lo! these many years. I would like were the occasion appropriate, and did I feel it proper in view of the courtesy to which I am indebted for an appearance here at all, to preface the announcement that I am to make, by some explanatory remarks. I shall not attempt to do so. No one in this great convention, no one in this magnificent auditory, has any doubt as to where the affection, the devotion, and the allegiance of the Republicans of Maine have been and always will be. No delegate here will doubt the regret with which I discharge the duty imposed upon me; but, Mr. President, and gentlemen of the convention, I am under a restraint which I did not feel at liberty to ignore, and without attempting to give construction or interpretation of my own to the language of one greater than myself by far, I discharge my humble duty as the representative of the Maine delegation by reading to you without preface or comment, the following dispatches which I have received. [Disorder.]

The PRESIDENT. The Sergeant-at-Arms will be compelled to keep order in the galleries to-day.

Mr. BOUTELLE. [Reading.] EDINBURG—

The PRESIDENT. One moment. Unless the galleries, and especially back of the Chair, keep more quiet to-day, when important business will be done by the convention, some step will have to be taken of a more serious character than a request to secure order.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I read to the convention for information, as I have received them, these dispatches:

EDINBURG, June 24.—*To Boutelle and Manley, Maine Delegation, Chicago:* Earnestly request all friends to respect my Paris letter. BLAINE.

That dispatch was received last night. This morning I received the following:

EDINBURG, June 25.—*To Boutelle and Manley, Maine Delegation Chicago:* I think I have the right to ask my friends to respect my wishes and refrain from voting for me. Please make this and former dispatch public, promptly. JAMES G. BLAINE.

BALLOTING FOR PRESIDENT RESUMED.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* The next and the regular order of business will be the calling of the roll by States for the selection of a nominee for President. Mr. Clerk, you will call the roll.

Reading Clerk STONE. Alabama 20 votes. [Disorder and confusion.]

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Sergeant-at-Arms, send deputies through the aisles to see that they are kept clear, and that the delegates take their seats and keep quiet.

Sergeant-at-Arms FITZ SIMONS [To his deputies]. Pass through the aisles and request the delegates to be seated. Unless the galleries remain quiet they will be cleared.

The PRESIDENT. And gentlemen back of the platform will have to go out unless they keep quiet. The Clerk will call the roll.

Reading Clerk STONE proceeded to do so.

When Ohio was called:

Mr. FORAKER of Ohio. Sherman 46.

A DELEGATE from Ohio. I challenge the vote of Ohio, and demand a poll.

The PRESIDENT. Is the gentleman satisfied of the incorrectness of the announcement?

The DELEGATE. I am.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will give his name. [No response.] The gentleman asking for the call of the roll of the State of Ohio will give his name. [No response.] If the gentleman declines to give his name we will pass to the next State. [No response.] The Chair will order the calling of the roll dispensed with unless the gentleman calling for it gives his name.

The DELEGATE. Luckey. [Laughter.]

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Luckey of Ohio demands a call of the roll. The Clerk will call the roll.

When the name of Mr. McKinley was called, there was much disorder.

The PRESIDENT. This convention is going to try and do some business to-day, and unless the galleries keep quiet the Chair will be compelled, of course unless advised otherwise by the convention, to clear the galleries, and do business with no one but the delegates, officers and reporters present.

When the name of J. E. Lowes was called:

Mr. FORAKER. He is absent. Call his alternate, Mr. Widny.

Reading Clerk STONE. John W. Widny.

Mr. WIDNY. Sherman.

The result of the poll was as follows:

Sherman—J. B. Foraker, Wm. McKinley, Jr., Charles Foster, Benjamin Butterworth, T. W. Graydon, Howard Ferris, Frank Tucker, Amos Smith, Jr., John W. Widny, O. B. Brown, George P. Waldorf, A. M. Kuhn, W. H. Gibson, E. J. Totten, I. N. Alexander, H. A. Hamilton, John Little, James B. Swing, John Foos, Festus Walters, H. M. Carper, R. L. Woodburn, Clarence Brown, E. S. Wilson, S. M. Brandyberry, A. W. Doan, Marcus Boggs, Jared P. Bliss, John W. Jones, Henry C. Hedges, S. S. Warner, Charles L. Kurtz, W. W. Merrick, M. Churchill, Samuel J. Davis, John A. Bingham, Robert Sherrard, Jr., R. N. Chamberlin, T. R. Morgan, Sr., William Grinnell, W. H. Johnson, M. L. Smyser, Cornelius J. Manix, Myron T. Herrick, M. A. Hanna—45.

Harrison—J. B. Luckey—I.

When Tennessee was called:

Mr. MANEY. Sherman 8, Allison 1, Harrison 2, Alger 6, Blaine 9.

Mr. BROGAN of Tennessee. Too many votes by two.

Mr. A. M. HUGHES, JR., of Tennessee. *Mr. President:* I challenge the correctness of that vote, and call for a poll.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Hughes of Tennessee demands the call of the roll. The Clerk will call the roll of the State of Tennessee.

The result of the poll was as follows:

Sherman—L. C. Houk, G. W. Hill, Eugene S. Priest, R. S. Montgomery, J. B. Bosley, A. M. Hughes, Jr., John E. McCall, Isham F. Norris—8.

Blaine—George Maney, A. A. Taylor, Newton Hacker, W. W. Woodruff, C. E. Stanley, S. N. Williams, W. J. Lyle, G. W. Winstead—8.

Alger—Samuel A. McElwee, W. N. Hoge, C. Beatty, H. L. W. Cheatham, W. H. H. Butler, Thomas J. Brogan—6.

Allison—R. R. Butler—1.

Harrison—J. C. Dougherty—1.

When Virginia was called:

Mr. WISE of Virginia. Allison 5, Harrison 6, Alger 3. Ten gentlemen decline to give their votes, and call for the roll.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Wise, ask for the call of the roll of the State of Virginia?

Mr. WISE. I do not call for it, but the other ten delegates refuse to give me their votes, saying that they would.

The PRESIDENT. Will some gentleman—

Mr. ALLEN of Virginia. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. ALLEN. In view of the differences existing in the Virginia delegation—[Cries of "Regular Order."]

The PRESIDENT. The question is, does the gentleman ask for the call of the roll?

Mr. ALLEN. I do, and I wish merely to explain the reason for doing so.

The PRESIDENT. That is out of order. The Clerk will call the roll of the State of Virginia.

There was no response to the name of H. W. Williams.

Mr. WISE. Call his alternate, Mr. Bryant.

Reading Clerk STONE. J. W. C. Bryant.

Mr. BRYANT. Harrison.

The result of the vote was as follows:

Sherman—William Mahone, John G. Watts, S. Brown Allen, A. W. Harris, O. D. Foster, F. D. Lee, Charles Gee, John M. Langston M. B. Wood, W. A. French—10.

Harrison—Patrick O'Connor, Morgan Treat, D. F. Houston, Y. T. Brown, J. A. Frazier, J. W. C. Bryant—6.

Allison—Harry Libby, John S. Wise, H. H. Riddleberger, John F. Lewis, O. E. Hine—5.

Alger—Winfield Scott, J. H. Pedigo, George W. Jackson—3.

At the conclusion of the call of States:

The PRESIDENT. The convention will listen to the announcement of the vote by the Clerk.

Reading Clerk STONE announced the result as follows:

Whole number	830
Necessary to a choice.....	416
Sherman	244
Harrison	231
Alger	137
Gresham	91
Allison	73
Blaine	40
McKinley	12
Fred. Grant	1
Foraker	1

THE SIXTH BALLOT.

The ballot in detail was as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES	VOTES	ALGER	ALLISON	GRESHAM	HARRISON	SHERMAN	BLAINE	MCKINLEY	GRANT	FORAKER
Alabama	20	6			1	12	1			
Arkansas	14	14								
California	16						16			
Colorado	6				5		1			
Connecticut	12	12	4			6				
Delaware	6			1	5					
Florida	8	5			1	1				
Georgia	24			1	12	19			1	
Illinois	44			41	23					
Indiana	30			1	29					
Iowa	26		26							
Kansas	18	2	2	2	6	1	3			
Kentucky	26	6	12	12	7	9	1	1		
Louisiana	16	3	12	12		9				
Maine	12	12	1	12	1	3		12		1
Maryland	16		1		6	6	3			
Massachusetts	28	8	2	1	5	11		1		
Michigan	26	26								
Minnesota	14	3		5	6					
Mississippi	18			3		14	1			
Missouri	32	15	1	11	2	2		1		
Nebraska	10	2	5			3				
Nevada	6	5					1			
New Hampshire	8		1		6	1				
New Jersey	18			1	14			3		
New York	72				72					
North Carolina	22	9			2	11				
Ohio	46				1	45				
Oregon	6			5			1			
Pennsylvania	60				6	54				
Rhode Island	8		8							
South Carolina	18	11			1	6				
Tennessee	24	6	1		1	8	8			
Texas	26	3	8	3	1	7	1	3		
Vermont	8				8					
Virginia	24	3	5		6	10				
West Virginia	12	1		1	2	5	2	1		
Wisconsin	22			1	21					
Arizona	2	2								
Dakota	10				10					
District of Columbia	2	1					1			
Idaho	2			2						
Montana	2		1	1						
New Mexico	2	1				1				
Utah	2		2							
Washington	6	1		4	1					
Wyoming	2		2							
Totals	832	137	73	91	231	244	40	12	1	1

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* No candidate having received a majority of the votes of this convention, the Clerk will call the roll. Reading Clerk BALLARD. Alabama 20 votes. [Disorder.]

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen will come to order.

During the announcement of the vote of Alabama there was great confusion.

The PRESIDENT. [To the Reading Clerk.] Wait a minute. May not the Chair ask the delegates to please be seated? [After a pause.] Let the delegates be seated. We will not proceed until the convention is in order. [After a pause.] Call the roll.

When California was called:

Mr. HAYMOND of California. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from California.

Mr. HAYMOND. Is this the roll call?

The PRESIDENT. Yes.

Mr. HAYMOND. The State of California casts sixteen votes for the grandson of Tippecanoe, Benjamin Harrison.

Mr. GAGE of California. I don't vote for Harrison. There is a mistake in the vote. I demand a call of the roll of the State.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from California demands a call of the roll of that State. The Clerk will call the roll.

When the name of John F. Swift was called there was no response, and his alternate, Nathan W. Spaulding, voted for Mr. Harrison.

There was no response to the name of Horace W. Byington.

Reading Clerk BALLARD. William H. Pratt. [The alternate.]

Mr. PRATT. William B. Harrison. [Laughter.]

Reading Clerk BALLARD. You mean William H. Harrison. [Laughter.] I mean that you mean Benjamin Harrison.

Mr. PRATT. Yes.

The result of the poll was as follows:

Harrison—M. M. Estee, Nathan W. Spaulding, Creed Haymond, William H. Pratt, John F. Ellison, David E. Knight, A. W. Simpson, E. D. Robbins, Eli Dennison, William H. Dimond, Charles F. Crocker, Michael H. De Young, F. C. Franck, H. Z. Osborne, Paris Kilburn—15.

Alger—Henry T. Gage—1.

When Pennsylvania was called:

Mr. QUAY of Pennsylvania. Harrison 3, Sherman 57.

Mr. WALTERS of Pennsylvania. I ask for a poll of the delegation.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman asks for a poll of the vote. Does the gentleman doubt the correctness of the announcement?

Mr. WALTERS. I do.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Clerk, call the roll of the State of Pennsylvania.

When the name of Hamilton Disston was called, there was no response.

Reading Clerk BALLARD. Jacob Wildemore. [The alternate.]

Mr. WILDEMORE. Sherman.

There was no response to the name of J. Merrill Linn.

Mr. QUAY. Mr. Linn is not here. Call his alternate.

Reading Clerk BALLARD. Rufus Elder.

Mr. ELDER. Sherman.

When the response of Mr. William Kile was made, Reading Clerk BALLARD "called back" Harrison.

At the conclusion of the call:

Mr. KILE. I wish to have my vote recorded for John Sherman.

The PRESIDENT. What is the name?

Mr. KILE. Kile of Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDENT. For whom do you vote?

Mr. KILE. Sherman.

The PRESIDENT. For whom did you vote? If you voted at all you have no right to make a change.

Secretary CLISBEE. It was a mistake on the part of the Clerk. Mr. Kile's vote was given to Mr. Harrison.

The result of the poll was as follows:

Sherman—M. S. Quay, D. H. Hastings, H. W. Oliver, William R. Leeds, H. H. Bingham, Edwin S. Stuart, David H. Lane, Jacob Wildemore, Henry Clay, John Hunter, James McManes, Charles A. Porter, David Martin, B. F. Gilkeson, Joseph Bosler, Frank Reeder, Thomas C. Walton, Franklin H. Hersh, Augustus M. High, Francis Shroder, S. M. Seldomridge, Joseph A. Scranton, Edward P. Kingsbury, Edwin S. Osborne, L. C. Darte, D. D. Phillips, W. J. Whitehouse, S. J. M. McCarrell, E. M. Woomer, William N. Reynolds, Thomas B. Boyd, Hugh Young, William K. Jones, Ellery P. Ingham, D. A. Beckley, Rufus Elder, Samuel S. Woods, George S. Schmidt, Charles H. Mullin, William S. Hammond, George T. Swank, William M. Henry, C. M. Watson, Thomas M. Bayne, W. C. Thompson, William Kile, William B. Roberts, S. A. Davenport, H. H. Cumings, J. W. Cochran, J. H. Hagerty—51.

Harrison—Thomas W. South, Isaac Johnson, Louis R. Walters, C. L. Magee, William Flinn, Peter Walter, Jr., George M. Von Bonnhorst, John P. Moore, Archibald B. Kelly—9.

The PRESIDENT. Listen to the announcement of the vote of Pennsylvania.

Reading Clerk BALLARD. Harrison 9, Sherman 51.

At the conclusion of the call of States there was disorder.

The PRESIDENT. The convention will come to order to hear the announcement of the vote. Gentlemen will please be seated.

Reading Clerk BALLARD announced the result as follows:

Whole number	831
Necessary to a choice	416
Harrison	279
Sherman	230
Alger	120
Gresham	91
Allison	76
McKinley	16
Blaine	15
Lincoln	2
Foraker	1
Creed Haymond	1

THE SEVENTH BALLOT.

The ballot in detail was as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES	VOTES	ALGER	ALLISON	GRESHAM	HARRISON	SHERMAN	BLAINE	MCKINLEY	LINCOLN	FORAKER	HAYMOND
Alabama	20	6			1	13	1				
Arkansas	14	14									
California	16	1			15						
Colorado	6		6								
Connecticut	12	12			4	5		1			
Delaware	6			1	5						
Florida	8	3			4	1					
Georgia	24	1		1	33	17			1		
Illinois	44	1		40	33						
Indiana	30			1	29						
Iowa	26		26			1					
Kansas	18	1	3		12	1		1			
Kentucky	26	33	12	10	9	1	1				
Louisiana	16	33	12	12	9						
Maine	12	1	12	12	1	1	3			1	
Maryland	16				9	6	1				
Massachusetts	28	12	3	1	9	11		1	1		
Michigan	26	26									
Minnesota	14	2		4	8						
Mississippi	18			3		14	1				
Missouri	32	14		12	3	2		1			
Nebraska	10	2	5		1	1					
Nevada	6		6								
New Hampshire	8				8						
New Jersey	18	1		1	10	1		5			
New York	72				72						
North Carolina	22	7			3	12					
Ohio	46					1	45				
Oregon	6			6							
Pennsylvania	60				9	51					
Rhode Island	8		6		12						
South Carolina	18	11			1	6					
Tennessee	24	9	1		32	5	6				
Texas	26	2	8	1	32	7	2	2			1
Vermont	8				8						
Virginia	24	3	5		6	10					
West Virginia	12			5	3	1	2	1			
Wisconsin	22			2	20				1		
Arizona	2	2									
Dakota	10				10						
District of Columbia	2	1				1					
Idaho	12										
Montana	2		1	1							
New Mexico	12	1				1					
Utah	12		2								
Washington	6	1		4	1						
Wyoming	2					2					
Totals	832	120	76	91	279	230	15	16	2	1	1

The PRESIDENT. No candidate having received a majority of the votes of this convention, the Clerk will again call the roll.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. HENDERSON. I rise to a question of privilege. I desire to thank the friends in this convention who have shown their confidence in the character and fitness of William B. Allison for the Presidency, and now, with the authority of that gentleman, I withdraw his name from the further consideration of this convention.

The PRESIDENT. The name of the Hon. William B. Allison of Iowa is withdrawn. [Disorder.] The convention will please come to order.

SEVERAL DELEGATES. Call the roll.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Clerk, call the roll.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Alabama 20 votes.

Mr. SPOONER of Wisconsin. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Senator Spooner of Wisconsin.

Mr. SPOONER. I ask that the roll call be deferred until there is order.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair has already directed that. We cannot proceed with business until the convention comes to order. Mr. Sergeant-at-Arms, will you please send your assistants through the aisles and ask the members of the convention to be seated. In the last moments of this convention there must be better order.

Sergeant at-Arms FITZ SIMONS. The assistant Sergeants-at-Arms will pass through the aisles and request the delegates to take their seats. And there must be better order on the platform, or it will be cleared. Every man not in a seat will have to leave the platform if better order is not preserved.

Mr. JACKSON of Alabama. There are so many outsiders among us that we cannot take a vote. Pass Alabama until we can take a vote. Send a Sergeant-at-Arms here.

The PRESIDENT. The Sergeant-at-Arms will send a deputy to the Alabama delegation to keep outsiders away so that they may give their vote. They make that request.

Reading Clerk LANNING. Alabama 20 votes.

Mr. JACKSON. We are not ready.

The PRESIDENT. Alabama wants more time. The convention will come to order.

Mr. JACKSON. Alger 9, Sherman 6, Blaine 2, Harrison 3.

Mr. WARNER of Alabama. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. WARNER. I challenge the correctness of the count, and ask for the roll call.

Reading Clerk LANNING called the roll, and the vote was as follows:

Alger—James D Hardy, John W. Jones, Prelate D. Parker, Frank H. Threet, Leander J. Bryan, Isaac N. Carter, Elbert W. Locke, Stephen Childs, Coly N. Finlay, Henry C. Binford—10.

Sherman—Albert Boyd, Alfred H. Hendricks, Daniel N. Cooper, Willard Warner, George W. Parsons—5.

Harrison—William Youngblood, William M. Robertson, James Jackson—3.

Blaine—Benjamin M. Long, Lewis E. Parsons, Jr.—2.

When Arkansas was called there was great disorder.

The PRESIDENT. We will not proceed with the roll call further until the delegates take their seats, and perfect order prevails.

Mr. FOLEY of Nevada. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Nevada.

Mr. FOLEY. I would like to know what we have officers here for if they don't clear the aisles. I heard the Chair ask the Sergeant-at-Arms to have his assistants clear the aisles. Why has he not had that order obeyed?

The PRESIDENT. It is supposed the order is being executed. Proceed with the call of the roll.

When Connecticut was called, there was more disorder.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Sergeant-at-Arms, you will keep order.

When Illinois was called:

Mr. FARWELL of Illinois. Illinois asks to be passed for a moment. [Cries of "No," "No."]

The PRESIDENT. If there is no objection [Cries of "No."] It can only be done by unanimous consent, and there is objection.

A DELEGATE. The objection is withdrawn.

Mr. FARWELL. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Senator Farwell of Illinois.

Mr. FARWELL. Harrison 4, Gresham 40.

When Kansas was called:

Mr. OSBORNE of Kansas. McKinley 1, Sherman 1, Harrison 16.

Mr. W. W. WATSON of Kansas. I challenge the vote.

The PRESIDENT. Are you dissatisfied with the count?

Mr. WATSON. I am.

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will call the roll of the State of Kansas.

The result of the poll was as follows:

Harrison—Albert Griffin, Thomas A. Osborn, James R. Hallowell, J. C. Strang, Cyrus Leland, Jr., James M. Graybill, Henry L. Alden, W. A. Johnson, J. D. Barker, W. W. Scott, Alvah Sheldon, B. H. McEckron, W. W. Watson, M. H. Johnson, A. H. Heber, C. C. Curtis—16.

McKinley—W. M. Jenkins—1.

Alger—H. D. Baker—1.

When Kentucky was called:

Mr. WILLSON, of Kentucky. Sherman 8, Harrison 14, Alger 1, Gresham 2, Blaine 1.

Mr. DENNY of Kentucky. I challenge the correctness of the vote, and ask to have the roll called.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Denny asks that the roll of that State be called. He challenges the vote. The Clerk will call the roll of the State of Kentucky.

There was no response to the name of W. S. Taylor.

Mr. WILLSON. W. S. Taylor is absent. His alternate is I. H. Gray.

Reading Clerk LANNING called the name of Mr. Gray, but there was no response. He then called E. Scott Brown, the other alternate.

Mr. BROWN. Harrison.

When the name of Andrew Thomson was called:

Mr. WILLSON. His alternate, John W. Sayers, is present.

Reading Clerk LANNING. John W. Sayers.

Mr. SAYERS. Harrison.

When the name of W. P. Hampton was called:

Mr. WILLSON. He is not here. His alternate, John J. Johnson, will vote.
Reading Clerk LANNING. John J. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. Sherman.

When the name of John P. Ernst was called:

Mr. WILLSON. He is absent. His alternate, D. B. Wallace, is present.
Reading Clerk LANNING. D. B. Wallace.

Mr. WALLACE. Sherman.

When the name of E. A. Hobson was called, there was disorder.

The PRESIDENT..[To the Reading Clerk.] Wait. We will not proceed until there is better order in the aisles. The Chair thinks the employes of the convention, with some of its members, make more noise than those in the gallery. And if the gentleman that is dispensing food there [Referring to a man who was distributing sandwiches] will remove that immediately the Chair will be obliged. You will take that out of the hall immediately. Mr. Sergeant-at-Arms, you will see that it is removed. Now, we will attend to the business of the convention.

The result of the poll was as follows:

Harrison—George Denny, George W. Jolly, Edward W. Glass, E. U. Fordyce, William Cassius Goodloe, Louis Lebus, John Bennett, Logan McKee, W. A. Warford, John W. Langley, E. A. Hobson, W. W. Jones, E. Scott Brown, John W. Sayers, Charles M. Pendleton—15.

Sherman—George M. Thomas, A. E. Willson, John M. Wilson, D. B. Wallace, W. W. Patterson, G. L. Kirkpatrick, John J. Johnson—7.

Gresham—John W. Lewis, N. S. Allison—2.

Alger—William O. Bradley—1.

Blaine—W. J. Deboe—1.

When North Carolina was called:

Mr. JAMES H. HARRIS of North Carolina. Harrison 7. Alger 4, Sherman

II.

Mr. PEARSON of North Carolina. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. PEARSON. I demand a roll call of the State upon the ground that I question the accuracy of the vote.

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will call the roll. [Disorder.] Before the Clerk proceeds to call the roll of North Carolina the Chair wishes to state that members of the convention on the exterior boundaries of the seats occupied by the delegates complain of the people around them being constantly engaged in conversation. The Chair will be compelled to direct the Sergeant-at-Arms to remove all such persons from the building unless they cease talking, so that those members sitting near the audience can hear what is going on. The Clerk will call the roll.

The roll call resulted as follows:

Sherman—John C. Darcey, Hugh Cole, R. L. Parrott, O. J. Spears, George T. Wassom, J. C. L. Harris, D. L. Russell, J. W. Gordon, J. J. Mott, T. J. Dula, D. C. Pearson—11.

Harrison—Thomas N. Cooper, James H. Harris, Elihu A. White, J. H. Williamson, J. A. Hoskins, G. M. Bulla, J. Wylie Shook, G. W. Crawford—8.

Alger—C. M. Bernard, L. G. Estes, W. A. Pattillo—3.

When Rhode Island was called, there was disorder.

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen will be seated. We will conclude the roll call before you express your joy or dissent.

When South Carolina was called:

Mr. MEYERS of South Carolina. Sherman 4, Harrison 4, Alger 10.

Mr. E. H. DEAS of South Carolina. I challenge the vote of South Carolina, and ask for the calling of the roll of the delegation.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Deas of South Carolina demands the call of the roll of the State. The Clerk will call the roll of South Carolina.

When the name of F. L. Hicks was called, there was disorder.

The PRESIDENT. The call of the roll will not be proceeded with until there is order. There is disorder all around the platform, including, I am sorry to say, among the press representatives.

The poll resulted as follows:

Alger—E. M. Brayton, W. F. Meyers, Fred Nix, Jr., Paris Simpkins, P. F. Oliver, F. A. Saxton, C. C. Levy, Z. E. Walker, T. J. Tuomey, G. E. Herriott—10.

Harrison—Robert Smalls, E. A. Webster, J. M. Freeman, F. L. Hicks—4.

Sherman—W. N. Taft, J. R. Tolbert, E. H. Deas, T. B. Johnston—4.

When Tennessee was called:

Mr. MANEY of Tennessee. Alger 7, Harrison 16. [Disorder.]

Mr. HOUK of Tennessee. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The Chair hears the gentleman. Will he wait one moment— [After a pause.] The gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. HOUK. I challenge the accuracy of that count, and demand a roll call.

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will call the roll of the State of Tennessee.

When the name of W. W. Woodruff was called there was disorder.

The PRESIDENT. The roll call will not be proceeded with until gentlemen are seated and better order is maintained. The Sergeant-at-Arms will see that this order is carried out.

There was no response when the name of G. W. Winstead was called:

Mr. MANEY. He is not present.

The result of the poll was as follows:

Harrison—L. C. Houk, Sam L. McElwee, A. A. Taylor, R. R. Butler, Newton Hacker, W. W. Woodruff, G. W. Hill, W. N. Hoge, C. E. Stanley, Eugene S. Priest, R. S. Montgomery, J. C. Dougherty, J. B. Bosley, A. M. Hughes, Jr., W. H. H. Butler, S. N. Williams, John E. McCall, W. J. Lyle, Thomas J. Brogan, Isham F. Norris—20.

Alger—George Maney, C. Beatty, H. L. W. Cheatham—3.

When Virginia was called:

Mr. WISE of Virginia. Harrison 15, Sherman 9.

Mr. ALLEN of Virginia. I ask for the call of the roll.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman question the accuracy of the count?

Mr. ALLEN. I do, sir. I question the count.

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will call the roll.

When the name of H. H. Riddleberger was called:

Mr. WISE. His alternate, Mr. Lawson, is present, and will cast his vote.

Reading Clerk LANNING. A. M. Lawson.

Mr. LAWSON. Harrison.

When the name of H. W. Williams was called:

Mr. WISE. He is absent. Mr. Bryant is his alternate.

Reading Clerk LANNING. J. W. C. Bryant.

Mr. BRYANT. Harrison.

The result of the poll was as follows:

Harrison—Harry Libby, Patrick O'Connor, John S. Wise, Morgan Treat, Winfield Scott, J. H. Pedigo, D. F. Houston, G. W. Jackson, A. M. Lawson, John F. Lewis, O. E. Hine, Y. T. Brown, M. B. Wood, J. A. Frazier, J. W. C. Bryant—15.

Sherman—William Mahone, John G. Watts, S. Brown Allen, A. W. Harris, O. D. Foster, F. D. Lee, Charles Gee, John M. Langston, W. A. French—9.

At the conclusion of the roll call there was great disorder.

The PRESIDENT. Will the convention permit the announcement of the vote? [Continued disorder.] Will the convention permit the announcement of the vote? [After a pause.] Will the convention listen to the recall of the vote? That is, merely a statement of the vote of each State, so that there may be no mistake—a verification of the vote, which has been the universal practice in the past, and will not be deviated from now. The Clerk will call the roll of States and the vote of each State.

Reading Clerk LANNING did so.

The PRESIDENT. Listen, gentlemen, to the announcement of the totals.

Reading Clerk LANNING announced the result as follows:

Whole number	830
Necessary to a choice.....	416
Harrison	544
Sherman	118
Alger	100
Gresham	59
Blaine	5
McKinley	4

THE EIGHTH BALLOT.

The ballot in detail was as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES	VOTES	ALGER	GRESHAM	HARRISON	SHERMAN	BLAINE	McKINLEY
Alabama	20	10	...	3	5	2	...
Arkansas	14	14	...	...	...	...	...
California	16	...	...	15	...	1	...
Colorado	6	...	...	6	...	...	...
Connecticut	12	...	...	12	...	...	...
Delaware	6	...	...	6	...	...	...
Florida	8	4	...	2	2	...	...
Georgia	24	3	1	10	9	...	...
Illinois	44	...	40	4	...	...	...
Indiana	30	...	1	29	...	...	...
Iowa	26	1	3	12	...	...	...
Kansas	18	1	...	16	...	...	1
Kentucky	26	1	2	15	7	1	...
Louisiana	16	4	...	9	3	...	...
Maine	12	...	1	5	3	...	3
Maryland	16	...	...	11	4	1	...
Massachusetts	28	1	...	25	2	...	...
Michigan	26	26	...	...	...	...	...
Minnesota	14	1	...	13	...	...	...
Mississippi	18	...	3	4	11	...	...
Missouri	32	15	8	7	2	...	...
Nebraska	10	1	...	9	...	...	...
Nevada	6	2	...	4	...	...	...
New Hampshire	8	...	...	8	...	...	...
New Jersey	18	...	...	18	...	...	...
New York	72	...	...	72	...	...	...
North Carolina	22	3	...	8	11	...	...
Ohio	46	...	...	1	45	...	...
Oregon	6	...	...	6	...	...	...
Pennsylvania	60	...	...	59	1	...	...
Rhode Island	8	...	...	8	...	...	...
South Carolina	18	10	...	4	4	...	...
Tennessee	24	3	...	20	...	...	...
Texas	26	...	...	26	...	...	...
Vermont	8	...	...	8	...	...	...
Virginia	24	...	...	15	9	...	...
West Virginia	12	...	...	12	...	...	...
Wisconsin	22	...	...	22	...	...	...
Arizona	2	...	...	2	...	...	...
Dakota	10	...	...	10	...	...	...
District of Columbia	2	...	...	2	...	...	...
Idaho	2	...	...	2	...	...	...
Montana	2	...	...	2	...	...	...
New Mexico	2	...	...	2	...	...	...
Utah	2	...	...	2	...	...	...
Washington	6	...	...	6	...	...	...
Wyoming	2	...	...	2	...	...	...
Total	832	100	59	544	118	5	4

BENJAMIN HARRISON DECLARED THE NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT.

The PRESIDENT. Benjamin Harrison having received a majority of all the votes of this convention, shall his nomination be made unanimous?

Mr. FORAKER of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. FORAKER. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* The delegation from Ohio came here all Sherman men. They are now all Harrison men. [Applause.] It is easier for us to be so when we remember that Gen. Harrison had the good sense to be born in Ohio. [Laughter and ap-

plause.] I am directed by the unanimous vote of the Ohio delegation to move, on behalf of the State of Ohio, that the nomination of Gen. Benjamin Harrison be made unanimous.

Mr. HERR of Michigan. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HERR. *Gentlemen of the Convention*, I came here hoping that this convention would nominate one of Michigan's sons for the Presidency. It has failed to do so. If you want to know how we in Michigan will stand by Gen. Harrison, just think how we have stood by Gen. Alger. [Applause.] I belong to the class of people, perhaps the number is few, who do not think they know everything. [Laughter.] I accept, and so does the entire delegation from Michigan, the result of this ballot, and I hope that we shall all go home feeling that we can already see the hand of Providence in it from the start. [Applause.] We came here hoping to place a soldier at the head of the ticket. We have done it. [Applause.] Now let us go home and ratify the action of this convention and, in order to do that Michigan unanimously supports the motion to make this a unanimous vote.

Mr. FARWELL of Illinois. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Illinois. [Disorder.] Gentlemen will come to order.

Mr. FARWELL. I do not intend to make a speech; we have had speeches enough already. Illinois will give her electoral vote to Gen. Harrison, and directs me to second the motion to make his nomination unanimous. [Applause.]

Mr. DEPEW of New York. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Depew of New York.

Mr. DEPEW. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention*: As the only Presidential candidate present in the convention I vote to make this nomination unanimous. [Cheers.] I knew when I came here that Ohio would carry away this prize. [Laughter and cheers.] I was perfectly willing to accede to it, because, in the experience of National elections, when an Ohio man is nominated he always wins. [Cheers.] This convention will adjourn in a different temper from any that has been held in a quarter of a century. No candidate before the convention expected to succeed, and no one is disappointed. [Cheers and laughter.] We go away without any heartburnings, but full of enthusiasm as we came here, for whatever the result might be. New York is the cosmopolitan State of this Union, and men from every other State, as soon as they get too big for their own commonwealths, come to New York [Laughter], and when New York finds a man too large for his own commonwealth, and who wont move, she adopts him [Laughter], and New York adopted Benjamin Harrison, voted for him solid, and you agreed to her view. The voice of New York and the voice of this convention will be the voice of the American people next November. [Cheers.] You don't want a long speech. You don't want a statement of principles. You don't want anything except to feel in unity and in sympathy with any enthusiasm going from this convention and responding to every part of the country which, like the beat and throbs of the heart, sending blood everywhere, shall come back again in one of the old-time victories for Republicanism, for Republican principles, for the salvation of the industrial interests of this country, headed by a soldier—Gen. Harrison. [Cheers.]

Mr. HASTINGS of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention*: Gen. Hastings of Pennsylvania.

Mr. HASTINGS. *Mr. President and Gentlemen*: Pennsylvania instructs

me to congratulate you because you lit on your feet. [Laughter and applause.] Pennsylvania is not a doubtful State. Pennsylvania had 100,000 majority for any candidate. [Applause.] Gen. Harrison has now 100,000 majority in Pennsylvania. [Loud applause.]

The PRESIDENT. Shall the nomination— [Disorder, and cries of "Henderson."]

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* Gen. Henderson of Iowa.

Mr. HENDERSON. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am full of sorrow, not because the man of my first choice has not been nominated in this convention, but because the assembled wisdom here has nominated a man against whom the Democracy cannot say one single word. [Loud applause.] My heart is full of pity for the quill drivers in the Democratic sanctums. [Loud applause.] No nomination could have been made by these patriots which would find a warmer response in the hearts of the American people. [Applause.] Gen. Harrison stands before you a citizen of incorruptible life and of gigantic intellect [applause]—a man against whose character no words of calumny dare be uttered; and my first thought was: "What can the Democracy say against him?" A soldier, a statesman, simple-minded as a child, and tender-hearted as a mother. [Loud applause.] That is the kind of a leader for the American people. That is the kind of a standard-bearer to reach the voters on the mountain top and in the valley—in New York, and in the cabin of the black man of the South, or where labor lives. [Loud applause.] Iowa directs me to say that as we withdrew our candidate, so do we promptly respond to the wise choice of this convention. And Iowa this fall, I need not tell you, will stand where she has always stood—holding the Republican banner in the vanguard of freedom and of truth. [Loud applause.]

Mr. BOUTELLE of Maine. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine.

Mr. BOUTELLE. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* Although the State of Maine has had no rival candidate before this convention, the circumstances under which we have assembled seem to render it proper that I should say one word for my State upon this occasion. I desire to say that, throughout the deliberations of this great body, the small delegation from my State have endeavored to discharge the responsibilities resting upon them in the delicate and somewhat embarrassing position in which they were placed, not only with fidelity to their convictions, but with such absolute impartiality to all the gentlemen whose friends and constituents have so often honored our State as was compatible with individual preferences among the delegation. We came here impressed with the feeling that there might be attributed to the vote of Maine in any particular direction a significance beyond the mere numerical strength of our delegation; and we felt that we had no right to put ourselves in a position which might even by implication seem to indicate the desire of any one save the constituents who sent us here. How well we have succeeded it is for the convention to say. Now, Mr. President, the solution of this great problem having been so satisfactorily reached, I feel a great pleasure in giving assurance, if assurance could be necessary, of the heartiness, the cordiality, and the enthusiasm with which the people of the State of Maine will ratify and second the nomination of Benjamin Harrison of Indiana [Cheers and applause]; and I will say further to you, what is more practical, that in the Star of the East, where for twenty-five years the burden of battle has first rested upon us, and where our people at every Presidential election have borne the standard of battle first to the

front, and first planted it upon the ramparts of victory, we will this year of our Lord emulate the history of our past, and to the people of this country we will send out such a message as will recall the refrain of that olden day when another Harrison was in the field, and the country from one end to the other was calling out:

O, have you heard the news from Maine,
How she went hell-bent
For Governor Kent,
And Tippecanoe and Tyler, too?

[Cheers and applause.]

And in the canvass, while that glorious refrain is rolling over the country, I pledge you, Mr. President and gentlemen of this convention, that in the forefront of the battle shall be found gleaming, as in every critical fight of the Republican party, the white plume of our Henry of Navarre [Cheers and applause], James G. Blaine.

Mr. HAYMOND of California. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from California, Col. Haymond.

A DELEGATE from New York. Three cheers for California. [Cheers.]

Mr. HAYMOND. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* While my heart is overflowing with happiness that we have made a nomination in harmony, yet before I speak of that I should not forget to pay a tribute to the ladies of Chicago. They were pleased to send to this lonely California delegation a beautiful tribute of flowers; flowers as bright as their own dear eyes, and as pure [Laughter and applause] as their loyal hearts. There was a difference of opinion in this convention as to whether a soldier or a statesman should lead this grand party to its grandest victory. We have solved that problem, and have given you a man who combines the wisdom of a statesman with the courage and gallantry of a soldier. [Cheers and applause.] No man can hear his name mentioned without the thought rushing upon him that we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. [Applause.] His great grandfather signed that magnificent Declaration, and this Republican party gave a million of soldiers and their blood to consecrate it, and at last set these words in the Constitution of the United States, as assigned to all; that if in this broad land any man invade any of those rights, whether belonging to the humblest or to the highest, 60,000,000 of the grandest race of people that this world has ever seen, will spring to their defence. Whenever the name of Harrison is mentioned, the memories of the Thames and of Tippecanoe, of Resaca and Atlanta rush rapidly upon us. Now, I do not think there is much use of speechmaking in this campaign, much use of talking, to use the phrase of my friend Scott from Kansas City. The 35,000,000 or 45,000,000 of people in these United States have already started this campaign, and they are all loaded for bear. [Laughter and applause.] For the first time in the history of the Democratic party, it has adopted its true colors. I have heard gentlemen here attacking the Copperheads of the North. There was some excuse for the Copperheads. Let us do justice to everybody. The Democratic party for thirty years had said in its platform that a State had a right to secede at pleasure. There was some excuse even for a man born in the North who had been educated that way; but now, when they are marching again on the heights of Gettysburg, there is no excuse for any man [applause], and whenever one of those modern dough-faced Democrats is compared to a Copperhead I am retained as attorney for the Copperhead and propose to bring a suit for slander. [Laughter.] They have adopted their true flag. They have been honest at last. The red bandana—a flag which no virtuous woman ever loved, and under which no brave man ever fought [cheers]—is the proper badge in the cotton

fields of the South. The poor old negroes, belonging to that helpless, unfortunate race, wrapped it around their heads, and from under it looked out with eyes— [The conclusion of the sentence was lost amid cries of "Time," and the disorder which prevailed.] It was a badge of servitude then, and it is a badge of servitude now. [Cheers.] They surrendered to the orders of Mr. Carlisle when they indorsed the Mills bill, and made an alliance with England against their country. [Cries of "Good, good," and cheers.] The ninth day of this month, in the city of San Francisco, we put a flag upon the bulletin board and labeled it "The bandana of the Republican party," and that [exhibiting the Stars and Stripes] is the flag. [Cheers.]

Mr. DAVIS of Minnesota. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Davis of Minnesota.

Mr. DAVIS. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* The Macedonian cry invoked by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Foraker] has been answered. From that wondrous flower-bed he planted here has sprung this new Mars, armed head and heel, to vindicate his grand sentiment. The waves that wash this city's gates are not more certain in their ebb and flow than shall be our victory under Harrison upon this platform. [Cheers.] My State's motto is the North Star. Born amid storms and cyclones, she shall bring you down in November, upon the same sighing breezes of the prairies that we invoke here, 50,000 strong, and when you shall have rolled up your majorities for him in other States, we shall step into line, and you shall not think that those breezes are the smallest size in the world. [Laughter and applause.] Minnesota bids me for her to second the motion to make this nomination unanimous.

There were calls for Mr. Wise.

The PRESIDENT. The convention will come to order. There is a dispatch the Chair wishes most respectfully to submit to the convention. The Clerk will read it.

Reading Clerk STONE read the dispatch, as follows:

DETROIT, Mich., June 25.—*The Hon. Morris M. Estee Chairman of the Republican National Convention:* Please convey to the delegates who have so loyally supported my candidacy my heartfelt thanks. No State or man will give the gallant gentleman who has won the fight heartier support than Michigan and myself. "He's all right."

RUSSELL A. ALGER.

Mr. WISE of Virginia. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Wise of Virginia. [Disorder.] *Gentlemen of the Convention:* Will you please be quiet? This is a love feast, and all are going to have a show. [Applause.]

Mr. WISE. *Mr. President and Gentlemen:* It would be strange indeed if Virginia were silent when the name of Harrison was in the forefront. I have heard the distinguished representative of Ohio speak of his being born there, and heard him claimed by Indiana, but it was Virginia that reclaimed Ohio under the name of Harrison, and founded Kaskaskia and Vincennes, still under the name of Harrison, in Indiana. [Laughter.] Two hundred and fifty years ago that rich and glorious blood was planted on Virginia's shore, and spreading out has enriched wherever it has gone. In every State the name is type and synonym of gentleman. [Applause.] All through this broad land, whether for North or for South, wherever the Harrison sword was drawn, valor was its side, and bravery pressed it forward. Many a gallant Union soldier here has slept beside the deep streams of old Virginia, in days gone by, and he well remembers that her broad acres were patented to the Harrisons. On the battlefield, when the Northern soldier's fevered brow was cooled by the hand of woman, many a time and oft the tear that

feel upon him in that strange land fell from the eye of a gentle, tender Harrison; and when we carry that name back to Virginia, not all the narrowness, not all the bigotry, not all the old and dead passions of the past can keep the people from electing Harrison there. [Applause.] A word more, and I am done. Four weeks are gone, and the Democratic press has been putting up the horse that was to run this race. They have had him broad of back, long of fetlock, coarse in blood, to match the party which was presenting him. [Laughter.] The horse that was to be led forth by our party had been blanketed, curiosity had been excited to see him, and now, when his coverings are stripped, he stands with gleaming eye and pointed ear, with curving neck and rounded barrel, with bending pastern and cupped hoof, and every indication that they shall have their race, and the Virginia thorough-bred shall be pitted against the Conestoga. [Laughter and applause.]

There were calls for Mr. Mahone, and he came to the platform.

The PRESIDENT. Senator Mahone of Virginia.

Mr. MAHONE. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I feel that I need not assure any Republican within the broad limits of our country that I am always for the nominee [Great applause], and while, gentlemen of the convention, I came here, like many of you, preferring one of our distinguished statesmen above all others, yet, with a heart full of friendship for the field, with no objection to any of the candidates before this convention, I have not seen fit to abandon my colors until the question was settled [Applause]; and now, having been concluded, as it has been, by a decisive majority of the representatives of the Republicans of this Nation, I join heartily, as Ohio has done, in seconding the proposition which has been made to make this nomination unanimous. [Applause.] And I would hope that I need not give assurance to this people, that whatever effort I can make to promote Republican success, and to promote Republican development in the old State of Virginia, will be most earnestly done. [Great applause.]

Mr. REDFIELD PROCTOR of Vermont. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Vermont.

Mr. PROCTOR. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* Vermont being the only State which cast her vote solidly for General Harrison from the first, returns her sincere thanks to the forty-five outlying States and Territories for coming to her position. [Laughter and cheers.] She is a safe State for Republicans to turn to for inspiration, for her Republicanism is as strong and steadfast as her everlasting hills. [Cheers.] She opens the fall campaign by her State election the 1st of September, and she pledges a Republican majority of 30,000 as the opening gun of the Presidential campaign. [Cheers.]

There were calls for Mr. Lynch, and he came to the platform.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair takes pleasure in presenting to the convention Mr. Lynch of Mississippi.

Mr. LYNCH. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am instructed by my delegation to second the nomination, or rather to second the motion to make the nomination of General Harrison unanimous. We came here from the South not so much to procure the nomination of any particular man, as to contribute our votes and influence to promote the success of the Republican party. [Cries of "Good."] We are with you for the protection of American labor. We want you to be with us in the protection of human life. [Cheers.] We are with you for the protection of American capital. We want you to be with us for the protection of the sanctity and the purity of the ballot. [Cheers.] We are with you for the protection of American homes. We want you to be with us in the advocacy of a system of public education which will lift the pall of ignorance from the Southern land, and spread the

bright light of intelligence over that section of our country. [Cheers.] We are with you for whatever you may want to promote the welfare of our people, and to advance the material interests of our country. [Cheers.] We want you to be with us in the enforcement of the laws for the protection of the rights and privileges of American citizens from one end of this country to the other. [Applause.] Gentlemen, are you with us in this? [Cries of "Yes," "Yes," and applause.] Then give us Benjamin Harrison, and the Republican party will be victorious in November, and we will all be happy. [Loud applause.]

Mr. THURSTON of Nebraska. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Judge Thurston of Nebraska.

Mr. THURSTON. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* Your wisdom has found the Douglas for our Bruce. Knightlier than he of old, he won his spurs upon the battlefields of the Republic for country and humanity. He will be elected [Applause] because the American people believe and know that under his administration our affairs will be so managed that American industry and American prosperity will be upheld and sustained. [Loud applause.] He will be elected because the Republican party knows and the country knows that under his administration every American citizen, on land and sea, at home and abroad, in the North and the South, will be protected in the exercise of his every political right by the full power of the National administration. [Cries of "Good," "good," and applause.] He will be elected because the American people are tired of avoirdupois and cussedness [Laughter], and are ready for loyalty and statesmanship. He will blazon upon his unspotted shield the great white cross of hope, and, following it under the Stars and Stripes, will make the new crusade to that Jerusalem of victory where the old bandana never has been and never will be seen. [Applause.] Out in the West the name of Harrison will set a spark and light the prairie into one of those great flames, beneath whose glory and whose heat there will be burned up not only the present Democratic crop, but the whole future seed. [Applause and Laughter.]

Mr. JAS. H. HARRIS of North Carolina. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from North Carolina, Mr. Harris.

Mr. HARRIS. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I stand here one of the representatives of North Carolina who thought that the great services of John Sherman for the past thirty years entitled him to this nomination. I stand here representing the men who voted for him through every ballot of this convention, to say to you that North Carolina intends to break the solid South for Benjamin Harrison. We have already said to our people that this campaign shall be, as was the one in that state in 1840, a log cabin and a hard cider campaign. You may not believe it, but the name of Harrison is a tower of strength in North Carolina. You may not believe that we can give the eleven electoral votes of our State to this nominee, but I tell you that there is a revolution there. The platform we have adopted, which pledges the Republican party to repeal the internal revenue system, with Harrison as our candidate, will give him the eleven electoral votes of that State. There will be no more solid South after this election; I tell you that there will be no solid South, but with Harrison and this platform, which pledges him to secure to every man in the South an honest ballot, and make that ballot the free executed will of this Republic, and, under the constitution, to maintain and preserve the Republican form of government in these States, the South will rise up and march with you to victory for Harrison. [Cheers and applause.]

Mr. JOHN A. WILLIAMS of Arkansas. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention,* Mr. Williams of Arkansas.

Mr. WILLIAMS. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* Arkansas came not here to talk, but she came to bury Cæsar, aye, to aid the

Democratic party to bury the self-constituted Cæsar next November. [Cheers.] I think that you have in this convention started to do it most effectually by the nomination of that soldier and statesman, Benjamin Harrison of Indiana. And I want to say a word as an humble citizen of this Christian Nation—Christian with a big C and Nation with a big N [Cheers]—that we have it in Holy Writ that it must needs be that offences shall come, otherwise you never could have accounted for the election of Grover Cleveland four years ago [Laughter and cheers.] But coupled with that, gentlemen of the convention and people of America, is the other promise that woe unto him by whom those offences shall come. [Cheers and laughter.] And woe be unto Cleveland that he has by his vetoes and free trade message laid violent hands upon the Ark of the Covenant of the people of America—protection to American industries and fealty to the soldiers that saved the Nation in her hours of peril. [Cheers.] Arkansas from the Sunny South sends greeting to Indiana and to New York and the other doubtful States, and says that she will endeavor to hold up your hands while you are electing Benjamin Harrison with the aid of the other loyal States of the North. I do not know that we can promise you any electoral votes from our State, but we will do the best we can. Arkansas bids me, through her delegation, to cordially and earnestly second the motion to make unanimous the nomination of Benjamin Harrison of Indiana. [Applause.]

Mr. BRADLEY of Kentucky. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. BRADLEY. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am one of those who went down to honorable defeat under the banner of that fearless soldier and gentleman from the State of Michigan. [Cries of "Good," and "He's all right."] But I am here on the part of the Kentucky delegation to second the nomination of that equally fearless soldier from the State of Indiana. [Cheers.] In the past, when the red man was devastating that fair land, the noble sons of Kentucky went to Indiana, and left their blood upon the fields of honor, for the redemption and salvation of her people, and now, in Kentucky, with a depleted Democratic treasury, and its Treasurer a fugitive in Canada, we promise you that she will again go to the aid of Indiana. [Applause.] We enter this fight under the gallant leadership of Benjamin Harrison, not under the motto of the Cobden Club "Long live the Queen," but under that nobler motto of Republicanism, "Long live America." [Cheers.] We prefer to stand under this banner and make our fight for protection rather than be found under the cowardly flag of England, which waves in ruffianly triumph over the burning homes of desolated Ireland. [Applause.] We ask not, we care not, for the good opinion of the crowned head at Westminster, but we ask rather the good opinion of the uncrowned kings of America, who make their daily bread by the music of the hammer, the anvil, and the saw. [Applause.] We go into this canvass with Harrison and with the broad word of protection upon our banner—protection to American industries, protection to the persecuted people of the South, protection to the poor children who to-day in the South are laboring in ignorance, and protection to the grand soldiers who shed their blood upon the fields of battle that this Nation might live. [Applause.] In the name of Abraham Lincoln [Applause], in the name of Henry Clay [Applause], whom Kentucky and this nation are proud to honor, I second the motion to make this nomination unanimous. [Applause.]

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen of the Convention, shall the nomination of General Benjamin Harrison—[Disorder and confusion.] No further business will be done until the announcement of this question. [Cries of "Question."] Shall the nomination of General Benjamin Harrison as a candidate for President of the United States be made unanimous?

A DELEGATE. A rising vote.

THE NOMINATION MADE UNANIMOUS.

The question was again stated, and all the delegates arose.

The PRESIDENT. I declare Benjamin Harrison to be the unanimous nominee of the National Republican Convention for the position of President of the United States. The regular order of business is the presentation of the names of candidates for Vice-President of the United States, and the roll of States will be called by the Clerk for that purpose.

A DELEGATE. Call the roll.

Mr. THOMPSON of Indiana. *Mr. President:* I think it very desirable that we shall close the proceedings of this convention during the day, and in order that we may be able to do so I move that this convention take a recess until 5 o'clock. [Cries of "No," "No."]

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved that this convention take a recess until 5 o'clock. [Cries of "No, no."] Does that motion receive a second? [No response was heard.] It does not receive a second, and is not, therefore, before the convention. The Clerk will call the roll of States.

Reading Clerk MARTIN. Alabama.

A DELEGATE. It was seconded by half a dozen gentlemen.

Mr. HUBBARD of West Virginia. *Mr. President:* I rise to a question of privilege.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Hubbard of West Virginia will state his question of privilege.

Mr. HUBBARD. It is that I seconded on behalf of the State of West Virginia the motion for a recess until 5 o'clock. I arose for that purpose, but was unable to obtain the ear of the Chair before the call of the roll began.

The PRESIDENT. It required a second from two States, even if the Chair had been able to hear the gentleman. Call the roll.

Reading Clerk MARTIN. Arkansas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Hastings of Pennsylvania in the Chair.) No further business is in order excepting the calling of the roll.

Mr. HUBBARD. I rise to a question of order. My point is that two States are not required to second the motion for a recess. [Cries of "No, no."]

Mr. HOUK of Tennessee. Three States have seconded it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point is not well taken. The Clerk will proceed with the call of the roll. [Disorder.] The convention will be in order.

Reading Clerk MARTIN. California.

Mr. HOUK. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. HOUK. There were four States that seconded the motion to take a recess [Disorder.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The convention will be in order.

Mr. HOUK. Four States have seconded—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Clerk will proceed with the roll.

A DELEGATE. *Mr. President—*[Voices, "Call the roll."]

The PRESIDING OFFICER [To the Reading Clerk]. Go ahead.

Reading Clerk MARTIN called down to Iowa.

Mr. HOUK. I want to be heard on this question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. HOUK. I rise to a question of privilege.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. HOUK. When the motion was made to take a recess five States seconded it—West Virginia, Tennessee—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The second was not heard by the Chair, and I am informed by the Clerks, was not heard by them.

Mr. HOUK. The States were not responsible for that.

Reading Clerk MARTIN continued the call amid much disorder.

A DELEGATE from Iowa. *Mr. President:* A motion has been made to take a recess, and has been seconded. That motion is not debatable and should be put.

When Kentucky was called:

Mr. HOUK. The Clerk—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Tennessee, if he desires to make a motion to adjourn.

Mr. HOUK. I do make a motion to take a recess until 5 o'clock. [Cries of "No, no."]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is the motion seconded?

Mr. HUBBARD. On behalf of West Virginia I second the motion.

Mr. WARNER of Alabama. On behalf of the Alabama delegation I second the motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It has been moved and seconded that this convention do now take a recess until 5 o'clock this afternoon.

The motion was put and not agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Clerk will continue the call of the roll.

When Kentucky was called again:

Mr. DENNY of Kentucky. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Kentucky, Mr. Denny, has the floor.

Mr. DENNY. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention—*

Mr. A. B. WHITE of West Virginia. One moment; a question of privilege. It is utterly impossible for West Virginia—she is a small State, but she proposes to give her six votes to the Republican President—it is impossible to know what is going on; and I move that the Sergeant-at-Arms remove from among the delegates the persons who are not entitled to a seat here. We cannot hear what is going on.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is endeavoring to maintain order, and trusts that every delegate and every guest of this convention will be in order.

Mr. WHITE. Look at the order over here. [Laughter.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Kentucky will proceed.

NAMING OF WILLIAM O. BRADLEY FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

Mr. DENNY. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* We came here to discharge a public duty, part of which duty has been well per-

formed. Let us meet the remainder with equal wisdom. Let us remember that after the excitement of this vast concourse comes deliberation at the fire-sides of the people. Let us remember that the South has a vital interest in the work done here. Let us not forget that although the South in recent years has not given electoral votes to the Republican party, yet Southern Republicans by thousands have given their lives for Republican principles. Let us not forget that the States of the South did give electoral votes to the Republican party until deserted by that party of the North. Like the prisoner confined in a room whose walls came closer together as the hours passed, the Republicans of the South have seen their political rights and privileges contracted day by day; but they have kept their faith, and looked forward with glad expectancy for the dawn of a brighter period. They believe that the time has now come for the nomination of a Southern Republican for Vice-President; that such a nomination would thrill with confidence the soul of every Republican south of Mason and Dixon's line; that it would fruitfully and correctly answer the heretofore Sphinx riddle of what can be done to break the solid South; that it would inspire the breasts of the young Republicans of the South with the hope that they are not always to be hewers of wood and drawers of water in the Republican ranks. Our young men of the South, upon whom rests the responsibility of government, have grown to manhood since the war, and are a little interested in these issues. They are concerned in those great economic questions which are for the improvement of their section and to fill their coffers with gold. Thousands upon thousands of them are wavering in their allegiance to the Democratic party, to which they were bound only by chains of prejudice. A man to be nominated for Vice-President from the South should be a man of intellect; he should be a man of integrity—

Mr. WHITE. *Mr. President:* We want order. We cannot hear the gentleman speak.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The convention will be in order. The Sergeant-at-Arms will preserve order at the entrance for delegates. We will not proceed further with the business of the convention until there is order. Gentlemen will take their seats and clear the aisles. The proceedings will not be continued until this is done. [After a pause.] The Chair is still waiting for gentlemen to take their seats. [After another pause.] Proceed, Mr. Denny.

Mr. DENNY. He should be a man who knows the wants and rights of the people and dares to uphold them; one who knows that the necessities of the future demand the education of the coming generation; one who knows that the prosperity of the whole people depends upon the prosperity of the sons of labor; one who knows that the building and preserving of a home market is of more benefit and more profit to the people of these United States than all the mythical markets of the world; one who knows that only by maintaining the progressive principles of the Republican party can this country keep pace with advancing civilization. The man who possesses these splendid qualifications in their loftiest and best sense, is William O. Bradley of the State of Kentucky. Kentucky, in whose bosom was instilled the principle of protection to American industries, by the teachings of the immortal Clay, is wavering in her allegiance to the Democratic party. Last year in the gubernatorial canvass, under the gallant and courageous leadership of William O. Bradley, the Democratic majority of fifty thousand was reduced to less than five thousand votes. Since that election the charges of corruption made by him have been clearly proven by the plundering of the common school fund and the robbery of the treasury. These last revelations are the weights which will break the weakened back of the Democracy in the State. When votes are cast in Kentucky by Republicans they are

counted as they are cast. The spirit of loyalty and patriotism yet dwells in the breasts of her people. In 1861, when the crucial test came of whether Kentucky would stand by the Union, her undaunted sons gave 80,000 majority for the integrity of the country. When the call came to [cries of "Time" from the galleries] battle for the Union, 80,000 of her gallant children responded with eager step, and their courage upon more than a hundred fields of carnage tells the splendid story of their patriotism in letters of blood. [Cries of "Time."] Gentlemen, give the South a chance. You will want her in the coming election. We are entitled to be heard. The broken and smoking ruins of Fort Sumter witnessed the heroism of a Kentuckian (Major Anderson). The drooping spirit of the Nation was revived in 1862 by the gallant deeds of the Kentuckians at the battle of Mill Spring on the Cumberland. The principle of protection implanted there long ago still lives, despite the star-eyed Goddess of Reform. The hearts of our people yet throb with love of country. The young men of the South and of Kentucky need only the encouragement of the great party of progress and of right to break away forever from their distasteful political affiliations. To offer them such encouragement the South—yea, the South—nominates for Vice-President of these United States William O. Bradley of Kentucky, who represents in his own person the aggressiveness of the young Republicans of the South; who for the past twenty years has plunged bravely into every campaign, both State and National, and has helped the growth of the Republican party in the State of Kentucky from 27,000 to 127,000 votes; who, when the South was threatened with a reduction of her representation in the National Convention four years ago, swept away every objection by the might of his logic and eloquence. The South is represented here now through his efforts. Gentlemen of the North and of the West, deal fairly by the South. With the same effort in Kentucky by the National Republican party that is put forth in the State of Indiana, Kentucky would spring from her Democratic moorings and be safely anchored in Republican waters. The Democratic party is afraid to do right. Although the Southern States give it the majority of its electoral votes, it dare not place a Southern man on the National ticket. The Republican party, with the most magnificent courage of any party which ever has existed or ever will exist, has never been afraid to do right. [Cries of "Time."] It was not afraid when it saved the Union. It was not afraid when it abolished slavery. It was not afraid when it made all men equal before the law. [Cries of "Time."]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman will not proceed until there is order.

Mr. DENNY. If you want "time" you had better wait till I get through. I have witnessed attempts to cry down Southern men before, but they cannot be hollered down in the home of their friends. The question is, is it right to nominate a Southern man for Vice-President? If it is, then there should be neither doubt nor discussion concerning it. With William O. Bradley on the National ticket the Republican party in the coming campaign will carry the State of Kentucky; it will carry Tennessee; it will carry West Virginia; it will carry North Carolina; it will make Virginia still more doubtful. The solid South will live only as a faintly remembered dream, and as in the days of the old commander, who was his friend, the Southern States will again march in the ranks of the party of progress and protection. The charge of sectionalism will die with the setting of November's sun. In the name of Southern Republicans dead—dead for the cause they so dearly loved; in the name of Southern Republicans living, who from now until November's chilly days will suffer and perchance some of them die that Republicanism may live, we urge the nomination of William O. Bradley for Vice-President of these United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Denny] has placed in nomination the Hon. William O. Bradley for Vice-President. Does the Chair hear a second to that nomination?

Mr. ALBERT GRIFFIN of Kansas. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Kansas. [Disorder.] The gentleman will suspend until the convention is in order. Delegates will be good enough to take their seats.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I assure you, gentlemen—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. One moment. We will not proceed until the convention is in order. Gentlemen [indicating] in that corner will take their seats. If those policemen cannot have the guests take their seats the policemen ought to sit down. The gentleman will proceed.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I assure you, gentlemen of the convention, that I shall occupy only a few minutes of your time, but this subject is one of such importance that it should not be considered in the spirit which some members of the convention seem now to look upon it. You have nominated as the head of the ticket a man who does honor to his party and to the Nation. You have done thus far in your ticket that of which you have reason to be proud, and gone far toward making the North solid in this coming campaign. Ours is a government, theoretically, of the people, by the people, for the people, but unfortunately as a matter of fact in many cases it is a government of the people, by the bosses, for the bosses. If it had been in reality what it is in theory, the lower House of Congress would not to-day be controlled by a party which is never united upon any unsettled question, excepting when it is in the wrong. If our government was in reality what it is theoretically, the rightful President of the United States would be in Washington instead of Scotland. Ever since 1860 the greatest trouble this Nation has had to contend with, has grown out of the solid South. It was the solid South during those years of war that sent hundreds of thousands of Northern men down to fields of carnage and left so many homes desolate, and it has been since the South became solidified politically, that all our political dangers have arisen. I want to say to you, gentlemen, that from a careful study, and a thorough knowledge of the situation, I feel perfectly confident that the solid South is to-day ripe for a political revolution. It is true that in Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina—those States where the colored vote so largely predominates—there is no possibility of securing Republican electoral votes at this time, but there are six States that are controlled by white men—six States in which the white men are dissatisfied with the condition of affairs, and if this convention and the Republican National Committee act wisely we can certainly carry three of those States from the Democratic into the Republican column. Now, there is but one thing further that I wish to say, and it is, that the Southern people are a sensitive people. They realize the condition of political isolation that they are in. They realize the fact that the Democratic party, to which they give their votes, dare not present one of their names to the people of the Nation, and if the delegates of the Republican party, that has been denounced all over the South with such virulence—if this Republican convention has the courage to rise up and put upon its ticket a Southern man who has carried the war all through Kentucky, and raised the banner of Republicanism in the section where it was thought to be not without danger to do so, I say if you do that, you will find rallying to the Republican standard this year enough brave and gallant men of those States to shatter the solid South, and make it ununited forever and ever. I therefore second the nomination of William O. Bradley of Kentucky.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Chair hear a further second to the nomination of Mr. Bradley?

Mr. WARNER of Alabama. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. WARNER. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I have only a few words to say. This is a little larger question, I think, than perhaps most of the convention may at first glance think. In 1860 I had the honor to vote here in this city for the nomination of Abraham Lincoln. To-day, in my judgment, we have nominated a worthy successor to Abraham Lincoln. The word which we gave to the country and the world by the nomination of Lincoln was, that slavery should go no farther. That pledge was redeemed, although we had to do it by battle. We are going to make the Star-Spangled Banner the flag of our country, though to our disgrace it is true that in at least six States of the Union that flag has not had the power to give a man a ballot. I speak from twenty-three years of life in the State of Alabama, and I want to know of the Republicans of the North whether they are going to show that it is in the power of this great Republic to give a man a vote and get that vote counted as it is cast. I tell you that I know the politics of Alabama as well as you know the politics of any of your States. We can give to Benjamin Harrison a majority of 20,000 votes if you Republicans of the North can get them counted. Now I say to you that the great problem, greater even than the tariff—and I was raised a protectionist at the feet of Horace Greeley and Henry Clay—that a greater question than that is, can it be made possible for a party in opposition to the Democratic Confederates of the South to exist? There is the problem in those States, and that problem is a greater one even than protection to home industries. Now, if we can break the solid South, we will achieve a greater victory than has ever been achieved, and I think if we were to put a worthy man like Mr. Bradley on the ticket, we should accomplish it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Chair hear a further second to the nomination of Mr. Bradley?

Mr. HOUK of Tennessee. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. HOUK. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I will detain you but a few moments, and in order that I may detain you only for those few moments, you must give me your attention and keep order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The convention will be in order. Gentlemen will take their seats.

Mr. HOUK. It is true that Mr. Bradley comes from the solid South. But why is that South solid? It is not the fault of the Southern Republicans. It is not altogether the fault of the Democratic party. It is very largely the fault of you Northern Republicans, who have given us away on every occasion, first turning us over to the executive department of the government and the mercy of whatever might come. Why, not a Northern man has made a speech in the South for ten years that I know of, except John Sherman, who came to Tennessee and made one speech. I know something about the South. I agree that in South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi there are but poor opportunities to build up the Republican party and achieve a Republican victory. But in North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky, I tell you, if you will turn your attention to it, there is missionary ground in all of those States, and their electoral votes may be had, not only in the future, but in the present—in this contest for Harrison and whoever may be nominated for Vice-President. Now let us look at this a moment. I second the nomination of Mr. Bradley because he is a man who entered the field in Kentucky, solitary

and alone. Not a Northern man came to his aid. Not a Southern man came to his aid, and but one to make a speech for him. He canvassed that State, and, after canvassing it from one end to the other, he reduced the Democratic majority from 44,000 to less than 16,000. Is not such a man worthy to be honored? Again, you hear it said all around you that you can do nothing in the South. That is true. You will never do anything in the South until you give the South some attention. If you will turn your eyes there; send some of the sinews of war there instead of to these doubtful States that you always lose, and send some of your best speakers there, my word for it, you can have the electoral votes of old Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina. I promise not to talk long. I want to say before I quit, I do not believe I would be a Republican if I could help it. Why? Because you Northern Republicans treat us so badly. You hardly give us self-respect. You pay more attention to the rebels than you do to us. Now, I appeal to you to reach out your hand across the line, take us by the hand, and at least give us the support of your moral force and some good speakers to make speeches in the South, and we will show you a Republican party. One word more. My own State, Tennessee, Mr. Tilden carried by 43,000, and Mr. Cleveland by less than 9,000 majority. While the Democratic party in Tennessee gained 32,000 in eight years, the Republican party there gained 35,000 votes. Tell me is that not fighting ground? Now, all I have to say in conclusion is, do not treat us as you have treated us in the past. At least, give us your friendship. Come over across the line and make some speeches for us and encourage our people, and we will do the best we can. I hope you will give Mr. Bradley your votes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Chair hear a further second to the nomination of Mr. Bradley?

Mr. R. D. LOCKE of Georgia. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Mr. Locke of Georgia has the floor.

Mr. LOCKE. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* If you are friends of the South hear the South for her cause, and be silent that you may hear. To one accustomed to speaking only in the villages of the backwoods the very splendor of this presence is embarrassing. It matters not from what quarter the candidate for Vice-President comes since we have at the head of the ticket Benjamin Harrison of Indiana. The doubtful States of New York, Connecticut, New Jersey and the Pacific coast first adopted him, and I say on that account, and for what there is in the man and in the platform, you can afford to give us of the South the candidate for the Vice-Presidency. Several Southern delegations and parts of delegations from the South have requested me to ask that much of this convention. I desire to impress delegates from the North in this convention that the delegations from the South are not composed altogether of such men as some may suppose. You may believe that we have portions of colored delegations headed by white men from the North. But in that Georgia delegation we have ex-Confederate soldiers, and ex-Union soldiers, both native to Georgia, ex-Union soldiers born North, and colored men as true men as God Almighty ever created. I trust, gentlemen of the convention, that twenty years' constant devotion to the party of constitutional liberty atones for the four years that I fought for constitutional slavery. The Democrats of the South tell you that they fought for constitutional liberty. I was a youthful soldier of the Confederacy, and I learned at my father's fireside, and from his neighbors and from my schoolmates who went to the army with me, that we were fighting for constitutional slavery. And when the Democrats of the South claim it was constitutional liberty, they claim that for which they did not fight. As an ex-Confederate soldier I desire to ask this convention to permit me to vote for an ex-Union soldier of the South for Vice-President of the United States. The indictment drawn by this convention against the

Democratic party is as true as heaven itself, wherein we charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to suppressions of the ballot by criminal nullification of the constitution and laws of the United States. We know, and God is our witness, that Grover Cleveland is the beneficiary of frauds upon the ballot, and against bulldozing, bandana and ballot box tricks we pit the stars and stripes. [Waving a small United States flag.] Gentlemen of the convention, when the white-winged messenger of peace, hovering over this splendid scene, caught from the lips of this convention the name of Harrison, the next President of the United States, and carried it up to Lincoln, Garfield, Logan, and the great host of our leaders who have gone to their reward, he carried with it, fresh from the heart of every delegate, this sentiment: "Write me as one who loves his fellow man." Republicans from the South, and especially from Georgia, ask this convention to supplement that message by sending up to our sainted leaders the name of William O. Bradley of Kentucky.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Chair hear a further second to the nomination of Mr. Bradley?

MR. JOHN ATKINSON of Michigan. *Mr. President—*

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from Michigan.

MR. ATKINSON. On behalf of a large number of the delegation from Michigan, without any other remark, I desire to say we second the nomination of Mr. Bradley.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Chair hear a further second to the nomination of Mr. Bradley? [After a pause.] If not, the Clerk will proceed with the calling of the roll of States.

When New Jersey was called:

MR. SEWELL of New Jersey. *Mr. President—*

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from New Jersey.

MR. SEWELL. New Jersey desires to present the name of William Walter Phelps, and there will be several presentation speeches. I think this convention is in such a tired condition that it is not able to do justice to the subject; and I therefore move that we take a recess until 5 o'clock.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair rules that a motion to take a recess is not in order during the calling of the roll, except, of course, by unanimous consent. [Cries of "No, no."] To that the Chair hears objection. Mr. Sewell has the floor.

MR. SEWELL. Will it be in order for me to move a suspension of the rules in order that we may take a recess?

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The convention is simply executing one of its rules. No other motion is in order excepting the calling of the roll.

MR. SEWELL. A motion to suspend ought to be in order. I move, Mr. Chairman, to suspend the rules. In the ordinary sense of the term "calling the roll" is for a vote. The Chair will recollect that we are simply calling the roll for nominations.

MR. HISCOCK of New York. I suggest that we can afford to finish the further labor of this convention with deliberation. There seems to be a prevailing sentiment that a recess should be taken, and I hope that unani-

mous consent will be given, that the gentleman from New Jersey may make his motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair hears no objection.

A DELEGATE. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is upon the motion to take a recess until 5 o'clock this afternoon.

A DELEGATE. Make it 7.

Mr. HISCOCK. The gentleman moves to amend by making it 7 this evening. [Cries of "No, no," and "Question."]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment; shall the convention take a recess until 7 o'clock?

The amendment was not agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now is upon the original motion to take a recess until 5 o'clock.

Mr. BOUTELLE of Maine. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is not debatable.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I move to amend by making it 6 o'clock. [Cries of "5."]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Maine to take a recess until 6 o'clock this evening.

Mr. MARINE of Maryland. The motion was lost, and an amendment is not in order. It was so declared by the Chairman.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Further amendment is of course in order.

The amendment of Mr. Boutelle was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. I am requested to announce that the new National Committee will meet at room 44, the Grand Pacific Hotel, at 4 o'clock.

Thereupon at 3:09 P. M. the convention took a recess until 6 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

The convention reassembled pursuant to adjournment, and was called to order at 6:10 P. M.

The PRESIDENT. The convention will come to order. We have two or three communications important to members of the convention, and if the delegates will be seated the communications will be read.

Reading Clerk MARTIN read the following:

CHICAGO June 25, 1888.—*To the Chairman National Republican Nominating Convention—*DEAR SIR: With regard to the excursion tickets expiring by time limitation on June 25, you are hereby authorized and requested to announce in the convention that the railway lines of the West, North and Southwest will honor such tickets for return passage by trains starting from Chicago up to and including the day following the final adjournment of the convention. The announcement is made in behalf of the Chicago & Alton, the Chicago, Santa Fe & California, the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific, the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, the Chicago & Northwestern, the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, the Chicago, St. Paul & Kansas City, the Illinois Central, and the Wisconsin Central Railways. Yours truly,

JOHN N. ABBOTT,

Chairman Western States Passenger Association.

The PRESIDENT. There is another announcement to which the convention will please give attention.

Reading Clerk MARTIN made this announcement:

The members of the Republican National Committee will meet at Room 44, Grand Pacific Hotel, at 9 o'clock this evening, or immediately after adjournment.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* At the time of taking the recess the convention had reached the State of New Jersey in announcing the candidates for the position of Vice-President, and the gentleman from that State, Senator Sewell, had the floor. Senator Sewell of New Jersey is entitled to the floor.

Mr. SEWELL of New Jersey. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New Jersey.

NAMING OF WILLIAM WALTER PHELPS.

Mr. SEWELL. I yield the floor to Mr. John W. Griggs, who on behalf of this delegation, will present the name of New Jersey's choice for Vice-President, William Walter Phelps.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Sewell yields the floor to Mr. Griggs of the New Jersey delegation, who will present the name of Mr. Phelps.

Mr. GRIGGS. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Griggs of New Jersey.

Mr. GRIGGS. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* New Jersey desires to engage the business attention of these delegates. Well known as a doubtful State, closely associated by neighborhood with the doubtful States of New York and Connecticut, supremely concerned in the great issue that now vexes and divides the country, New Jersey submits to the judgment of this convention that policy and expediency dictate that the candidate for the Vice-Presidency should be taken from that State. We remember with pride that in two of the most memorable political contests ever waged in this country New Jersey furnished a candidate to aid as well as to adorn the ticket that then upheld the same principle that the Republican party now upholds. In 1844 Henry Clay of Kentucky, and Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey bore the standard of the American system in a contest that is still remembered as unexampled in interest and enthusiasm. In 1856 when the new party of freedom—devoted to free soil, free men, but not to free trade—first flung its political banner to the breeze, that banner bore the names of John C. Fremont of Illinois, "the pathfinder," and William L. Dayton of New Jersey, the statesman. Again New Jersey presents a name honored and well known for a position on the ticket. By a statement that I hold in my hand, it appears that those States that are classed as surely Republican, will give to the ticket that you nominate 182 electoral votes. By your action to-day you have added to that list the fifteen electoral votes of the State of Indiana. Therefore, if you can add to that 197 the electoral votes of the State of New Jersey, you have elected your ticket and redeemed the country. The candidate we name is equally strong in the three doubtful States of Connecticut, New York and New Jersey. Born in Connecticut, educated there, by adoption and by public service he is a citizen and son of New Jersey. His large business interests, his large personal acquaintance, embrace the citizens of these three States. Representing for four terms in Congress one of the most influential and powerful manufacturing districts of the country, he has secured by unexampled popularity the support of men of all parties,

and of all nationalities. He is a vote winner. He is a successful candidate. Whenever he leads the ticket in New Jersey, William Walter Phelps stands ten per cent. in Democratic votes above every other name upon the ticket. He is the young men's candidate. His face is not turned toward the East where the star eyed goddess thinks she sees the rising sun of free trade, but is turned everywhere here about us in our great land, where the noonday sun of prosperity is shining. He is not one that proposes first to notify the occupants and then to take the roof off of the house, but he is one in favor of a system that proposes to put a roof over every laboring man in the United States, and to make him the owner of his house tree. In this contest it is desirable that we should have men that represent the issues of to-day. Our candidate, while he is proud of the glorious past of this great party, still lives not in it, but his thought dwells upon the new issues, the new interests, the new matters that now confront this great Republic, where the next century already beckons us forward, and where the young men who are strong are waited for to carry on the great progress of this country, and to work out our great destiny in the time to come. Our candidate is for American ideas, for American labor, for American wages, for American homes, for the American system of Henry Clay and James G. Blaine. It may well be that New York is important; it may well be that Kentucky is important; it is equally true that New Jersey is important, and with the nomination of William Walter Phelps you have secured the nine electoral votes of New Jersey. You have perhaps also secured the electoral votes of New York and Connecticut, but you had better make sure of the nine than to strive for others that some unfortunate person with a baneful habit of alliteration may lose for us by 1,100 votes. In this campaign we are to assault the enemy's line; heretofore we have been used to meet their assaults, and to hold our own line. What we want is to be so formed and so led that it will not be necessary to halt and dress the line. You remember that day in October, 1864, down in the Shenandoah Valley; in the gray dawn, the Confederate army stealthily, and by unknown paths, had crept forward and surprised the union army, driven it from its camp, and started it in rout down the Shenandoah, but to that routed, driven army comes riding from Winchester, twenty miles away, Sheridan, its absent commander. He halts the lines; he faces them the other way, and as he rides down along the column he cheers their courage and revives their drooping spirits as he cries, "Never mind boys, we will whip them yet. We will sleep in our old camp to-night;" and as the column returned and assaulted the rebels engaged in that occupation of plunder and spoils which is so congenial to them, they did what their leader promised, and the army that had swept over the field in triumph at dawn, at night was a mass of straggling fugitives. So, now, while the Democracy, after twenty-four years of hunger and deprivation, gorge themselves with the plunder and spoils of office, we wait for our leader to come and say: "Never mind, boys, we will whip them yet. We will be in our old quarters next March." The ticket that shall do this—the leaders that shall so achieve, are those that New Jersey would have you name. The ticket we believe in is Harrison and Phelps. We will set Harrison against Cleveland, the New York fetish of the Democracy; and against Thurman, the reminiscence of dead political heresies, we will set Phelps, the live, active, aggressive man of to-day; and against the old bandana we will set the starry flag of America.

The PRESIDENT. Is there a second to the nomination of William Walter Phelps of New Jersey, for the position of Vice-President?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH of Ohio. Gen. Gibson of Ohio, will second the nomination.

Mr. GIBSON of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. GIBSON. *Gentlemen of the Convention.* I am a Republican. I was present when that party was born, and I doubt if there be in this presence another man who was in La Fayette Hall, Pittsburg, in February, 1856, when this party adopted its first platform and address, and entered upon the grand career that has written the proudest pages of American history. I am more. I am a survivor of eleven Presidential campaigns, and I am wild for the twelfth. I commenced my political shouting for "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too," and I am as good as new to-day. We have nominated the great grandson of a man who 112 years ago sent circling around the globe that immortal Declaration of Independence. We have nominated the grandson of William Henry Harrison, whose sword gleamed at Tippecanoe, flashed on the slopes of Fort Meigs, and swept in glorious triumph on the Thames. We have nominated Gen. Harrison of Indiana, a statesman, a soldier, and a gentleman; and I second the nomination of that accomplished gentleman, that tried statesman, that polished scholar, William Walter Phelps of New Jersey for Vice-President. And now I want to tell you what will happen if this is the ticket. We can carry Indiana and New Jersey dead sure. And I will take the word of Mr. Depew that we can carry New York. In short, I propose that we shall carry the solid North, in favor of the ticket, and pluck from the solid Democracy Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia—bring them all in. Gentlemen of the convention, let us have a grand campaign. Put on Phelps, the man who led New Jersey to its first Republican victory in 1872—the young man; I am young myself, and therefore I like him. I don't know how much longer I am going to live, but I want some stout, grand fellow to stand by, and while I go up like an ascending Elijah, I want some young man to pick up my mantle and wear it in the forefront of the battle until protection to American labor, to American homes, to the American ballot, and to all that is American shall be the common birthright and heritage of all. Vote for William Walter Phelps.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Iowa also seconds the nomination of Mr. Phelps.

Mr. EGAN of Nebraska. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Egan of Nebraska.

Mr. EGAN. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* At our convention here to-day we nominated for the head of the National ticket a man of whose brave deeds as a soldier, of whose high character as a patriot and a statesman all America feels proud. We nominated a man—a man—

The PRESIDENT. Take your time, Mr. Egan, we have got more time to-night than anything else.

Mr. EGAN. Let us complete the good work so auspiciously begun, by nominating for the high office of Vice-President a man whose ability and patriotism will add, if possible, additional luster to the ticket. Let us indorse the nomination of New Jersey, and with Harrison and Phelps in the van the success of the Republican party next November will be assured. I heartily second the nomination of William Walter Phelps.

Mr. J. P. DOLLIVER of Iowa. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. DOLLIVER. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* Coming from a State that will give every Republican vote in it for any man who is nominated for the office of Vice-President, I find a special pleasure, on the part of members of the delegation from Iowa, in seconding the nomination of Mr. Phelps of

New Jersey. As I looked for days upon the noise and storm of these proceedings, upon the warfare of opinion and prejudice and ambition, I have more than once recalled the favorite maxim that considered with how little wisdom mankind get themselves governed; but as I have seen the development of your proceedings, and the magnificent triumph of common sense that has crowned them all, I find here an evidence that there is a providence of God with the Republican party, guiding us to a sure and certain triumph in November. We have already guarded our strategic point in this campaign. I hope the convention will have the wisdom to guard another strategic point of our politics by the nomination of Mr. Phelps of New Jersey. With that combination we are in excellent shape to make away with our ancient enemy. They are in worse position to-day than they were four years ago; for more than a thousand of their promissory notes have come due in the four years, and not one of them has been paid, not one. It was a saying of Abraham Lincoln that you could fool all the people some of the time, you could fool some of the people all the time, but you could not fool all of the people all of the time. That profound element of wisdom is the thing that has produced the reaction against the false pretences which carried the Democratic party into power; and with a ticket popular at two of the points where the fight of the campaign is to be made, there can be no possible doubt of the final success of the Republican party. Therefore, coming from a State that more than thirty years ago laid the Democratic party away, and since that time has not even looked in to see how the corpse was coming on, I second the nomination of Mr. Phelps of New Jersey.

Mr. A. J. ROSENTHAL of Texas. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Texas.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* It may seem to you impertinent upon the part of the State of Texas—a State which cannot furnish or promise you a single electoral vote, to come here before you for the purpose of seconding the nomination of any gentleman. But I take it that I am not only a citizen of Texas, but I claim to be a citizen of these United States and a true and faithful Republican, and as such I take the liberty to speak here not only as a citizen of these United States by accident, but, gentlemen of the convention, a citizen of these United States, by choice—a naturalized citizen; and it is for these foreign born citizens that I want to speak to you. The German-Americans, to which class I belong, have for long years idolized and adored the honorable gentleman and statesman from New Jersey, William Walter Phelps, and it is to him, on behalf of these German-Americans, that I want to pay my tribute. We recognize in him a statesman, a typical American, a protectionist personified, a scholar and an orator, and last, but not least, my fellow citizens, we recognize in him the bosom friend of that honored statesman from Maine, James G. Blaine. With a soldier and statesman like Gen. Harrison at the head of our ticket, with a statesman like William Walter Phelps in the second place, with the idea of protection, which by the way, my fellow citizens, is taking hold now in the South, for wherever you establish among us a manufactory, you plant a protectionist colony; with such men, with such representatives of the American idea of protection, victory will surely be ours. I thank you for your attention.

The PRESIDENT. Does the Chair hear a further second to the nomination of Mr. Phelps? If not, the Clerk will call the next State.

Mr. BULLA of North Carolina. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. BULLA. I am not going to make a speech of any length, Mr. President, and can say satisfactorily to myself and this convention all that I want to say standing right here. We of North Carolina for two weeks have

thought that the American flag, the glorious stars and stripes, would successfully do up the red bandana. We know, Mr. President, William Walter Phelps will fight the battle against the red bandana, and there is no question as to what the result will be: and in the name of the young and progressive Republicans of North Carolina, it gives me great pleasure to second the nomination of the Hon. William Walter Phelps of New Jersey.

The PRESIDENT. Does the Chair hear a further second to the nomination of Mr. Phelps?

Mr. BOUTELLE of Maine. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Boutelle of Maine.

Mr. BOUTELLE. My only excuse for a reappearance upon this platform is a sense of duty which I feel to add my tribute of personal regard and admiration for the abilities, the patriotism, and the tried and proved Republicanism of William Walter Phelps of New Jersey. It has been well said here to-day that one of the strategical points of this campaign upon which we are about to enter is that great hive of industry amid which Mr. Phelps has his residence. Although I cannot claim citizenship in the State of New Jersey, I can say to this intelligent and earnest gathering of Republicans that it has been my fortune to face the Republican audiences of that State in several of its most important campaigns, and I am able to assure you without a moment of hesitation, that no man in the Republican party to-day holds so large a share of the confidence, the affection, the respect of the Republicans of New Jersey, and no man known to me can command so large a vote among the Republicans of New Jersey as William Walter Phelps. He is a statesman, he is a scholar, a skilled diplomatist, a brilliant orator; a forcible champion of protection, an eloquent advocate of a free ballot and a fair count; a Republican from the crown of his head to the sole of his feet; the most liberal and kind-hearted and democratic rich man I have ever known; a man beloved of the people, a friend of the working man, a sympathizer with the citizenship of his country. William Walter Phelps of New Jersey, can carry the banner of the Republican party to victory in that State this year if any man living on the American continent can do it.

The PRESIDENT. Does the Chair hear a further second to the nomination of Mr. Phelps? If not, the Clerk will proceed to call the roll of States.

NAMING OF LEVI P. MORTON.

When New York was called:

Mr. MILLER of New York. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention.* Senator Warner Miller of New York.

Mr. MILLER. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* The time for platitudes and encomiums has passed. We have been here for nearly a week, during which time we have given to the Republican party and to the American people a platform of principles upon which every loyal lover of America can stand. It is an American platform from top to bottom. We have to-day put in nomination a representative American, one whom we can all support without any hesitation or reservation. New York came here, sir, and sought the suffrages of this convention for its most gifted and brilliant son. It came bringing you assurances of victory in the Empire State, if you would name our candidate for President. But when we learned that this convention was not likely to ratify our choice, we withdrew him from its consideration. We did it in sorrow but not in anger.

For many years the Republican party in the State of New York has been rent by factional fights in its ranks. For the first time in almost a generation the delegation from the State of New York, representing thirty-six electoral votes, have come to this convention and have been able to act in absolute harmony and accord. The harmony you have witnessed on the part of the delegation of the State of New York shall not cease here, gentlemen of the convention. We propose to carry it home with us and to carry it into the contest. The gentleman whom I am instructed to name as the unanimous choice of our delegation for Vice-President is a man with whom I have crossed swords in partisan strife; but I assure you here now, gentlemen, that if you concede to our wish and give us this man as our candidate for Vice-President, our swords shall be drawn only in the common cause. And I can give you the same pledge for every section and faction of the party in our State or represented here to-day. By your action you have made it possible for the Republicans to carry the State of Indiana. By your further action you may make it possible to carry the State of New York. There is no time to talk about friendships. There is no time to talk about the brilliant qualities of candidates. We have begun to organize victory here to-day, and if you will aid the State of New York in the efforts which it has been making of late, and which have so far succeeded as to bring us absolutely together—I say, if you will aid us here in this convention to-day by taking our candidate for Vice-President, I give you our word, one and all, that from this day forward there shall be no stopping of our onward march for victory in that State. Do not forget the situation, gentlemen, wherever you may come from, whether from Texas, or Iowa, or California. Do not forget that this great battle is to be fought out in New York, Mr. President, and gentlemen. The Democratic party has thrown down the gauge of battle there, and they challenge us to lift it. Do not forget that the present Executive of the United States, and the candidate for re-election come from our State. Do not forget either that the two most important Secretaryships that of the Treasury and of the Navy, are to-day held by New York Democrats; and you know what that means in this contest. Do not forget that the city government of our great metropolis is in the hands of the enemy; do not forget that the State government is in the hands of the enemy; aye, it requires the courage of giants to take up the fight in New York. But we propose to lift the gauge of battle, and if you will help us here to-day as you only can help us, we will carry the fight to a successful conclusion. Refuse us that boon, gentlemen, and we will still go home and do all that mortal men can, but we shall go home sick at heart and discouraged. If you love the party, if you want to see success above other things, I appeal to you in the name of your loyalty to the party, and of its future success, that you will at least, in this matter, hear the voice of New York. I shall spend no time in dwelling upon the virtues or the qualifications of our candidate. He is a man who has achieved great success as a business man. He has made an honorable record in the House of Representatives, and he has been one of our foremost representatives in a foreign country. He is known for his liberality by all of our people. If you will here to-night name, by substantial unanimity, our choice, we will go home, and we will inscribe upon our banner, "American wages for American workmen, American markets for American people, and protection for American homes," and in that sign we cannot be defeated. In behalf of the united delegation from the State of New York—aye, Mr. President, in behalf of the united Republican party of the State of New York—I name the Hon. Levi P. Morton.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* The name of Levi P. Morton of New York, is placed in nomination. Is there a second?

Mr. GAGE of California. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from California.

Mr. GAGE. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* California came here not solely in the interest of any one man, not solely in the interest of any one locality, but we came here in the interest of this whole land. We came here in the interest of the Republican party, and, sir, from the very moment we arrived we have been governed and guided by that idea in all our deliberations, and we are disposed to concede that and believe in that, so far as this whole convention is concerned. Mr. President, we believe it was the outgrowth of that idea—that that is what actuated you all this morning in the nomination of the great statesman and patriot, Benjamin Harrison. Gentlemen, one of the shrewdest and greatest Democratic politicians of the country said a few days ago, that if the Republican party were wise enough to select candidates who could carry Indiana and New York, we could defeat Cleveland and Thurman. I believe that in the selection which you made this morning, you have accomplished one of those results—that the battle in Indiana is practically won—that she is ours politically to-day. Now, let us not lose sight of that same proposition in our future deliberations. I think I see before me an opportunity to secure the electoral vote of New York for the Republican party. Governed by that idea, on behalf of California, I rise to second the nomination of that distinguished citizen of the Empire State, Levi P. Morton, a man who is better loved, and can poll more votes on the far-off Pacific shores, than any other man living upon this earth, save and except the great American commoner, James G. Blaine. Gentleman, I hope you will give us the opportunity to champion his cause, as well as that of Benjamin Harrison.

Mr. FOSTER of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Foster.

Mr. FOSTER. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* Ohio came to this Convention with a candidate, as we thought, entitled to this nomination. Our fondest hopes have been broken, but we are willing to concede, aye, I am certain that it is true, that this Convention has begun well, and that the nomination of Benjamin Harrison is sure to carry the State of Indiana, and I believe the entire country, but let us make it absolutely certain. In 1880 a distinguished son of Ohio was nominated for President, and we thought it would be wise to give the Vice-Presidency at that time to the State of New York. We gave it to the State of New York. Does any man here to-day doubt that the nomination of Arthur of New York, gave us victory in November, 1880? So I say to you, gentlemen, in the interest of good politics, of the good sense of this situation, give this nomination to Levi P. Morton of New York. I know Mr. Morton personally, and can assure you that he is in every sense of the words worthy and capable. I may mention an incident, I think with great propriety on this occasion, in relation to him. Years ago, during the Irish famine, he sent at his own expense, a load of provisions to the famished Irishmen and refused to have the fact made public. So I say, gentlemen of this Convention, on the part of a portion of the delegation of Ohio, that we second the nomination of Levi P. Morton, believing that the best politics requires the giving to him of this nomination.

Mr. HALLOWELL of Kansas. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Kansas has the floor.

Mr. HALLOWELL. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* For four years nearly all the Republicans of this Union have constantly looked toward the Empire State for the purpose of determining who would be most satisfactory to them to unite the great Republican party of that State in this contest, and they have to-day made a choice, in connection with other members of this Convention, and nominated that fearless statesman, that

great and gallant soldier, that eminent gentleman, Benjamin Harrison. Kansas, the home of John Brown, with her 18,000 majority, came here looking to the doubtful States to know with whom we could succeed, and they have selected my old comrade-in-arms, General Harrison. Now, fellow delegates, entwine in that wreath the name of Levi P. Morton, and victory is ours. We have provided for Indiana. New York is here united; New Jersey and Connecticut will stand by, and we will teach the Democracy that there is punishment after death.

Mr. HASTINGS of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Gen. Hastings of Pennsylvania.

Mr. HASTINGS. *Mr. President and Gentlemen:* Pennsylvania, with fifty-two votes, instructs me to say to you that she believes that the battle ground in this campaign will be in the State of New York. She instructs me to say that the second State in the Union should now reach out her hands to the great, the first, the Empire State of the Union, and give her help. She believes that the gallant people of New Jersey can win anyhow. And with that ticket as true as liberty and God lives, Harrison and Morton will be victorious.

Mr. P. F. OLIVER of South Carolina. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. OLIVER. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* Coming from South Carolina, as I do, a State that is Republican to the core, and which has a majority of 35,000, but which has not been able to roll up that majority since 1876, and as it is necessary that the Republican party gain absolute control of this government again, that all of the citizens under the stars and stripes may exercise their rights and privileges, it is essential that this convention put at the head of the ticket and in the second place, such men as will sweep this country from these great lakes here at the North to the gulf in the South, and from the Pacific to the Atlantic. And as we have selected to-day the Hon. Benjamin Harrison who will on his part sweep the country, if we select now for the second place the Hon. Levi P. Morton of New York, I feel satisfied that upon the Ides of November we will succeed in getting the country into the hands of Republicans again. On behalf of the delegation from South Carolina, I second the nomination of the Hon. Levi P. Morton.

Mr. WM. E. SIMS of Virginia. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. SIMS. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I regret that I have to appear before you to-night; and I only do it because Virginia has occupied no time in this convention, and I do not want you to forget that there is a State of Virginia. She has proved herself first in war, like her citizen George Washington, and I hope I can promise you that she will prove herself first in peace, also like him. Gentlemen of the Convention, it has been thirty-one years—and I hate to think it has been so long—since I met William Walter Phelps on the Yale College campus in New Haven, Conn. I was a green Southern boy from the State of Mississippi, and he hailed then, I believe, from the grand old State of New York. I admired him from the first time I saw him for his ability. I respected him for his manhood, I loved him for himself. The boy was father to the man. William Walter Phelps to-day is what William Walter Phelps was then in all that makes up nobility of soul and true manhood. I have watched his career, though a great gulf separated us—I in the South and he in the North. I watched his career, though oceans separated us, when he was in Austria and I was here. I watched his career as a member of Congress. I watched his career when he aided in wrestling the grand State of New Jersey from the hands of the enemy. I watched him four years ago when he gave his

time, his means and his labors to the Republican party in the Presidential canvass of 1884. Why, the distinguished gentleman from New York, Mr. Miller, tells you that he wants you to nominate a man for his generosity. I ask, where will you find a more generous man than William Walter Phelps? Where else will you find a man who gave a whole town to the State of Texas; who would not stand on quibbles and technicalities, but gave up to the people of a town, in the State of Texas, his land, for worthless prairie on the outside. I see many bald heads and many gray heads around me—I cannot appeal to this convention as young men, because if I did I should get left by a large majority; but there is a young element in our party, which demands some sort of recognition, and William Walter Phelps is put forward as the representative of this younger element. When he combines everything that is necessary to fill the office of Vice-President, or President either, we ask you to give to the people of Virginia, the people of the East, a man that we feel can carry these Eastern States. And why can't he carry New York? He is a New Yorker as much as my distinguished friend [Mr. Miller]. He was born, I believe, and raised in that State, and New York asks you to give her the Vice-Presidency as a boon. Why, we gave New York the boon she asked. She cast seventy-two votes for Harrison, and we voted for him, and she got her boon. Now, give the East one little boon. Give us William Walter Phelps.

Mr. B. F. MARSH of Illinois. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MARSH. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* The State of Illinois, which I in part represent upon this floor, remembering well the support that Indiana gave in the memorable contest in this State in 1860, remembering how Indiana in that year seconded the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, and learning, as we had learned, that Indiana had a candidate for the Presidency for the nomination of this convention—knowing and remembering these things, the Republicans of the Prairie State everywhere came forth in the advocacy of an Indiana man for the nomination for President. It is true that when the Illinois delegates arrived here in Chicago, they were a little mixed about which Indiana man we should really take, but upon the eighth ballot we all got there right. Illinois came here to assist in the nomination of a man who would be acceptable to the Republican party of this whole country, a man who could unite every faction in the broad land in support of the Republican ticket, and looking upon the doubtful State of Indiana we stood by an Indiana nominee from the beginning to the end. Now, gentlemen, having taken care of Indiana, having taken her out of the doubtful ranks, having placed her among the Republican States of this country, Illinois now looks to the doubtful State of New York. We propose to do by you in New York, and for the Republican party of this country what we did for Indiana, and I rise, gentlemen, for the purpose of seconding the nomination of that magnificent man, Levi P. Morton. You have placed at the head of your column a great soldier, a great citizen and a great statesman. Now, place as second in command that man who is not only a statesman, but a magnificent representative of the business interests of this great country. I thank you for your attention.

Mr. JAMES R. CHALMERS of Mississippi. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Gen. Chalmers of Mississippi.

Mr. CHALMERS. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* We have Scriptural authority for saying that there is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine just men that are perfect. I, Mr. President, was born a Democrat. I was reared a Democrat. I was one of those who belonged to the Confederate army, who, when the first bugle sounded calling men to arms, went to the front, and I staid there

until the fight was ended, the flag was furled in surrender, and the muffled drums were heard to beat the last sad requiem over a lost cause. [Applause.] When the war was over I was still a Democrat. I went to the American Congress as a Democrat. I went there, though, chiefly seeking to build up the waste places of the South, and I remember that when first the scourge of yellow fever went sweeping over the land, and we of the South were asking for help, I found the Republican party, under the leadership of that great man, James A. Garfield, standing up and helping us there. Again, when the wild waste of waters came, when the Mississippi was devastating our country, when our people were camping on the house-tops and upon the tree-tops, and we were asking for help from the National Government, the Republican party came and stretched forth its hand to assist a suffering people. [Applause.] But my Democratic brethren stood there talking about the resolutions of '98 and '99. [Laughter and applause.] Again, when I looked at our country and saw that lighthouses were built from one end of the Mississippi to the other, those lamps by which the pilot can guide his vessel; when I saw that the mouth of the Mississippi River itself was open, and jetties were built, and great vessels from the ocean came floating right up to the wharf at New Orleans, I saw that this, too, had been done by that hated (?) Republican party which I had been taught to despise. [Applause.] I remembered again that when the floods came the first President of the United States who ever dared to send a message to Congress asking for aid for the Mississippi levees was Chester A. Arthur, the President from New York. [Applause.] When that was done I left the Democratic party. I went into the opposition six years ago as an Independent, but I found that fighting between the lines was as bad a thing in politics as it was in war. [Laughter and applause.] A man can't afford to be shot at by both sides. [Laughter.] For that reason, when this canvass came up, I said I will go square over into the Republican party, and I am here to declare my alliance to it to-night. I come now to take up my alignment with the great army of Republicans. I come to bear aloft the flag you are fighting under, and I hope to keep step to the music of the Union. [Cheers.] I loved the South in my childhood, and love her no less to-day; and I come here because I love her, and because I find that the Democratic party, in its hide-bound notions, is opposed to everything like progress [Cheers], and that the Republican party stands ready, always moving on, always pitching its guidon still to the front, and then moving its alignment up. I find the Republican party to be willing not only to build up its own section, not only to give protection to manufactories in the North, but, sirs, the genial influence of that protection is now being felt in the South. We are beginning to have our manufactories. We are beginning to see that what you call the "hot-house plants" of the United States are beginning to grow in the Southern land, and my love for the South, that once made me a Democrat, now makes me a Republican. [Cheers.] For this reason I stand here to say to you, gentlemen, that I do not coincide with those friends from my section who have talked about having a Southern man nominated for Vice-President. It might be a compliment; it might be well in some respects, but in my judgment it would be like the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava. It might be grand, but it wouldn't be politics. [Cheers.] You are called on now to make a terrible struggle. You don't know it. You seem scarcely to realize it, but we, in the Southern States, who live under an oligarchy, know what you have to meet. There is no more chance in the State of Mississippi for my vote to be counted than for that of the most ignorant negro who undertakes to vote against the Democratic party. [Laughter and applause.] Ballot-box stuffing has got to be one of the fine arts in that country. [Laughter.] And the remarkable change that comes over a Republican ballot when it is placed in a Democratic ballot-box and manipulated by Democratic hands is as great as the change that happened

when the rod of Aaron swallowed up the rods of the magician, in the olden time. [Loud laughter and applause.] You have to fight then, against the solid Democratic South. If you are to win there must be a solid Republican North. [Loud applause.] How are you to get it? You must go on as you have begun. With great wisdom and foresight, with that foresight which always marks a great commander, you have found a strategic point, and occupied it. The enemy overlooked it. They marched by it. The enemy would not camp on Indiana. But the Republicans have planted their banner there, and that was taken one strategic point. [Loud applause and cries of "Good," "Good."] Now, then you want another. It won't do to send our cavalry to charge against an enemy that is in entrenchments. The Democracy are entrenched in the South. They are to-day entrenched in New York. They have the Governor. They have the President. They have the city government. They are behind entrenchments. It won't do to charge them with cavalry. You must send the old guard if you desire to succeed. I say, then, that wisdom demands, that policy demands, and the best interests of a suffering people in the South demand that you shall nominate a man from New York to stand by the man from Indiana. [Applause.] I speak, gentlemen, not only for myself, but for that delegation [pointing to Mississippi delegation], which is half and half to-day, one-half freedmen, made free by the action of the Republican party, the other half confederate soldiers. [Cheers.] We recognize that the war is over; that your flag is now our flag [Applause and cries of "Good"], and we who have attempted to carry out the doctrines of the Republican party, and to secure a fair vote and a fair count for the colored man in the South, have lost our own votes. [Laughter, and cries of "That's true."] We are waiting anxiously for you, men of the North, to carry this election, and when you do carry it we shall have some hope, because in this platform that you adopted for the first time, as I understand it, you have not only declared in general terms, in platitudes, in favor of a fair election, but you have put down in black and white that henceforth and forever you are in favor of effective legislation to secure fair elections in the South. [Great applause.]

Mr. CHARLES H. TREAT of Delaware. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Delaware.

Mr. TREAT. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* We have heard the Macedonian cry from the Empire State of New York, the battle ground of political giants in the coming campaign. Delaware's little heart has been made glad that she has brought her little bundle of political sheaves and placed them at the feet of the eminent soldier and distinguished statesman, General Harrison. We have done it more with a purpose and more with a feeling than perhaps is known to this Convention. We are renowned simply as being the State owned as a pocket borough by distinguished gentlemen in the Democratic party, and to-day we feel that our existence is seriously threatened when we think of the treaty with Great Britain on the fishery question, that what little we have left Queen Victoria will appropriate for her Canadian friends. I tell you, gentlemen, we want a man in the White House that will care not only for the interests of the little diamond State, but we want one with patriotism so large that he will expand from the golden shores of the Pacific to the mighty commercial emporium of New York. We wish you to understand that we have come here and fought steadily for the man of our choice, and we did it with a protest and with an earnest desire that the man that is in the White House shall have no trucking with Great Britain. Why, I tell you the fisheries that border our little State are in danger from the Canadian fishhook, against the protest of the millions in the swarming sea. They will take all we have, our fish, our oysters, our terrapin [Laughter], and we ask for a man there that will respect and cherish the commercial rights of our little State. You all well

know that it is a common saying of the Democratic party that Mr. Cleveland is greater than his party, and Mr. Thurman is better than his party. The grand old Republican party of to-day, with its great nurseries of statesmen and distinguished patriots knows no man greater or better than the sublime principles of its choice, and we ask that you put in nomination a man representing the most gigantic political interests that confront us, so that the victory that we ought to win shall not be endangered. I have heard the encomiums of the distinguished gentlemen from New Jersey and Kentucky, and my heart goes out in sympathy and respect for the loyal attitude, for the magnificent service they have rendered our party, but I know, if William Walter Phelps lives, that little State of New Jersey will still bubble in her exuberance on the sand, and will send back the loudest tones of victory on the eve of November; but we want you to take a man that I have known since the campaign of 1876—a gentleman that will fill with distinguished honor the post of Vice-President; a gentleman who will gather in, in all its fulness, the confidence and the following of the gentlemen from New York. I want you to know that we shall follow this banner, and by and by we will ask this grand old party to take us out of the bondage of Bayard and Salisbury. We want you to remember that it will take something more than Senator Thurman, with all the benefits of his experience, to wipe out the pestiferous cry of free trade.

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will proceed with the call of the roll of the States.

NAMING OF WILLIAM R. MOORE.

When Tennessee was called:

Mr. SAMUEL A. McELWEE of Tennessee. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* Mr. McElwee of Tennessee.

Mr. McELWEE. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* On behalf of Tennessee I rise for the purpose of presenting to this convention for your consideration for the Vice-Presidency a patriot, a statesman, a gentleman whose name is synonymous with victory. The gentleman whom I shall propose comes from the South, a section of the country, it is true, that has not had an electoral vote counted for the nominees of the Republican party since 1876. Oppressed by Southern Democrats, and forsaken by the Republicans of the North, we have stood firm and remained true and loyal to the cause of the party we regard as the grandest that ever existed on the American continent. Tennessee is ready to-day to lead in the break of the solid South, and thereby assist in wresting this government from the hands of the Democratic party; and if this convention, in its wisdom, shall nominate the gentleman whose name I propose, Tennessee, with the grandeur and glory of her past history and her hopes of the future, will be forever redeemed from the hands of the Democratic party, and placed on the roll of the Republican States of the Union. Our candidate is sound on all of the great issues, and the peer of any gentleman before this convention. I present the name of the Hon. William R. Moore of Tennessee.

The PRESIDENT. Is there a second to the nomination of Mr. Moore?

Mr. O. J. SPEARS of North Carolina. *Mr. President:* I rise to a question of privilege.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from North Carolina rises to a question of privilege. Will he state his point of privilege?

Mr. SPEARS. North Carolina was passed without being called.

The PRESIDENT. That is a highly privileged question.

Mr. SPEARS. Yes.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is informed by the Clerk that North Carolina was called.

Mr. SPEARS. You are mistaken, it was not called.

The PRESIDENT. If that is the point of privilege it is sustained, and North Carolina will be called.

Reading Clerk MARTIN. North Carolina.

Mr. SPEARS. Now, Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT. The Chair did not succeed in getting the gentleman's name. Is it Spear, of North Carolina?

Mr. SPEARS. No, sir. Spears. [Laughter.]

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Spears of North Carolina.

Mr. SPEARS. *Mr. President:* My district in North Carolina, the Cape Fear district, is settled largely by people from Scotland. [Laughter.] There is an old man there, a member of the Presbyterian Church, by the name of McGregor, who is an elder in our church. [Laughter.] Whenever the Christmas holidays come, and they get some of our good brandy and take their eggnog, and the fiddle begins to play [Great laughter]—

The PRESIDENT. The convention will come to order.

Mr. SPEARS. I am going to get to the point. I mean business. [Great laughter.]

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will please come to the point.

Mr. SPEARS. I am coming to the point. Now, Mr. President, I say that when the Christmas holidays come, and the fiddle starts up, McGregor is sure to dance. I have succeeded at last in doing what he did. After being "sessioned" and "sessioned" for dancing and promising that he would not, when the fiddle started up one Christmas holiday he jumped out and said, "'Session' and 'session,' but McGregor has got the floor," and I have got it at last. [Great laughter.] Now soberly, Mr. President—[Cries of "Platform."] I cannot get to the platform. [Exhibiting a pair of crutches.]

The PRESIDENT. The convention will come to order until the gentleman stops talking.

Mr. SPEARS. I hope it will. [Laughter.] Mr. President, this is the proudest hour of my life. [Laughter.] Mr. President, is this a reality, gentlemen, or is it a delusion? [Laughter.]

The PRESIDENT. Wait one moment.

Mr. SPEARS. Am I talking to a thousand Republicans, and white ones at that? [Laughter. A voice, "Not all white," and applause.] Now, I ask you to be quiet. I didn't come here to tell a joke, but to talk business. [A voice, "Well, go on."]. Mr. President and delegates, when I behold on this floor the magnanimous magnanimity of the Empire State [Laughter.]—I see that one of the prominent delegates—[Disorder.]

The PRESIDENT. One moment. Does the gentleman rise to place—

Mr. SPEARS. Oh, if you will just let me go on I will get to the point.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman rise to second a nomination?

Mr. SPEARS. I will do it if you will just give me a chance. [Laughter.]

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman rise to second a nomination?

Mr. SPEARS. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will proceed, then.

Mr. SPEARS. When I see the gentleman from New York [Mr. Depew] who was nominated on this floor as our standard bearer, but withdrew, so amused at my using the words "magnanimous magnanimity," I presume he wanted me to say "magnificent magnanimity." [Renewed laughter and cheers.] But, Mr. President, when I remember that Pennsylvania has seconded this nomination with her 100,000 majority for the Republican ticket; when I remember, too, Mr. President, that New York, in 1868 gave her electoral vote to the Democratic ticket; when I remember that in 1872 she gave her electoral vote to the Democratic ticket; when I remember that in 1876, while she did not do that, still in 1880 she did,—I say, then, Mr. President, with all this in view, it is the duty of this convention to nominate Levi P. Morton of New York. New York will be gained, Connecticut will be satisfied, New Jersey will be satisfied, Indiana will be satisfied, and Ohio will be satisfied. And with this grand old banner [the American flag] we will down the bandana. This flag in the hands of Levi P. Morton and Gen. Harrison will win victory. Nominate him. I wish it were proper to move that he [Mr. Morton] be nominated by acclamation.

Mr. G. C. CHANDLER of Mississippi. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. CHANDLER. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* There being no possibility of the Republicans of Mississippi being able to cast an electoral vote this year, I came to this convention believing it to be my duty to aid the doubtful States in selecting a candidate for President under whose banner they could best make battle. Having discharged that duty to my own satisfaction and to the satisfaction of this convention, I may express a choice for the second place on the ticket. While Gen. Harrison is popular in the South, as he deserves to be everywhere, those who tell you that with his popularity it is possible to carry a Southern State for him—[Disorder.]

The PRESIDENT. One moment, Mr. Chandler. Do not proceed until the convention comes to order. The Sergeant-at-Arms will see that gentlemen in the aisles take their seats. Give that matter your immediate attention, Mr. Sergeant-at-Arms. Gentlemen in the aisles will take their seats. [Great confusion and cries of "Call the roll."] Mr. Chandler of Mississippi has the floor. Proceed, Mr. Chandler.

Mr. CHANDLER. I will not detain you long. I will cut it short. While Gen. Harrison is popular in Mississippi, as he is throughout the whole country, those who tell you that it is possible to carry a State in the South are mistaken. My advice to you is, do your level best to carry them all; but be careful to make your arrangements to do without any of them. And while this is true, there is much ground in the South for Republicans to cultivate. Old ideas and notions are giving place to new ones. The antebellum plan of raising a single staple with which to buy supplies in the market supposed to be made cheap by free trade is a delusion of the past. Diversified industries and pursuits in the South are now regarded as better policy. Nowhere is this more true than in the State of Tennessee, unless it be in the Old Dominion of Wise and Mahone. Tennessee is the State of John Bell, to whom indeed it gave its electoral vote at the election preceding the war, and upon the very principles propounded by this convention. Tennessee is the State that always voted for Henry Clay, the champion of good money and protection, their ablest advocate until the great and incomparable. Blaine took up the argument—a State where thousands of old Whigs are true to their first love, and where many Democrats are satisfied that they can never develop their resources except under Republican auspices, and who are ready at an opportune moment to turn the large Republican minority there into an absolute majority. [Cries of "Time."] I beg you to be patient.

The PRESIDENT. The galleries will keep quiet.

Mr. CHANDLER. Tennessee is the State that only a few years ago elected a Republican Governor, and expects to elect another one in the near future; a State where there is more tolerance of opinion, more law and order and cleaner elections than anywhere in the South. My choice for Vice-President hails from this magnificent State. He is a typical Southern Republican, and true as steel to the Republican party—like all of his class who have been tried by fire. Now you have given assurance to the country in the great chieftain whom you have selected to head the ticket, that we shall have an administration pure and grand and brilliant. Give also the assurance that it shall be conducted on the best business principles by completing the ticket with one of the greatest business men in the Southwest, a man who began business under unfavorable circumstances, among a people who despise his politics, and yet, by dint of industry, strict integrity, and a clear conception of business principles, he easily surpassed all rivals in securing a competency, and without a stain upon his good name. When the war ended in the bankruptcy of all of his customers, he was one of the few who said, "Oppress no debtor." You need not fear his ability to fill the great office. Numerous men all over this great audience, who served with him in Congress, can vouch for his fitness. He will make an able and dignified President of the Senate, and in behalf of the Mississippi Republicans, and at their request, I second the nomination of William R. Moore.

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will proceed with the call of the roll.

Reading Clerk MARTIN. Alabama 20 votes.

The PRESIDENT. Wait a moment. The candidates before the convention for Vice-President are Levi P. Morton of New York; William Walter Phelps of New Jersey; William R. Moore of Tennessee, and William O. Bradley of Kentucky.

MR. MOORE WITHDRAWS HIS NAME.

Mr. WILLIAM R. MOORE of Tennessee. *Mr. President:* Before the vote is taken—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. MOORE. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* Profoundly grateful as I am to the great State of Tennessee for the presentation of my name in connection with the Vice-Presidency of the United States, I beg permission, having no desire for any office on earth, to withdraw it from the consideration of the convention. I am not here for the purpose of seeking any official place, but for the sole and single purpose of lending my feeble mite to the removal from the White House on the fourth of March next of its present political incubus. I want to retire that great Jumbo of British free trade; that beneficiary of, and sympathizer with, fraudulent and dishonest ballots. I want the country to be as free as possible of that flabby, hypocritical and tough-skinned hippopotamus of civil service reform. [Applause.] I want the Nation to be rid of that ugly, awkward and clumsy behemoth of Bourbon Democracy. I, therefore, Mr. President, thanking this great National Convention, and especially my too partial friends from Tennessee and the South, for the distinguished honor they would confer upon me, beg respectfully to withdraw my name from the consideration of the convention.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Moore of Tennessee withdraws his name as a candidate for the position of Vice-President. The Clerk will call the roll of States.

When North Carolina was called:

Mr. JAS. H. HARRIS of North Carolina. We are unable to agree in North Carolina so that I can announce the vote with accuracy.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. HARRIS. Phelps 5, Bradley 3, Morton 15.

The vote was not questioned.

When Tennessee was called:

Mr. MANEY. *Mr. President:* A question of privilege.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will state his point of privilege.

Mr. MANEY. I wish to name on behalf of this delegation W. W. Murray as member of the National Committee, and J. C. Dougherty as member of the Committee on Notification.

The PRESIDENT. That is not now the order of business. There will be a motion made after this vote is declared affecting that question. The Clerk will proceed with the call of the roll.

When Virginia was called:

Mr. WISE of Virginia. Phelps 5, Bradley 1, Morton 18.

Mr. WM. A. FRENCH of Virginia. *Mr. President:* I challenge the vote. [Cries of "Oh, no,"] and ask for a call of the roll.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman state to the convention that he doubts the correctness of the announcement?

Mr. FRENCH. I do.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman state that the announcement is not correct.

Mr. FRENCH. I do.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Clerk, call the roll of Virginia.

When the name of D. F. Houston was called, there was no response.

Mr. WISE. His alternate is here.

Reading Clerk MARTIN. J. W. Wright.

Mr. WRIGHT. Morton.

When the name of H. W. Williams was called, there was no response.

Mr. WISE. His alternate is Mr. Bryant.

Reading Clerk MARTIN. J. W. C. Bryant.

Mr. BRYANT. Morton.

At the conclusion of the call:

Reading Clerk MARTIN. Morton 15, Bradley 2, Phelps 5.

Mr. FRENCH. My name has not been called nor that of my colleague from the Ninth District.

Reading Clerk MARTIN. What is the gentleman's name?

Mr. FRENCH. French.

The PRESIDENT. It was an oversight of the Clerk if the names were omitted. The Clerk will call the names.

Reading Clerk MARTIN. M. B. Wood.

Mr. WOOD. Morton.

Reading Clerk MARTIN. Wm. A. French.

Mr. FRENCH. Morton.

The result of the poll was as follows:

Morton—Wm. Mahone, John G. Watts, S. Brown Allen, A. W. Harris, O. D. Foster, F. D. Lee, Charles Gee, John M. Langston, Harry Libby, John S. Wise, Morgan Treat, J. W. Wright, Y. T. Brown, J. A. Frazier, J. W. C. Bryant, M. B. Wood, Wm. A. French—17.

Phelps—Winfield Scott, J. H. Pedigo, George W. Jackson, H. H. Riddleberger, John F. Lewis—5.

Bradley—Patrick O'Connor, O. E. Hine—2.

A DELEGATE. Now announce the vote, please.

Reading Clerk MARTIN. Morton 17, Bradley 2, Phelps 5.

At the conclusion of the call of States:

Mr. FARWELL of Illinois. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. One moment. The vote will be announced in a moment, and then other matters will be in order. [Confusion.] The convention will come to order. The Clerk will make the announcement of the vote for nomination for Vice-President.

Reading Clerk MARTIN announced the result as follows:

Whole number	826
Necessary to a choice	414
Morton	592
Phelps	119
Bradley	103
Blanche Bruce	11
Walter S. Thomas	1

THE FIRST BALLOT.

The ballot in detail was as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES	VOTES	BRADLEY	MORTON	PHELPS	BRUCE	THOMAS
Alabama	20	5	15			
Arkansas	14		14			
California	16		13	3		
Colorado	6		6			
Connecticut	12		12			
Delaware	6		6			
Florida	8	4	4			
Georgia	24	18	1		4	
Illinois	44	2	27	15		
Indiana	30	2	30			
Iowa	26	2	10	14		
Kansas	18	1	17			
Kentucky	26	25				
Louisiana	16	3	11	2		
Maine	12		7	5		
Maryland	16	1	12	3		
Massachusetts	28		28			
Michigan	26	9	15	2		
Minnesota	14		14			
Mississippi	18	3	5	3	7	
Missouri	32	5	25	2		
Nebraska	10		5	5		
Nevada	6		6			
New Hampshire	8		7	1		
New Jersey	18			18		

STATES AND TERRITORIES	VOTES	BRADLEY	MORTON	PHELPS	BRUCE	THOMAS
New York	712	..	72	..	..	..
North Carolina	1212	33	14	5	..	..
Ohio	46	8	30	8	..	..
Oregon	6	..	6	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	60	..	52	8	..	..
Rhode Island	8	..	8	..	..	..
South Carolina	18	..	17	1	..	..
Tennessee	24	11	9	..	..	..
Texas	26	..	10	15	..	1
Vermont	8	..	8	..	..	..
Virginia	24	12	17	5	..	..
West Virginia	12	..	12	..	..	..
Wisconsin	12	1	18	3	..	..
Arizona	12	..	12	..	..	..
Dakota	10	..	10	..	..	..
District of Columbia	12	..	12	..	..	..
Idaho	12	..	12	..	..	..
Montana	12	..	12	..	..	..
New Mexico	12	..	12	..	..	..
Utah	12	..	12	..	..	..
Washington	6	..	5	1	..	..
Wyoming	12	..	12	..	..	..
Totals	832	103	592	119	11	1

MR. LEVI P. MORTON NOMINATED.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Levi P. Morton having received a majority—[Disorder.] If the convention will come to order, and keep order, the delegates can hear the announcement. Mr. Clerk, make the announcement again.

Reading Clerk MARTIN announced the result as directed.

MADE UNANIMOUS.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Levi P. Morton having received a majority of all the votes of this convention for the position of Vice-President, the question now is. Shall the nomination be made unanimous?

Mr. DENNY of Kentucky. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* On behalf of the Kentucky delegation, I desire to return to those gentlemen from other States her sincere thanks for the votes they gave to her candidate, and I desire further to say that in the coming contest Mr. Bradley will be found in the thickest of the fight. [Cheers.] I desire now, on behalf of Kentucky, as a friend of Mr. Bradley, to move that the nomination of Levi P. Morton be made unanimous.

The PRESIDENT. Those in favor of making the nomination—

Mr. SEWELL of New Jersey. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. SEWELL. New Jersey presented to this convention the name of one of her favorite sons, a Republican, pure and without guile, one who has been so since he came to the age of manhood, and we had hopes that this convention would have recognized New Jersey on this ticket. But we are Republicans, first and all the time. [Cheers.] While we have not a place on the National ticket we will go to our homes, and I pledge the efforts not alone of myself, but of William Walter Phelps from now until election for the

ticket. [Applause.] We have the highest respect and admiration for the character, standing, and the Republicanism of the gentleman you have named from New York, and we cordially indorse his nomination. [Applause.]

The PRESIDENT. Shall the nomination of Levi P. Morton be made unanimous?

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The ayes have it, and the nomination of Levi P. Morton for the position of Vice-President is made unanimous.

COMMITTEE ON NOTIFICATION.

Mr. FARWELL of Illinois. I am informed that it is usual to appoint a committee of one from each State to inform the candidates of their nomination, and that that has not been done. I move that it be now done.

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved that a committee of one from each State and Territory be selected by the respective States and Territories for the purpose of notifying the nominees for President and Vice-President of their nomination.

Mr. FARWELL. I move you, sir, that the President of this convention be Chairman of that committee.

The PRESIDENT. That is out of order.

Mr. FARWELL. Gentlemen, you have heard the motion.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* The question is on the adoption of the original motion.

It was unanimously agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The ayes have it, and the Secretary will call the roll of the States and Territories, and each State and Territory as it is called will give the name of its committeeman to serve on this committee.

Mr. HUSTED of New York. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

Mr. HUSTED. Before the Clerk calls the roll I desire to make a motion to this effect: That the National Committee be directed in their call four years hence to provide that the Territory of Alaska shall have two delegates in the convention.

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved and seconded that in the call four years from now made by the National Committee for a National convention the Territory of Alaska be embodied in the call, and that it be allowed two delegates.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. BOUTELLE of Maine. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Would it be in order—

Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts. I merely rise—

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman [Mr. Boutelle] give way?

Mr. BOUTELLE. I yield a moment to the Senator from Massachusetts.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

MR. HOAR. I want to suggest that instead of calling the roll the convention unanimously consent that the names may be handed to the Secretary by the respective Chairmen of the delegations.

THE PRESIDENT. It has been suggested by the gentleman from Massachusetts that the Chairman of the delegation from each State and Territory hand to the Secretary the name of the committeeman that may be selected by that delegation.

This suggestion was adopted, and the following is the committee selected :

M. M. ESTEE, California, *Chairman*.

Alabama.....	A. H. Hendricks.
Arkansas.....	Logan H. Roots.
California.....	Paris Kilburn.
Colorado.....	Henry R. Wolcott.
Connecticut.....	E. Stevens Henry.
Delaware.....	Joseph R. Whitaker.
Florida.....	F. M. Wicker.
Georgia.....	W. W. Brown.
Illinois.....	Thomas W. Scott.
Indiana.....	James N. Huston.
Iowa.....	Thomas Updegraff.
Kansas.....	Henry L. Alden.
Kentucky.....	George Denny.
Louisiana.....	Andrew Hero, Jr.
Maine.....	Samuel H. Allen.
Maryland.....	William M. Marine.
Massachusetts.....	Frederick L. Burden.
Michigan.....	William McPherson.
Minnesota.....	R. B. Langdon.
Mississippi.....	T. W. Stringer.
Missouri.....	A. W. Mullins.
Nebraska.....	R. S. Norval.
Nevada.....	S. E. Hamilton.
New Hampshire.....	Person C. Cheney.
New Jersey.....	Henry A. Potter.
New York.....	Obed Wheeler.
North Carolina.....	D. C. Pearson.
Ohio.....	Charles Foster.
Oregon.....	F. P. Mays.
Pennsylvania.....	Frank Reeder.
Rhode Island.....	Benj. M. Bosworth.
South Carolina.....	Paris Simpkins.
Tennessee.....	John C. Dougherty.
Texas.....	E. H. Terrell.
Vermont.....	Redfield Proctor.
Virginia.....	Harry Libby.
West Virginia.....	Charles B. Smith.
Wisconsin.....	Charles A. Chapin.
Arizona.....	L. F. Eggers.
Dakota.....	George W. Hopp.
District of Columbia.....	Perry H. Carson.
Idaho.....	George A. Black.
Montana.....	George O. Eaton.
New Mexico.....	J. F. Chavez.
Utah.....	J. J. Daly.
Washington.....	Thomas H. Minor.
Wyoming.....	C. D. Clark.

AN AMENDMENT TO THE PLATFORM.

Mr. BOUTELLE of Maine. At the request [Disorder and confusion.]

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen will be seated. There is much business to do.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I hope the audience will be requested to keep quiet.

The PRESIDENT. The audience will please keep quiet, and the delegates will be seated and keep quiet.

Mr. BOUTELLE. *Mr. President:* On behalf of a large number of the delegates of this convention, by their request, and in accordance with their wishes, I desire to move to suspend the rules and adopt a resolution to be added to the Republican platform. The Republican party stands before the country for the protection of the ballot, for the protection of American industry, and for the protection of the purity of the home. [Applause.] The altars of Republicanism in this country stand by the firesides of the American people. [Applause.] The very foundation of this grand organization of ours is in the sobriety, the morality, and the virtue of the common people [Applause.] The Republican party sprang into existence as the champion of moral reform in the United States of America. [Applause.] It stands to-day, if it stands for anything, as the standard bearer of every principle that tends to elevate our common humanity, and eradicate the evils which threaten the body politic.

Mr. HENRY W. OLIVER of Pennsylvania. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. OLIVER. I will state my point of order. It is this: That under the rule adopted by this convention—

Mr. BOUTELLE. The motion is to suspend the rules.

Mr. OLIVER. I say that under the rules established for the government of this convention—

The PRESIDENT. One moment. Will the gentleman quietly state what his point of order is?

Mr. OLIVER. I can state it quietly if you want it.

The PRESIDENT. So that we can hear it. The Chair could not hear it.

Mr. OLIVER. It is that under the rules established by ourselves, I claim that all resolutions should be referred, and were referred, to the Committee on Resolutions, without debate.

Mr. BOUTELLE. *Mr. President—*

Mr. OLIVER. And I claim, moreover, Mr. President, that there was ample time—there were three days to consider every subject of importance to the Republican party.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is debating the merits. Let the Chair rule upon the point of order.

Mr. OLIVER. I make that point of order, and ask for a decision.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine moves a suspension of the rules in order to present a resolution. That request will have to be seconded by two States, and, after having been so seconded, it will require a two-thirds vote of this convention to suspend the rules.

Mr. OLIVER. I ask if it is in order upon the original proposition until the rules are suspended.

The PRESIDENT. Debate is not in order until the question of granting leave to present the resolution is passed upon by the convention.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Very good, Mr. President. The gentleman from Pennsylvania, I know, will permit me to say in regard to the matter of fact, that three members of the Committee on Resolutions—

Mr. OLIVER. I will not permit you to say anything in regard to the matter. [Disorder.]

Mr. BOUTELLE. You don't want it said—

The PRESIDENT. The gentlemen are not in order. They will not debate the question. [Disorder.] The gentlemen will come to order.

Mr. BOUTELLE. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will read the resolution for the information of the convention and then if it receives a second from two States—

A DELEGATE from New York. No, no; don't let it be read.

The PRESIDENT. If it receives a second from two States the convention can vote upon the question, and by a two-thirds vote suspend the rules. [Great disorder.]

Mr. OLIVER. You have made your platform; stick to it. Stick to the platform.

Mr. BOUTELLE. *Mr. President—*

Mr. OLIVER. Don't take it back. We want no other platform. [Disorder.] You have made your platform; stick to it.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania will sit down. If he does not, the Sergeant-at-Arms will take him into custody; there must be order here. It is a direct violation of all rules of order for the gentleman to rise and debate a question until it is before the convention for discussion.

Mr. OLIVER. I claim that—[More disorder].

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania will be seated.

Mr. GEORGE A. NEAL of Missouri. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. One moment. We will come to order first. The gentleman will be seated until we have order.

Mr. NEAL. I move we adjourn *sine die*.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman has not the floor for that purpose, and is out of order.

Mr. BOUTELLE. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. One moment. The gentleman from Maine cannot debate the question at all. He can read the resolution for information, and then if it receives—[Cries of "No, no."]

A DELEGATE. *Mr. President: I—*

The PRESIDENT. One moment. The Chair was not through. He [Mr. Boutelle] can read it for information, and then, if two States second the motion to suspend, the question will come upon the suspension of the rules.

Mr. BOUTELLE. What vote will pass it?

The PRESIDENT. Upon which motion it will take a two-thirds vote.

Mr. OLIVER. I move you, sir, that the motion to suspend the rules—[Disorder.]

Mr. JOHNSON of New York. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Sergeant-at-Arms, attend to your duty. The gentleman from Pennsylvania will be seated.

Mr. OLIVER. I rise, sir—

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Sergeant-at-Arms, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Oliver] must be seated.

Mr. JOHNSON. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York. For what purpose?

Mr. HUSTED of New York. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Johnson has the floor.

Mr. HUSTED. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. State your point of order.

Mr. HUSTED. My point of order is that no person has a right to speak unless Mr. Boutelle has that right.

The PRESIDENT. The point of order is well taken.

Mr. JOHNSON. The point of order I make is that the only question before the convention is on the suspension of the rules and the presentation of the resolution.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is right, but the resolution has not yet been presented to Mr. Boutelle.

Mr. JOHNSON. *Mr. President—*[Disorder.]

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen will be seated. They must come to order.

Mr. JOHNSON. *Mr. President—*[Continued disorder.]

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York will be seated.

Mr. JOHNSON. *Mr. President:* Can I make a point of order or not?

The PRESIDENT. One moment. Gentlemen of the convention will please be seated and come to order.

Mr. GREEN of Nebraska. I desire to appeal from the decision of the Chair on the proposition. The only proposition before the convention is—

Mr. HUSTED. I rise to a point of order. An appeal from a decision of the Chair is not debatable.

The PRESIDENT. The point of order made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Husted] is well taken. The gentleman [Mr. Green] will state on what point he appeals.

Mr. GREEN. Upon this point. That the gentleman rose in his place and asked for a suspension of the rules and until the rules are suspended you cannot, either by written resolution or debate, proceed further.

Mr. HISCOCK of New York. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

Mr. HISCOCK. It is absolutely necessary that that resolution should be read, that the convention may know what the question is upon which the motion to suspend the rules is made. And I appeal to this convention to be in order and allow it to be read. We are not afraid to meet any question here and dispose of it. [Cries of "Read, read."]

The PRESIDENT. Will gentlemen listen to the resolution proposed by the gentleman from Maine, Mr. Boutelle? [Cries of "read it."]

Mr. BOUTELLE read as follows:

The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of the home. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality. [Applause.]

Mr. BOUTELLE. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. One moment.

Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts: Massachusetts seconds the motion for the suspension of the rules.

The PRESIDENT. Does any other State?

Mr. HISCOCK of New York. New York seconds it.

Mr. HERR of Michigan. Michigan seconds it.

Mr. HISCOCK. I second it on the part of the delegation from New York.

Mr. FOSTER of Ohio. Ohio seconds the motion.

A DELEGATE from Maryland. Maryland does also.

The PRESIDENT. A sufficient number have seconded the motion.

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. I rise in behalf of my State, unanimously instructed to second the motion of the gentleman from Maine.

Mr. WILLSON of Kentucky. *Mr. President—*

Mr. BUCK of Georgia. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. One at a time.

Mr. WILLSON. I am instructed by the delegation from Kentucky to second the motion.

Mr. BUCK. I am instructed by the delegation from Georgia to second the resolution.

Mr. PRESIDENT. The Georgia delegation seconds the resolution.

Mr. KING of Maryland. I am instructed by the delegation from Maryland to second the motion to suspend the rules.

Mr. PORTER of Indiana. I am instructed in behalf of the delegation from Indiana to second the motion.

Mr. OLIVER of Pennsylvania. I wish to say that Pennsylvania has no objection to that resolution.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman second the motion?

Mr. OLIVER. I wish to say that Pennsylvania is in full accord with the spirit of that resolution.

The PRESIDENT. It is not debatable.

Mr. OLIVER. I take—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will be seated. It is not debatable at present.

Mr. OLIVER. Pennsylvania seconds—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will be seated. It is not debatable at present.

Mr. HILL of Mississippi. We want to know why you do not recognize Mississippi to second that resolution.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. HILL. Mississippi unanimously seconds the motion.

Mr. OSBORN of Kansas. Kansas, which is ever to the front on moral questions, instructs me to second that.

Mr. R. B. LANGDON of Minnesota. I am instructed to second the motion also.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the—

Mr. FUNK of Illinois. On behalf of Illinois I desire to second the motion.

Mr. CLAYTON of Arkansas. I am instructed by my delegation to second the motion.

Mr. WARNER of Alabama. On behalf of Alabama I second the motion.

Mr. GREEN of Nebraska. *Mr. President*— [Cries of "Question."]

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. GREEN. At the request of the delegation from Nebraska, I second the motion.

Mr. BRADFORD of Delaware. At the request of the Delaware delegation, I beg leave to second that motion.

Mr. REDFIELD PROCTOR of Vermont. Vermont seconds the motion.

Mr. MOODY of Dakota. That is a motion which Dakota will second.

The PRESIDENT. The Territory of Dakota seconds the proposition.

Mr. SPEARS of North Carolina. *Mr. President*— [Disorder.]

The PRESIDENT. The convention must come to order.

Mr. SPEARS. I move to amend the motion to suspend the rules by moving the adoption of the resolution.

The PRESIDENT. It is not amendable.

Mr. GALLINGER of New Hampshire. In behalf of the delegation from New Hampshire, I rise to second the motion to suspend the rules.

Mr. BOUTELLE. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I modify my motion by asking unanimous consent that this resolution be unanimously passed by a rising vote.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair hears no objection. There being none—

Mr. WELLINGTON of Maryland. There is objection. [Cries of "Oh, no."]

Mr. BOUTELLE. I withdraw the request.

Mr. HISCOCK of New York. Wait a moment. I desire to suggest that it is in order for you to modify your motion, and move to suspend the rule and pass the resolution.

Mr. BOUTELLE. That is what I moved originally.

Mr. HISCOCK. Very well then, let us have the question on that.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the suspension of the rules and the passage of the resolution; and on the suspension of the rules the roll will be called by States if demanded.

Mr. HISCOCK. Oh, by a viva voce vote.

The PRESIDENT. As many as are in favor of suspending the rules and adopting this resolution, rise and stand until they are counted. [After a

pause.] The ayes will be seated. Those opposed will rise and stand until they are counted. [One man arose.]

Reading Clerk MARTIN. Ayes 828. Noes 1.

The PRESIDENT. It is adopted. [Applause.]

Mr. HISCOCK of New York. I move this convention adjourn without day.

A DELEGATE from Pennsylvania. I second the motion on the part of Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDENT. Those in favor of the motion—

Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts. *Mr. President—*

Mr. HISCOCK. I will withdraw the motion.

Mr. HOAR. I move that the thanks of this convention be presented to the President of this convention, and also to the temporary Chairman for the ability, fairness and vigor with which they have presided over the deliberations of this convention.

Mr. HISCOCK. Put the motion.

Mr. HOAR did so, and it was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. HISCOCK. I renew my motion that the convention adjourn without day.

The PRESIDENT. If the gentleman will wait a moment, there are two or three announcements for the Clerk to make.

Secretary CLISBEE made the following announcements:

The Washington correspondents' special train will leave the Union Station at 10 A. M. to-morrow.

The Republican League of the United States desires to announce that a ratification meeting will be held by the 4,000 Republican clubs in this organization on the evening of June 28. The National League requests all delegates and Republicans present to participate in this National ratification of the ticket by the Republican clubs of the country.

JAMES C. FOSTER, *President*.

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved that this convention now adjourn without day.

Mr. HUSTED of New York. A question of privilege.

Mr. HISCOCK. I will withhold the motion for one purpose only, and that is to allow a motion to be made by the gentleman from New York.

Mr. HUSTED. I move that the thanks of this convention be tendered to the Secretaries and other officers for the faithful discharge of their duties.

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved that the thanks of this convention be tendered to its Secretaries and other officers.

The motion was agreed to. [Applause.]

Mr. HUSTED. Now I move that we adjourn.

The PRESIDENT. It has been moved that this convention do now adjourn. [After stating the question.] This convention is now adjourned *sine die*.

So at 8:58 P. M., Monday, June 25, 1888, the convention adjourned without day.

NOTIFICATION OF THE NOMINEES.

The Committee to notify the nominees met in Indianapolis, July 4, and at half-past 10 o'clock in the morning, went to the residence of General Harrison to advise him of his nomination.

The Hon. M. M. Estee, Chairman of the Committee, said:

GEN. HARRISON:—We are commissioned by the National Republican Convention to officially notify you of your nomination as the Republican candidate for President of the United States. In doing this we may be permitted to remind you that your selection met the hearty approval of the whole Convention. It left no embittered feelings or lukewarm supporters, and its action voiced the average and the best judgment of the Convention. It is true, distinguished gentlemen well known to the people, who were experienced in public affairs, illustrious in character and worthy of the people's confidence and support, were before the Convention, as candidates, yet you were chosen. Nor was your nomination due to accident or the result of hasty or inconsiderate deliberation. It indicated rather that you possessed in a more eminent degree those peculiar qualities which commended you to the people's favor. In the hour of our country's peril, you cheerfully accepted an humble position in the army, went where your country most needed you, and by long and faithful service rose to higher commands, and assumed graver responsibilities. Elected to the United States Senate, your enlightened and conservative statesmanship commanded the respect and inspired the confidence of the American people. Added to this, the purity of your past life and your exalted private virtues are an earnest that as a candidate or as President, the honor of the Republican party and the glory of our country will be safe in your keeping.

The platform adopted by the National Republican Convention marks out with clearness and precision the creed of the party. The American system of protection to American labor and American products in American markets, the sacredness and purity of the ballot, the protection of American citizens, native and adopted, at home and abroad, on land and sea, the prohibition of Chinese immigration, the building up of our navy, the erection of coast defences, and the special care of the old soldiers and sailors of the Republic, are questions which occupy a conspicuous place in our platform. These and other subjects referred to in the platform, will doubtless receive your careful consideration. In conclusion we beg to express our personal satisfaction at your nomination, and we indulge the belief that your election is already assured.

To this General HARRISON replied as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: The official notice which you have brought of the nomination conferred upon me by the Republican National Convention recently in session at Chicago, excites emotions of a profound, though of somewhat conflicting character. That after full deliberation and free consultation, the representatives of the Republican party of the United States should have concluded that the great principles enunciated in the platform adopted by the Convention could be in some measure safely confided to my care, is an honor of which I am deeply sensible, and for which I am very grateful. I do not assume or believe that this choice implies that the Convention found in me any pre-eminent fitness or exceptional fidelity to the principles of government to which we are mutu-

ally pledged. My satisfaction with the result would be altogether spoiled if that result had been reached by any unworthy methods, or by a disparagement of the more eminent men who divided with me the suffrages of the Convention.

I accept the nomination with so deep a sense of the dignity of the office and of the gravity of its duties and responsibilities as altogether to exclude any feeling of exultation or pride. The principles of government and the practices in administration upon which issues are now fortunately so clearly made are so important in their relations to the National and to individual prosperity that we may expect an unusual popular interest in the campaign. Relying wholly upon the considerate judgment of our fellow-citizens and the gracious favor of God, we will confidently submit our cause to the arbitrament of a free ballot.

The day you have chosen for this visit suggests no thoughts that are not in harmony with the occasion. The Republican party has walked in the light of the Declaration of Independence. It has lifted the shaft of patriotism upon the foundation laid at Bunker Hill. It has made the more perfect union secure by making all men free. Washington and Lincoln, Yorktown and Appomattox, the Declaration of Independence and the Proclamation of Emancipation are naturally and worthily associated in our thoughts to-day.

As soon as may be possible I shall by letter communicate to your Chairman a more formal acceptance of the nomination, but it may be proper for me now to say that I have already examined the platform with some care, and that its declarations, to some of which your Chairman has alluded, are in harmony with my views. It gives me pleasure, gentlemen, to receive you in my home, and to thank you for the cordial manner in which you have conveyed your official message.

The Committee met in New York July 7, and went to the home of Mr. Morton at Rhinecliff to notify him.

Chairman ESTEE said:

Mr. Morton: The National Convention of the Republican party, recently assembled in Chicago, nominated as its candidate for President, General Harrison, and with equal unanimity, selected you as its nominee for Vice-President. By order of that Convention, we were appointed a committee to notify the nominees of their selection. This pleasant duty has been in part performed by giving General Harrison, your associate upon the ticket, that notification. It only remains for us to discharge the further duty conferred upon us by this official notice to you. The country has already passed judgment upon your selection, and it has met such universal approval that it is only left for this committee to add its own expression of their high appreciation of your personal qualities, as well as their confidence in your eminent fitness for the position to which the deliberate judgment of the Convention assigned you. In conclusion, we believe that this notification to you will not be a meaningless formality, but that your nomination will result in a triumphant election.

Mr. Morton replied as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I am profoundly sensible of the high honor which has been conferred upon me by the National Republican Convention recently in session at Chicago, and thank you, gentlemen, for the courteous and complimentary terms in which you have officially announced my nomination as the candidate of the Republican party for the Vice-Presidency. I am also deeply sensible of the honor conferred upon the State of New York, in the selection of a citizen of this State as one of the standard-bearers in the approaching peaceful conflict of the two great political parties of this country for supremacy and governmental control.

New York represents in a large degree the business interests of those ever-growing and wide-spreading communities of various interests and industries, which it is the mission of the Republican party to foster and protect. The platform so wisely adopted at Chicago has this mission boldly in view, and by its enunciation of these principles, makes the issue of the coming campaign clear and distinct. I accept the position tendered by the Convention, of which you are the honored representatives, and will in due time express to you, Mr. Chairman, an official communication to that effect.

BENJAMIN HARRISON'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., Sept. 11.—*The Hon. M. M. Estee and others, Committee*—GENTLEMEN: When your committee visited me the Fourth of July last and presented the official announcement of my nomination for the Presidency of the United State by the Republican National Convention, I promised as soon as practicable to communicate to you a more formal acceptance of the nomination. Since that time the work of receiving and addressing, almost daily, large delegations of my fellow citizens has not only occupied all of my time, but has in some measure rendered it unnecessary for me to use this letter in communicating to the public my views upon the questions involved in the campaign. I appreciate highly the confidence and respect manifested by the Convention, and accept the nomination with a feeling of gratitude, and a full sense of the responsibilities which accompany it.

It is a matter of congratulation that the declaration of the Chicago Convention upon the questions that now attract the interest of our people are so clear and emphatic. There is further cause of congratulation in the fact that the Convention utterances of the Democratic party, if in any degree uncertain or contradictory, can now be judged and interpreted by Executive acts and messages, and by definite propositions in legislation. This is especially true of what is popularly known as the tariff question. The issue cannot now be obscured. It is not a contest between schedules, but between wide-apart principles. The foreign competitors of our market have, with quick instinct, seen how one issue of this contest may bring them advantage, and our own people are not so dull as to miss or neglect the grave interests that are involved for them. The assault upon our protective system is open and defiant. Protection is assailed as unconstitutional in the law, or as vicious in principle, and those who hold such views sincerely cannot stop short of an absolute elimination from our tariff laws of the principle of protection. *The Mills bill is only a step, but it is toward an object that the leaders of Democratic thought and legislation have clearly in mind.*

The important question is not so much the length of the step as the direction of it. Judged by the Executive message of December last, by the Mills bill, by the debates in Congress, and by the St. Louis platform, the Democratic party will, if supported by the country, place the tariff laws upon a purely revenue basis. This is practically free trade—free trade in the English sense. The legend upon the banner may not be “free trade”—it may be the more obscure motto, “tariff reform”—but neither the banner nor the inscription is conclusive, or indeed important. The assault itself is the important fact.

Those who teach that the import duty upon foreign goods sold in our market is paid by the consumer, and that the price of the domestic competing article is enhanced to the amount of the duty on imported articles—that every million of dollars collected for customs duties represents many millions more which do not reach the Treasury, but are paid by our citizens as the increased cost of domestic productions resulting from the tariff laws—may not intend to discredit in the minds of others our systems of levying duties on competing foreign products, but it is clearly already discredited in their own. We cannot doubt, without impugning their integrity, that if free to act upon their convictions they would so revise our laws as to lay the burden of the customs revenue upon articles that are not produced in this country, and to place upon the free list all competing foreign products.

I do not stop to refute this theory as to the effect of our tariff duties.

Those who advance it are students of maxims and not of the markets. They may be safely allowed to call their project "tariff reform" if the people understand that in the end the argument compels free trade in all competing products. The end may not be reached abruptly, and its approach may be accompanied with some expressions of sympathy for our protected industries and our working people, but it will certainly come if these early steps do not arouse the people to effective resistance.

The Republican party holds that a protective tariff is constitutional, wholesome and necessary. We do not offer a fixed schedule, but a principle. We will revise the schedule, modify rates, but always with an intelligent provision as to the effect upon domestic production and the wages of our working people. We believe it to be one of the worthy objects of tariff legislation to preserve the American market for American producers, and to maintain the American scale of wages, by adequate, discriminating duties upon foreign competing products. The effect of lower rates and larger importations upon the public revenues is contingent and doubtful, but not so the effect upon American production and American wages. Less work and lower wages must be accepted as the inevitable result of the increased offering of foreign goods in our market. By way of recompense for this reduction in his wages, and the loss of the American market, it is suggested that the diminished wages of the working man will have an undiminished purchasing power, and that he will be able to make up for the loss of the home market by an enlarged foreign market. Our working men have the settlement of the question in their own hands. They now obtain higher wages and live more comfortably than those of any other country. They will make a choice between the substantial advantages they have in hand and the deceptive promises and forecasts of these theorizing reformers. They will decide for themselves and for the country whether the protective system shall be continued or destroyed.

The fact of a Treasury surplus, the amount of which is variously stated, has directed public attention to a consideration of the methods by which the National income may best be reduced to the level of a wise and necessary expenditure. This condition has been seized upon by those who are hostile to protective custom duties as an advantageous base of attack upon our tariff laws. They have magnified and nursed the surplus which they affect to deprecate, seemingly for the purpose of exaggerating the evil in order to reconcile the people to the extreme remedy they propose. A proper reduction of the revenue does not necessitate, and should not suggest, the abandonment or impairment of the protective system. The methods suggested by our Convention will not need to be exhausted in order to effect the necessary reduction. We are not likely to be called upon, I think, to make a present choice between the surrender of our protective system and the entire repeal of the internal taxes. Such a contingency, in view of the present relation of expenditures to revenues, is remote. The inspection and regulation of the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine are important, and the revenue derived from it is not so great that the repeal of the law need enter into any plan of revenue reduction. The surplus now in the Treasury should be used in the purchase of bonds. The law authorizes this use of it, and if it is not needed for current or deficiency appropriations the people, and not the banks in which it has been deposited, should have the advantage of its use by stopping interest upon the public debt. At least those who needlessly hoard it should not be allowed to use the fear of a monetary stringency thus produced, to coerce public sentiment upon other questions.

Closely connected with the subject of the tariff is that of the importation of foreign laborers under contracts of service to be performed here. The law now in force prohibiting such contracts received my cordial support in the Senate, and such amendments as may be found necessary effectively to deliver our working men and women from this most inequitable form

of competition will have my sincere advocacy. Legislation prohibiting the importation of laborers under contracts to serve here will, however, afford in adequate relief to our working people if the system of protective duties is broken down. If the products of American shops must compete in the American market, without favoring duties, with products of cheap foreign labor, the effect will be different, if at all, only in degree, whether the cheap laborer is across the street or over the sea. Such competition will soon reduce wages here to the level of those abroad, and when that condition is reached we will not need any laws forbidding the importation of laborers under contract—they will have no inducement to come, and the employer no inducement to send for them.

In the earlier years of our history public agencies to promote immigration were common. The pioneer wanted a neighbor with more friendly instincts than the Indian. Labor was scarce, and fully employed. But the day of the immigration bureau has gone by. While our doors will continue open to proper immigration, we do not need to issue special invitations to the inhabitants of other countries to come to our shores or to share our citizenship. Indeed, the necessity of some inspection and limitation is obvious. We should resolutely refuse to permit foreign government to send their paupers and criminals to our ports. We are also clearly under a duty to defend our civilization by excluding alien races whose ultimate assimilation with our people is neither possible nor desirable. The family has been the nucleus of our best immigration, and the home the most potent assimilating force in our civilization.

The objections to Chinese immigration are distinct and conclusive, and are now so generally accepted as such that the question has passed entirely beyond the stage of argument. The laws relating to this subject would, if I should be charged with their enforcement, be faithfully executed. Such amendments or further legislation as may be necessary and proper to prevent evasions of the laws and to stop further Chinese immigration would also meet my approval. The expression of the Convention upon this subject is in entire harmony with my views.

Our civil compact is a government by majorities, and the law loses its sanction and the magistrate our respect when this compact is broken. The evil results of election frauds do not expend themselves upon the voters who are robbed of their rightful influence in public affairs. The individual, or community, or party that practices or connives at election frauds has suffered irreparable injury, and will sooner or later realize that to exchange the American system of majority rule for minority control is not only unlawful and unpatriotic, but unsafe for those who promote it. The disfranchisement of a single legal elector by fraud or intimidation is a crime too grave to be regarded lightly. The right of every qualified elector to cast one free ballot and to have it honestly counted, must not be questioned. Every constitutional power should be used to make this right secure and punish frauds upon the ballot.

Our colored people do not ask special legislation in their interest, but only to be made secure in the common rights of American citizenship. They will, however, naturally mistrust the sincerity of those party leaders who appeal to their race for support only in those localities where the suffrage is free and election results doubtful, and compass their disfranchisement where their votes would be controlling and their choice cannot be coerced.

The Nation, not less than the States, is dependent for prosperity and security upon the intelligence and morality of the people. This common interest early suggested National aid in the establishment and endowment of schools and colleges in the new States. There is, I believe, a present exigency that calls for still more liberal and direct appropriations in aid of common school education in the States.

The territorial form of government is a temporary expedient, not a permanent civil condition. It is adapted to the exigency that suggested it, but becomes inadequate and even oppressive when applied to fixed and populous communities. Several Territories are well able to bear the burdens and discharge the duties of free Commonwealths in the American Union. To exclude them is to deny the just rights of their people, and may well excite their indignant protest. No question of the political preference of the people of a Territory should close against them the hospitable door which has opened to two-thirds of the existing States. But admission should be resolutely refused to any Territory a majority of whose people cherish institutions that are repugnant to our civilization or inconsistent with a Republican form of government.

The declaration of the Convention against "all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens," is in harmony with the views entertained and publicly expressed by me long before the assembling of the convention. Ordinarily, capital shares the losses of idleness with labor; but under the operation of the trust, in some of its forms, the wage worker alone suffers loss, while idle capital receives its dividends from a trust fund. Producers who refuse to join the combination are destroyed, and competition as an element of prices is eliminated. It cannot be doubted that the legislative authority should and will find a method of dealing fairly and effectively with these and other abuses connected with this subject.

It can hardly be necessary for me to say that I am heartily in sympathy with the declaration of the Convention upon the subject of pensions to our soldiers and sailors. What they gave and what they suffered I had some opportunity to observe, and, in a small measure, to experience. They gave ungrudgingly; it was not a trade but an offering. The measure was heaped up, running over. What they achieved only a distant generation can adequately tell. Without attempting to discuss particular propositions, I may add that measures in behalf of the surviving veterans of the war and of the families of their dead comrades should be conceived and executed in a spirit of justice and of the most grateful liberality, and that in the competition for civil appointment honorable military service should have appropriate recognition.

The law regulating appointments to the classified civil service received my support in the Senate in the belief that it opened the way to a much needed reform. I still think so, and therefore cordially approve the clear and forcible expression of the Convention upon this subject. The law should have the aid of a friendly interpretation, and be faithfully and vigorously enforced. All appointments under it should be absolutely free from partisan considerations and influence. Some extensions of the classified list are practicable and desirable, and further legislation extending the reform to other branches of the service to which it is applicable, would receive my approval. In appointments to every grade and department fitness and not party service should be the essential and discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure of office. Only the interests of the public service should suggest removals from office. I know the practical difficulties attending the attempt to apply the spirit of civil service rules to all appointments or removals. It will, however, be my sincere purpose, if elected, to advance the reform.

I notice with pleasure that the Convention did not omit to express its solicitude for the promotion of virtue and temperance among our people. The Republican party has always been friendly to everything that tended to make the home life of our people free, pure and prosperous, and will in the future be true to its history in this respect.

Our relations with foreign powers should be characterized by friendliness and respect. The right of our people and our ships to hospitable treat-

ment should be insisted upon with dignity and firmness. Our Nation is too great, both in material strength and in moral power, to indulge in bluster or to be suspected of timorousness. Vacillation and inconsistency are as incompatible with successful diplomacy as they are with the National dignity. We should especially cultivate and extend our diplomatic and commercial relations with the Central and South American States. Our fisheries should be fostered and protected. The hardships and risks that are the necessary incidents of the business should not be increased by an inhospitable exclusion from the near-lying ports. The resources of a firm, dignified and consistent diplomacy under undoubtedly equal to the prompt and peaceful solution of the difficulties that now exist. Our neighbors will surely not expect in our ports a commercial hospitality they deny to us in theirs.

I cannot extend this letter by special reference to other subjects upon which the Convention gave an expression. In respect to them, as well as to those I have noticed, I am in entire agreement with the declaration of the Convention. The resolutions relating to the coinage, to the rebuilding of the navy, to coast defences, and to public lands, express conclusions to all of which I gave my support in the Senate.

Inviting a calm and thoughtful consideration of these public questions, we submit them to the people. Their intelligent patriotism and the good Providence that made and has kept us a Nation will lead them to wise and safe conclusions.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

LEVI P. MORTON'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

RHINECLIFF, N. Y., Oct. 2.

To Hon. M. M. Estee and Others, Committee—GENTLEMEN: In making formal acceptance of my nomination as the Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency, I desire to express my grateful appreciation of the confidence reposed in me by the Convention.

The duties devolving upon the Vice-President as presiding officer of the Senate, and in certain contingencies a participant in the legislation of Congress, make it proper that the people should know distinctly and unreservedly the political views of the candidate who may be presented for their suffrages.

It fortunately happens that this duty, for myself, is easily discharged by referring to the principles embodied in the resolutions unanimously adopted by the National Convention. These resolutions, unequivocal and comprehensive in character, reflect my personal convictions, and have my hearty approval.

It is difficult, however, in a political campaign to fix popular attention on more than one issue, and in the pending election every voter in the United States clearly sees that the controlling question is whether the protective tariff duties now in force shall be so reduced as to destroy their efficiency, or whether these duties shall be retained with such modifications and adjustments as shall better adapt them to the great end of protecting the vast and important industries of the whole country.

The Republican platform, while recognizing the necessity of reducing the revenue, declares that this reduction must not be made at the expense of these industries and of American labor.

The American people have now enjoyed the protective system for a longer continuous period than ever before in the history of the National

government. The result is that for more than a quarter of a century they have realized a degree of industrial and financial prosperity unprecedented in this country, and never equaled in any other.

The pressing reason given for once again trying the old experiment of a revenue tariff, without protection as a motive or end, is that the present tariff has produced and is producing a surplus in the Treasury. But is it not easily within the wisdom of Congress to adjust the National income to the National expenditure without sacrificing or even imperiling an industrial system which has brought untold advantages to the entire country? Admitting that the present tariff, by lapse of time and the large expansion of trade which it has stimulated, needs revision, is it not wiser and more patriotic to revise it with a careful regard to the interests of protection than with the purpose of lessening its protective feature?

These are some of the questions which must be answered at the National polls in November. For myself, as a citizen and a candidate, I do not hesitate to declare that from long observation I am an unwavering friend of the protective system. In a business life now extending over forty years, I have witnessed and compared the effect upon the country of a revenue tariff tending to free trade, with a protective tariff encouraging home industries. Under the former the development of the country has always been arrested, while under the latter it has uniformly been promoted.

To the men who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, the difference between the two systems is that of narrowing chances on the one hand, and expanding opportunities on the other. Free trade would open America to competition with the whole world. Protection reserves America for Americans, native and adopted.

The industrial system of a country is as sensitive as its public credit. A hostile movement creates distrust in the public mind, and confidence, the only basis of successful trade, becomes impaired. New enterprises wither in the bud, capital grows timid, the field of labor is contracted, and pressure for employment inevitably reduces the wages of all working men.

With the views of the convention so frankly expressed in its resolutions upon all other questions of public interest, I find myself in hearty accord. In relation to silver and its important bearing upon the National currency, as well as its connection with and influence on the prosperity of large sections of our common country; in its advocacy of a judicious settlement of the public lands policy; in urging the necessity for better coast defences, and the duty we owe to the shipping interests of the country, the platform but repeats the approved principles of the Republican party.

The Republican platform proposes a distinctly American policy; not one of narrowness and bigotry, but one broad and philanthropic—a policy that best helps the whole world by the example of a great, growing, powerful Nation, founded upon the equality of every man before the law.

It is for the American people to develop and cultivate the continent to which, in the Providence of God, they have fallen heirs. They should adopt a policy which looks steadily to this great end. With no spirit of narrowness toward other peoples, but rather in the highest interest of all, they should find under their own flag a field of limitless advance in the direction of the improvement, the prosperity, and the happiness of man.

Very respectfully yours,

LEVI P. MORTON.

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